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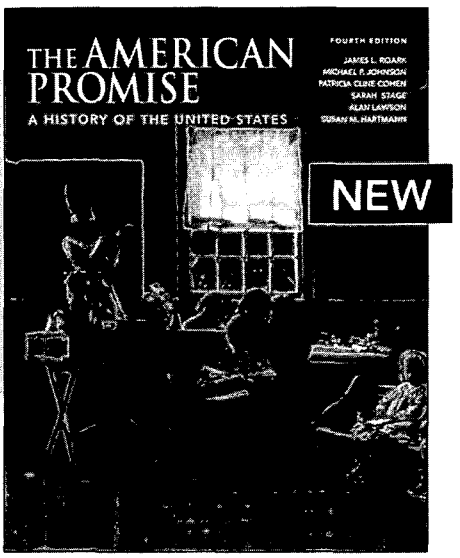
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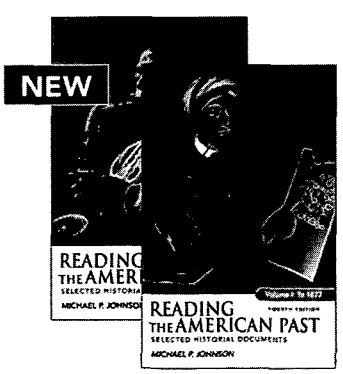


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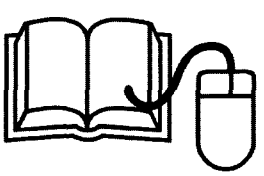
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Cover Illustration: Extinct by 1844, the flightless Great Auk, North America's "penguin," was a casualty of the early modern cod fishery. Auks made marvelous bait and provided fishermen with meat and eggs. In "Putting the Ocean in Atlantic History: Maritime Communities and Marine Ecology in the Northwest Atlantic, 1500–1800," W. Jeffrey Bolster argues that the notion of "traditional fisheries," often shorthand for preindustrial activity, remains a mythic trope obscuring not only historic changes in marine ecosystems, but how those changes shaped the possibilities open to coastal people. Focusing on the large marine ecosystem (LME) between Newfoundland and Cape Cod, he challenges the enduring assumption that the ocean exists outside of history, and encourages historians with other specializations to historicize the ocean. *Great Auk*, aquatint by John James Audubon and Robert Havell, from Audubon's *The Birds of America* (1827–1838). Reproduced courtesy of Errol Fuller.

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In This Issue

The February issue of the *AHR* each year features the address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association by the AHA's outgoing president. This year's address, by Barbara Weinstein, is followed by three articles and a review essay. The articles take us from the Atlantic world in the early modern period, to New York and Madras in the eighteenth century, and finally to the presence and work of French missionaries in China in modern times. The review essay offers a tour of the literature on historical archaeology. Six featured reviews and our usual book review section make up the balance of the issue.

Presidential Address

In "Developing Inequality," **Barbara Weinstein** calls on historians to consider what she sees as the unfortunate consequences of abandoning the "developmental paradigm" in historical analysis. To be sure, she acknowledges the fundamental problems with approaches, such as modernization and dependency theories, that fixate on the goal of "modern" development, and she offers a crisp and even sympathetic summary of the "post-development" critique. To return to a kind of analysis that fails to understand the important contributions of postmodern thinking and the cultural turn is not her goal. She insists, however, that "[b]y failing to address the history of economic equality, we . . . run the risk of having a great deal to say about the genealogy of race, class, and gender discourses that undergird hegemonic power, but of having very little to say about the material disparities that are probably the most distressing consequences of the hierarchies they produce." The balance of her essay offers a case study of the disparities of wealth in the state of São Paulo, Brazil, in which she combines economic and political history with discourse analysis to explain the deep-seated and persistent inequalities that have marked the region. Her address is both a challenge to historians and a model to follow.

Articles

In "Putting the Ocean in Atlantic History: Maritime Communities and Marine Ecology in the Northwest Atlantic, 1500–1800," **W. Jeffrey Bolster** asks us to think of the Atlantic as a single oceanic unit, a huge bioregion differentiated by historically spe-

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cific human activities in various subregions. After exploring the relatively depleted state of European coastal seas by 1500, the article follows whalers and fishermen to the large marine ecosystem (LME) between Cape Cod and Newfoundland. That Atlantic crossroads became an intensely trafficked zone of interactions between Natives, itinerant Europeans, and settlers in search of marine resources. By 1800 it was a transformed ecosystem, marked by localized depletions, range contractions, extinctions, near-extinctions, and diminished estuarine productivity. Those changes, in turn, shaped the possibilities open to coastal people. Bolster suggests that this provisional history of the northwest Atlantic before 1800 can serve as a departure point for similar inquiries into other areas during the development of the Atlantic world. It should encourage historians with other spatial and temporal specializations to put the living ocean in history.

In "Before Race Mattered: Geographies of the Color Line in Early Colonial Madras and New York," **Carl H. Nightingale** also takes an Atlantic perspective, but combines it with insights from Indian Ocean history. His focus is the development of color lines in colonial Madras, India, the first city with separate sections officially named "White Town" and "Black Town"; and New York City, where black slaves were forced to live in the houses of their white masters. The contrasting politics of urban space in these two locales were the result of differing strands of colonial urban policy that traveled between European empires but remained largely within separate Eastern and Western hemispheric contexts. In another sense, however, the dichotomous black-white color politics at play in both cities were a trans-hemispheric phenomenon, traded principally within the British Empire, although hemispheric and local contingencies were important as well. In neither place did officials regard the concept of race as useful for the development of color lines. Nightingale concludes that we must reassess the primacy that historians have given to race in the early modern period, suggesting that we should both explore the multiple concepts of human difference available to contemporary historical actors and explain why they deemed some of these ideas more useful and meaningful than others.

The Holy Childhood Association (l'Oeuvre de la Sainte Enfance) was a French Catholic charity founded in 1843 to rescue Chinese children from infanticide. Until now it has been studied primarily for its role in the Tianjin Massacre of 1870, when rioting sparked by rumors of the killing and mutilation of children in one of the association's orphanages in China led to the death of a French consul and provoked a diplomatic crisis. In "'A Penny for the Little Chinese': The French Holy Childhood Association in China, 1843–1951," **Henrietta Harrison** looks at the association as an early example of a transnational aid organization and discusses the impact of such globalizing institutions on the local cultures in which they operate. Child abandonment was a serious problem in both France and China, and this commonality underlay the Holy Childhood's work. The imagery used for fundraising, however, emphasized cultural differences between these two contexts. Those who administered the work in China had to adapt both to the French rhetoric and to the practices of the poor Chinese families whose children they took in. The result was that while in France the association's emphasis on childhood innocence had the effect of promoting a Catholic

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version of the modern bourgeois family, in China its work was understood in terms of local folk religion and sometimes even gave rise to the commercial exploitation of poor families.

Review Essay

Historical archaeology is text-aided analysis of the material culture of the modern world. In "On the Edges of History: Reflections on Historical Archaeology," **Alan Mayne** discusses the international development of historical archaeology, explains its overlaps with history, and assesses its contributions to cross-disciplinary historical analysis. Although claims for its significance have conventionally been grounded in arguments that material evidence provides a tangible bridge to hidden histories unrecorded by documentary evidence, he argues that these claims do not stand up to rigorous scrutiny. The field's true significance lies in the conceptual realm—in its contributions to ethnographic analysis, its sensitivity to human agency, and its engagement with marginalized communities; and also in methodological terms—in its harnessing of ambiguity to drive interpretation of unfamiliar pasts and of imaginative storytelling as both an analytical and a communications device. These strengths are most evident in historical archaeology's meshing of local evidence and knowledge with broader systems and frameworks, and its application of such thinking to marginal, contested, and "edgy" places. Thus the most innovative recent historical archaeology has probed colonial frontiers, slave plantations, and city slums: contested places where social action, cultural performance, archive, and relic landscape intersect. Mayne concludes by suggesting that because historical anthropology provides a firm basis for a transdisciplinary analysis of the past, it should be recognized and utilized by more historians.

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Photo by Karen Long

BARBARA WEINSTEIN

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Presidential Address

Developing Inequality

BARBARA WEINSTEIN

In 1784, Count Louis-Philippe de Ségur journeyed overland from France to Russia to take up a post as minister plenipotentiary in the court of Catherine II. He left the following description of his travels from Prussia to Poland:

In traversing the eastern part of the estates of the king of Prussia, it seems that one leaves the theatre where there reigns a nature embellished by the efforts of art and a perfected civilization . . .

But when one enters Poland, one believes one has left Europe entirely, and the gaze is struck by a new spectacle: an immense country almost totally covered with fir trees always green, but always sad . . . a poor population, enslaved; dirty villages; cottages little different from savage huts; everything makes one think one has been moved back ten centuries.[1]

In 1847, the future president of Argentina, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, wrote a chronicle of his visit to the United States and spared no praise in describing life in the northern states, declaring the republic "strong and ascendant like a new star in the firmament." But he had this to say as his steamboat neared the lower Mississippi:

The approach to New Orleans is marked by visible changes in the type of cultivation and the architecture of the buildings. Plantations come into view, with rows of wooden cottages on them, all of the same shape and size, showing that free choice did not guide their construction . . . Those uniform little houses are, in fact, the homes of the slaves . . . Alas slavery, the deep, incurable sore that threatens gangrene to the robust body of the Union! . . . A racial war of extermination will come within a century, or else a mean, black, backward nation will be found alongside a white one—the most powerful and cultivated on earth![2]

In 1920, Wickliffe Rose, a public health specialist with the Rockefeller Foundation, made the following remark in a report on his visit to Brazil:

The northern boundary of the State of São Paulo divides Brazil into two sections presenting contrasts, with respect to populations, as sharp as those between Mexico and the United States.[3]

I am very grateful to Sueann Caulfield, Ada Ferrer, Erich Goode, Temma Kaplan, Aisha Khan, Ricardo López, David Ludden, and Mary Kay Vaughan for their comments on an earlier draft of this essay. My thanks as well to *AHR* editor Rob Schneider for his excellent suggestions and reflections.

[1] The quote is from Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, Calif., 1994), 19.

[2] Domingo F. Sarmiento, "Travels in the United States in 1847," in Sarmiento, *A Sarmiento Anthology*, ed. Allison W. Bunkley (Princeton, N.J., 1948), 225, 265.

[3] Wickliffe Rose, "Public Health Situation and Work of the International Health Board in Brazil,"

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Historians today, reading these past depictions of sudden and dramatic shifts in levels of wealth, morality, and civilization experienced in moving from one contiguous location to another, generally acknowledge that we cannot treat these accounts as straightforward sketches of social and material inequalities. We know that such chroniclers routinely heightened contrasts between the society they regarded as "civilized" or "modern" and its more "backward" or "primitive" Other, and tended to evaluate standards of living in those "Other lands" in ways that reflected invidious cultural judgments and racialized hierarchies of civilization and barbarism.

Our way of reading such comparative accounts is largely a product of the various "turns"—linguistic, cultural, postmodern—that have transformed the discipline of history since the 1980s. Just a few decades ago, most historians would have treated these same quotes as "snapshots" of uneven development and its consequences, and would have cited them in discussions of emerging spatial inequalities and the problem of persistent poverty. Earlier studies, written in the heyday of developmentalism, often treated poverty and inequality as self-evident, as categories that could be left largely unexamined and undefined. Many scholars simply assumed that all "poorer" nations needed to become more modern, and spent little time reflecting on what they meant by modernity.[4] Today we are much more likely to view these historical accounts of inequality as being about the social construction of "poverty" or as reflecting deep-seated Eurocentric judgments about proper modes of living. Rather than see these accounts as providing us with a glimpse of material inequalities, we read them as representations of cultural difference.

In most respects, I would enthusiastically endorse this shift in our ways of reading historical evidence, and our more careful attention to the discursive power of language and categories; I would hardly suggest reverting to an earlier paradigm that treated uneven development as an economic process that was somehow autonomous from the cultural meanings conveyed in these accounts. But I do find it worrisome that our current approaches seem to leave little room for a historical discussion of the origins and causes of spatial inequalities. Certainly, the problem of geographically based disparities has not gone away. Despite ongoing debates about how to determine a global standard of living, most scholars of globalization would agree with political theorist Charles R. Beitz that "we live in a world whose massive inequalities dwarf those found within the developed societies . . . This is most conspicuously true of inequalities in standards of living—measured, for example, in average per capita purchasing power, life expectancy, and under-five child malnutrition. Contrary to what one might think, these inequalities are mostly greater today than 50 or 100 years ago, and there is reason to believe that the gap will continue to grow."[5] To make matters worse, while globalization has not helped to equalize standards of living, it has created material longings that are ever more likely to go unsatisfied. In the words

Rockefeller Foundation Archive, Record Group 5, Series 2, Folder 153, 1920. My thanks to Chip Blake for this reference.

[4] Structuralist and Marxist theorists, as well as modernization theorists, assumed the need to industrialize and modernize. See, for example, Paul A. Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth* (New York, 1957).

[5] Charles R. Beitz, "Does Global Inequality Matter?" in Thomas W. Pogge, ed., *Global Justice* (Oxford, 2001), 106.

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of historian Achille Mbembe, contemporary African experience involves "an economy of desired goods that are known, that may sometimes be seen, that one wants to enjoy, but to which one will never have material access."[6]

What I fear is that historians, by banishing the question of material inequality as such from our conversations, may be reinforcing, by default, a sense that certain regions of the world are stuck in a condition of hopelessness, and forever excluded from the charmed circle of modernity. Again, this pessimism represents a sharp shift away from the era when "development" was the principal paradigm for thinking historically about spatial inequalities. My key concerns, then, are to consider why the development paradigm has fallen on such hard times, what we lose as a result of its demise, and how we can still engage with the problem of spatial inequalities in the context of current interpretive frameworks. That is, how can we bring the methods of the various "new" and "post" historical paradigms to bear on issues of an economic or material nature?

FROM THE OFTEN BLEAK PERSPECTIVE OF THE EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY, it now seems relatively easy to historicize the paradigm of development, with its optimistic forecast of prosperity for all. Development, far from being a natural offshoot of capitalist expansion, was the product of a specific historical moment, a mere half-century interlude of Cold War and decolonization, when it was widely assumed that such spatially organized inequalities would be addressed, corrected, and eventually erased through the proper modes of government and technical intervention. Although first formalized by economists, development was also an idea that "traveled" easily across the disciplines, including history. From the 1950s on, historians—especially those, like me, who chose to study regions of the world conventionally characterized as "underdeveloped" or "less developed" or, even more euphemistically, "developing"—routinely crafted their scholarly inquiries and historical interpretations with the question of development and underdevelopment in mind. Likewise, the major "theories of development"—with their emphasis on "change over time" and models of economic progress based on historical evidence—were by their very nature engaged with historical research and interpretation. While other schools of economic thought drew on ahistorical assumptions about human nature or psychology, or privileged mathematical models with little reference to external reality, developmental economists based their policy recommendations on historical cases and processes in specific places and times.[7]

For historians of Latin America and Africa, the two most influential schools of development were modernization theory and dependency theory, with the former

[6] Cited in James Ferguson, "Decomposing Modernity: History and Hierarchy after Development," in Ania Loomba et al., eds., *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond* (Durham, N.C., 2005), 179.

[7] There is an extensive literature on the history of development in theory and practice. For starters, see H. W. Arndt, *Economic Development: The History of an Idea* (Chicago, 1987); Frederick Cooper and Randall Packard, eds., *International Development and the Social Sciences: Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Joseph L. Love, *Crafting the Third World: Theorizing Underdevelopment in Rumania and Brazil* (Stanford, Calif., 1996); Michael E. Latham, *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and "Nation Building" in the Kennedy Era* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000); Kathryn Sikkink, *Ideas and Institutions: Developmentalism in Brazil and Argentina* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991).

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emphasizing the need for poorer nations to recapitulate (in accelerated form) the journeys to prosperity of the wealthier nations, and the latter insisting that poorer, semi-colonized nations could achieve prosperity and economic autonomy only by following very different paths. Both of these schools of developmentalist thought drew from, and had considerable impact on, the work of historians, especially during the height of the Cold War, with modernization ascendant through the late 1960s, to be widely displaced in the 1970s by dependency theory.[8]

Of course, not every historian embraced one or another theory of development or underdevelopment with unalloyed enthusiasm. The "one size fits all" approach of modernization theory quickly produced an army of historically minded critics, and the historical narrative supporting dependency theory similarly came under attack by scholars arrayed across the political spectrum. By the 1980s, neo-Marxist historians were challenging Immanuel Wallerstein's highly influential conception of the modern world system, with its division of the globe into the core, semi-periphery, and periphery—a scheme that rendered the particular histories of the non-core regions of the world inconsequential wrinkles in the fabric of imperial hegemony. Not only did this make history beyond "The West" of marginal significance, but it also appeared to contradict the ample evidence being uncovered in archives indicating constant and profound modification, negotiation, even transformation of imperial projects in the so-called periphery, as memorably argued by Steve J. Stern in his critique of Wallerstein.[9]

Other critiques emerged as historians of Latin America began to comb the archives to make sense of the post-independence, nineteenth-century (dis)order, with scholars such as Paul Gootenberg destabilizing one of the crucial historical pillars of dependency theory—the claim that, following independence, a dogmatic economic liberalism moved the new Latin American ruling elites everywhere to open the ports, whereupon the British flooded the fledgling economies with cheap manufactured goods that wiped out the nascent local industries and ensured that the independent Latin American nations entered the global economy as dependent exporters of primary products rather than global competitors. Contrary to the dependency narrative, many new nations maintained protectionist measures, and foreign merchants found the fabled Latin American markets initially disappointing.[10]

A new wave of archival research provided the sinew for this and other critiques of developmentalism and dependency theory. But unless one labors under the illusion that documents speak for themselves, and new sources alone are enough to explain new interpretations, we need more than that to understand the rapidly multiplying critiques of the established narratives of Latin American development/un-

[8] A major work in the modernization canon was W. W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge, 1960); two influential early works on dependency were Andre Gunder Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil* (New York, 1967), and Theotonio dos Santos, *El nuevo carácter de la dependencia* (Santiago, Chile, 1968).

[9] Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1974); Steve J. Stern, "Feudalism, Capitalism, and the World-System in the Perspective of Latin America and the Caribbean," *American Historical Review* 93, no. 4 (October 1988): 829–872.

[10] Paul Gootenberg, *Between Silver and Guano: Commercial Policy and the State in Postindependence Peru* (Princeton, N.J., 1989); see also Joseph L. Love and Nils Jacobsen, eds., *Guiding the Invisible Hand: Economic Liberalism and the State in Latin American History* (New York, 1988).

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derdevelopment. Rather than incontrovertible empirical evidence, I would argue that it was the long 1980s—routinely referred to as the "Lost Decade" among Latin American scholars and commentators—that explains the increasingly convoluted and pessimistic accounts of "how Latin America fell behind," to quote one book's title.[11] To be sure, dependency theory had hardly offered a cheerful view of Latin America's past or present (unlike the universalizing "everyone can do it" approach of modernization theory), but its original conceptualizers—most of them Latin American social scientists—always constructed their interpretations with a view to a future defined by either revolution or structural reform. In effect, dependency theory, as with previous theories of development and underdevelopment, did not say "never," but only "not yet." The historical critiques that emerged in the 1980s, by contrast, had no such future heaven in mind. Well before the collapse of "actually existing socialism" in Eastern Europe or the transformation of post-Mao China into a weird hybrid capitalism, the transparent weakness of the Cuban economy and its utter dependence upon a tottering Soviet system had made it difficult to imagine a happier economic future. As one nation after another drifted into deep recession, as standards of living almost uniformly declined, as foreign investment began fleeing the region, Latin America seemed to be running the risk of becoming marginal to the world economy at a moment when most Latin Americans, anchored to an urban economy, could not seek survival in subsistence production. Under such bleak and unsettling circumstances, scholars no longer seemed persuaded that they could summarize the historical origins of Latin America's underdevelopment in a couple of quick sentences about the colonial legacy or cultural lag or neocolonial exploitation. Furthermore, the new social movements that emerged from the wreckage of earlier political projects inspired greater scholarly attention to the categories of race and gender, and in turn generated new critiques of the Eurocentric concept of progress.[12]

In short, the crises of the 1980s catalyzed a more radical, thoroughgoing, root-and-branch offensive against the very idea of development. Among Latin Americanists, the work most readily associated with this radical rejection of "development"—now a discourse between quotes, rather than an actual historical process—was anthropologist Arturo Escobar's highly provocative 1995 monograph *Encountering Development*. Informed by Michel Foucault's idea of governmentality and Edward Said's critique of Orientalism, *Encountering Development* laid out the lineaments of what was to become the dominant postmodern position on development, portraying it as primarily a way for First World "experts" to "invent and manage" the Third World. Escobar excoriates developmentalists of every stripe for representations of the so-called "developing world" as landscapes of unrelieved poverty, misery, and backwardness, and for setting up Western standards as the universal benchmarks for economic, political, and cultural success.[13]

Escobar's critique is a blunt instrument; his chronological frame is a flattened, unvarying Cold War context, and he makes no significant distinction among different

[11] Stephen Haber, ed., *How Latin America Fell Behind: Essays on the Economic Histories of Brazil and Mexico, 1800–1914* (Stanford, Calif., 1997).

[12] On the social movements of this era, see Arturo Escobar and Sonia E. Alvarez, eds., *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy* (Boulder, Colo., 1992).

[13] Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton, N.J., 1995).

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theories and strategies of development. Nor would he regard it as necessary to draw such fine distinctions, since he deduces, from the very nature of "developmental discourse," that its effects will be to expand the disciplinary power of technocrats and other experts, and to reduce the resources—material, political, or cultural—of its target populations. Or to quote the more metaphorical language of South Asian scholar Ashis Nandy, "For development economists, the Third World and its poverty are enabling concepts, which allow them to ply their trade as the resident doctors of our times, specializing in what is allegedly a culturally inherited but curable pathology." In light of this, Nandy argues that "development," far from being a failed project, "has established itself as one of the few genuine universals of our time."[14] His anti-development polemics, rather than being laments about the failures of development, denounce it as an intrinsically evil and destructive process, one that despoils cultures and deepens deprivation, a process whose very successes—that is, the expansion of the disciplinary force of the market and technocrats—are the problem. From this perspective, Frederick Cooper's observation that emancipatory movements in Africa and elsewhere used developmental discourse to demand greater rights and dignity and "lay claim to a globally defined standard of equity" can be dismissed as beside the point, since it is yet more evidence of the hegemony of development and the subjection of subalterns to its disciplinary power.[15]

The broader shifts in the field of history that are encapsulated in the phrases "the cultural turn" and "the linguistic turn" further relegated "development" as a way of thinking about historical processes to the dustbin of history—or at least of the historical profession. All major theories of development, whether liberal or Marxist or some variant thereof, rely on teleological assumptions, and have as their principal rationale something that could be called "progress"—concepts that raised red flags in the wake of the cultural turn. Historical narratives of development also proceed from explicit and identifiable systems of causation that are yet another target of criticism from postmodern historians who renounce positivist, scientistic approaches to historical analysis. Forsaking teleological reasoning, on the one hand, and positivism, on the other, historians following new historiographical trends have renounced the conventional approaches to questions of material inequality, and by and large have turned away from "the economy" as an explicit object of study.[16]

All things considered, it is perfectly understandable, perhaps even "overdetermined," that a generation of historians infused with critical ideas about the role of the West, about the postcolonial condition, about race and gender difference, would refuse to take up the issue of economic development, with its highly problematic historical pedigree. Again, even theories of development intended to challenge liberal/modernizing narratives of progress and productivity typically cannot avoid the linear thinking that envisions a gradual transition from backwardness to modernity, or from precapitalist to fully capitalist formations, or from dependent development

[14] Ashis Nandy, "Development and Violence," in Nandy, *The Romance of the State and the Fate of Dissent in the Tropics* (Oxford, 2002), 176, 171.

[15] Frederick Cooper, "Modernizing Bureaucrats, Backward Africans, and the Development Concept," in Cooper and Packard, *International Development and the Social Sciences*, 84.

[16] There are, of course, exceptions among historians and historically minded scholars. See, for example, Manu Goswami, *Producing India: From Colonial Economy to National Space* (Chicago, 2004), and Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002).

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to autonomous development. It is a challenge merely to write about economic processes without stumbling into such linguistic pitfalls as "lags," "falling behind," or "lateness," or to avoid giving a reader the sense that wealthier, more economically "successful" nations are briskly marching ahead, advancing into the future, while poorer, stagnating, "failed" nations or regions either are mired in the past or are unable somehow to get on the entrance ramp to the highway of economic progress.[17]

To be sure, developmentalism did not invent such discursive practices. As we saw in the opening quotes, the tendency to associate poor and rustic living conditions with the alleged backwardness of certain populations predates by well more than a century the emergence of the discourse of development. Development, as a formal concept, is acultural; it assumes that, provided with enough capital, technology, and training, any population can become more productive and "more developed"—in some sense, it is the opposite of the colonial civilizing mission with its insistence that long, intense, and perhaps even permanent tutelage would be required to raise levels of civilization and morality among the colonized.[18] Yet development, like any new discourse, presented itself as a "rupture," a break with past forms of knowledge, while it absorbed and built upon, without acknowledgment, previous discourses and practices. Thus, embedded in the universalizing thrust of development were Eurocentric ideas about modernity and productivity, so that in practice, cultural traits perceived as non-Western quickly became classified as hindrances to economic development (or in Nandy's more lurid phrasing, pathologies to be cured).

The highly questionable uses of culture in development discourse tell us a great deal about why new cultural historians would shrink from drawing any connections between cultural and economic processes. Not that there are not scholars still willing to adopt the conventions of an older cultural history: in his 1998 book *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations*, David S. Landes asserted that "If we have learned anything from the history of economic development, it is that culture makes all the difference . . . what counts is work, thrift, honesty, patience, tenacity."[19] Self-congratulatory statements such as this from scholars of Western culture are especially useful for understanding why the new cultural history has eschewed both essentializing approaches to culture and mechanistic notions of causation—why historians have turned away from the dubious claim that "culture makes all the difference" to exploring the construction of cultural difference.[20] Yet even though some of us may not like his particular answer, can we simply turn away from the question that Landes is at least willing to consider—to paraphrase his subtitle, Why are some so rich and some so poor?

About the time that Landes's book appeared, I attended the biennial Colombian

[17] For an excellent critique of notions of "incomplete transition" or the need to "catch up" with Europe, see Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 31–32.

[18] On development as acultural and its role in postwar colonial policy, see Cooper, "Modernizing Bureaucrats," 75.

[19] David S. Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor* (New York, 1998), 516, 523. According to Landes, scholars avoid discussing culture "in the sense of inner values and attitudes that guide a population" because they are frightened of "the sulphuric odor of race and inheritance" (516). Apparently, not frightened enough.

[20] I have discussed this specific point further in "History without a Cause? Grand Narratives, World History, and the Postcolonial Dilemma," *International Review of Social History* 50 (2005): 71–93.

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national history meetings in Bogotá and participated in a panel to discuss the implications of the shift from the new social to the new cultural history. The room was packed, and most of the questions were sympathetic or critical in a friendly sort of way, but one young man, addressing himself to me (the sole representative of North American academia on the panel), asked with some hostility whether I thought the eager rush to cultural history indicated, in fact, a desire by historians in richer nations to avoid thinking about the more uncomfortable question of material inequalities and their historical origins. I responded by assuring him that new cultural historians were quite keen to challenge older ideas about modernity and backwardness, to reveal the ideological constructions embedded in supposedly "natural" hierarchies, and to explore the way race and gender have been used to narrow access to citizenship and economic rights. At the time I thought his question intellectually naïve, and I believed that I had answered his challenge more than adequately. But many conferences and questions later, this one has not faded from my memory, in part because I feel, in retrospect, that my answer was *not* entirely persuasive, but rather a little evasive. Perhaps more honest would have been some version of the following observation made by Margaret Jacob about "asking unfashionable questions":

> For my generation of historians . . . the big questions in Western or world history became strangely unfashionable. None is bigger than the question of what were the factors that made Western hegemony possible. Indeed, the very notion of Western hegemony, of the domination of much of the world by Western political or economic power from roughly 1800 to 1970, may be said to be so fraught with anger or guilt as to be almost untouchable.[21]

As a Latin Americanist, I might have approached the issue of evasion somewhat differently, for the truth is, as long as dependency theory held sway, as long as one could claim that some nations were poor because the rich nations, from a position of unfair advantage, had made them that way, historians of a critical bent did not shy away from the question of why some were so rich and some so poor. Precisely because dependency theory lends itself so well to certain claims for social justice, there are Latin Americanist scholars, especially in cultural and literary studies, who still reiterate the well-worn arguments of dependency theory as a political discourse. But most historians either are discomfited by the deployment of a discourse that has been challenged from so many different angles, or see dependency as having exhausted its analytical usefulness, or have simply moved on to other questions. To be sure, the new cultural history provides ample tools, indeed an entire tool chest, to dismantle explanations such as the one offered by David Landes for why some nations are rich and some are poor. Those same tools, however, provide little leverage for building alternative explanations, in part because that very enterprise would be regarded with scholarly skepticism as an attempt to replace one metanarrative with another.

Do we, then, have to resolve the question by, in effect, making it unaskable? Or are there ways in which a postmodern approach to this question can offer more than just a means to challenge Eurocentric metanarratives of economic development? Can we get beyond our current treatment of the economy either as a self-regulating

[21] Margaret Jacob, "Thinking Unfashionable Thoughts, Asking Unfashionable Questions," *American Historical Review* 105, no. 2 (April 2000): 494.

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sphere or as somehow subsumed under the sphere of culture and politics? Deconstructing the Eurocentric assumptions that underpin the concept of the periphery or of underdevelopment is a worthy pursuit, but it does not necessarily help us understand how, historically, those images and ideas got translated into economic advantages for some, and disadvantages for others.[22] By failing to address the history of economic inequality, we thus run the risk of having a great deal to say about the genealogy of race, class, and gender discourses that undergird hegemonic power, but of having very little to say about the material disparities that are probably the most distressing consequences of the hierarchies they produce.

MY CURRENT WORK ON REGIONALISM IN BRAZIL has made me painfully aware of the need to deconstruct narratives of progress that attribute a region's economic success to the sterling cultural traits and qualities of a particular population, while simultaneously representing those peoples in less successful economic areas as flawed and failed human beings. But it has also made me realize that it is insufficient simply to declare with Foucault that discourse *is* practice, and thereby to assume that we have adequately addressed the relationship between those narratives and economic trends. In my research I have focused specifically on the paulistas—residents of the city and state of São Paulo—and the historical, political, and cultural discourses that helped galvanize an elaborate regional project for economic growth.[23] These same discourses also served to justify the unequal distribution of material rewards and political power, as well as the construction of São Paulo's internecine "Other," the Nordeste (Northeast), a region widely regarded as among the most impoverished in Latin America. The uneven developments that produced a dualistic image of "The Two Brazils," to quote a famous study, are hardly peculiar to Brazil, or to Latin America.[24] Not only are stark regional disparities a feature of many poorer nations, but there are some nations whose very identity has been built on regional contrasts, with one typically more urban, industrial, orderly, and modern, the other more rural, agricultural, and (implicitly or explicitly) backward and lawless. Outside Brazil, Italy may be the most salient example—so much so that a recent collection of essays on Italy's "Southern Question" is provocatively subtitled *Orientalism in One Country*.[25]

São Paulo, Brazil's "Northern Italy," figures prominently in the literature on de-

[22] For a provocative discussion of the limits of cultural critique, see Timothy Brennan, "The Economic Image-Function of the Periphery," in Loomba et al., *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond*, 101–122. I agree with Brennan that "the idea [of the periphery] may be weakened by exposing its underlying bigotry or civilizational slightings" (102), but such exposure does not mean that, as a formation, it loses its economic advantages for those in the "center."

[23] I am using "growth" here rather than "development" not only because development as a formal concept did not yet exist, but also because those involved in promoting the paulista economy were not yet deliberately concerned with raising living standards or reducing material disparities. By the 1920s, however, Roberto Simonsen—a prominent paulista industrialist, engineer, and economist—was already insisting that increasing productivity was the surest means of raising living standards. On these early debates about industrialization, see my monograph *For Social Peace in Brazil: Industrialists and the Remaking of the Working Class in São Paulo, 1920–1964* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996).

[24] Jacques Lambert, *Os dois Brasis* (Rio de Janeiro, 1959). The text most associated with the idea of Brazil as two societies, one modern and one backward, is Euclides da Cunha, *Os sertões* (repr., Brasília, 1963), first published in 1902. It was translated into English as *Rebellion in the Backlands*.

[25] Jane Schneider, ed., *Italy's "Southern Question": Orientalism in One Country* (Oxford, 1998).

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velopment because its economic trajectory defies one of the iron rules of early dependency theory. According to the first wave of *dependentistas*, it was precisely the connection to the developed capitalist world that produced underdevelopment, so that a Third World export economy, despite an initial flush of illusory prosperity, would become even more dependent and underdeveloped as a result of its integration into the world economy.[26] Since São Paulo's initial economic surge dated from the coffee boom of the mid-nineteenth century, when large plantations, worked by African or creole slaves and exporting to the world market, spread throughout major portions of paulista territory, the dependency narrative would forecast deepened underdevelopment as the likely outcome. Yet the paulista planters managed to use public revenues to modulate world coffee prices through a program of price supports, and to subsidize massive European immigration in the aftermath of slave emancipation to secure a reliably cheap labor force. By the 1920s, São Paulo was far and away Brazil's most productive agricultural region, but even more startling, it was rapidly consolidating its position as Latin America's leading industrial center.[27]

Also by the 1920s, paulista politicians, journalists, and intellectuals were engaged in the strenuous ideological labor of constructing narratives to explain the region's peculiar aptitude for modernity. While a fortuitous coincidence of market trends, exceptionally fertile soil, a declining northeastern sugar economy that made slave labor available for the coffee zones, and a favorable political conjuncture would be one way to explain the transformation of this colonial backwater into Brazil's economic powerhouse, one can easily see why such a narrative would have little appeal for the heralds of regional chauvinism. Yet another possible narrative would have been one that mapped a very different route to modernity from that associated with Europe's rise to economic supremacy, one that acknowledged the decisive contribution of plantation slavery to São Paulo's initial surge, and the planters' use of decentralized political power to underwrite their enterprises with public funds. But the drawbacks of such a narrative are also immediately obvious; it would have linked São Paulo's modernity to an economic formation then almost universally regarded as backward, would have identified its transformative labor force with people of African descent, and would have attributed the elite's success to political muscle rather than personal virtue. From the vantage point of a predominantly white upper class, in a nation with a precarious claim to membership in the community of civilized nations, neither luck nor enslaved labor nor oligarchic privilege would offer an especially attractive motif for the narrative of São Paulo's rise to dominance.

What did emerge in this period was the saga of the bandeirante, a far more satisfying foundational myth. The bandeiras were colonial exploring parties that had their home base in São Paulo and periodically engaged in long-distance expeditions and raids into the Brazilian interior, mainly to prospect for precious minerals and

[26] The classic statement of this view is Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment*. Later works in the vein of dependency theory tended to be less absolute or fatalistic in their arguments. See Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkeley, Calif., 1979).

[27] On the coffee boom in São Paulo, see Emília Viotti da Costa, *Da senzala à colônia* (São Paulo, 1966); on its emergence as an industrial center, see Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880–1945* (Austin, Tex., 1969), and Wilson Cano, *Raízes da concentração industrial em São Paulo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977).

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to forage for indigenous people to enslave. In the "Black Legend" writings of Spanish missionaries, the bandeirante is a cruel and unsavory character, but in the hands of early-twentieth-century paulista regionalists, he is recast as a proto-capitalist entrepreneur. In contrast to the parasitical, decadent, and tradition-bound sugar planter of the Nordeste, the bandeirante is enterprising, risk-taking, and industrious. Furthermore, the bandeirante could absorb the positive traits of "exotic" elements (such as the Indian) without losing his essential (i.e., European) characteristics.[28]

What this gratifying narrative of paulista exceptionalism routinely suppressed was the half-century of postcolonial plantation slavery and one of the largest African-descended populations in the nation. When acknowledged at all, this inconvenient truth was trumped by the assertion that the paulista planters, imbued with the bandeirante spirit, always demonstrated a progressive disposition that made them eager to adopt new techniques and reluctant to rely on slaves. Thus many planters (it was claimed) became active abolitionists, anxious to make the transition to free (and, as it turns out, white) labor. In sum, according to this version of events, not only was the paulista *not* a typical slave-owning planter, but he even played a crucial role in abolishing slavery and modernizing agriculture.[29]

The flip side of this narrative of paulista progress was the discursive representation of the northeastern states of Brazil as "O Nordeste," a region of unrelieved misery and disorder. The geographic area gradually being classified and homogenized as the Nordeste actually encompassed a very diverse set of topographical, social, and economic formations. The coastal zone was carpeted by fields of cane and dotted with sugar mills and industrial-scale refineries; the near-interior was a semi-arid zone of cotton cultivation and subsistence farming; and the backlands or "sertão" was a region of cattle ranching and hardscrabble farming, relieved by fertile areas of natural and artificial irrigation. The region also included several large urban centers and some significant industrial enclaves, and had a population whose color and ethnicity was as varied as its landscape and social structure. From this strikingly diverse stretch of Brazilian territory emerged São Paulo's "Other," a uniformly backward region plagued by droughts, a stagnant economy, and, above all, a wretched population whose very bodies bore the stigmata of their backwardness and misery.[30]

Obviously, these discourses have no causational effects in the first instance—it would be absurd to claim that the paulistas were "rich" (relatively speaking) because of the bandeirante myth, or that the nordestinos were "poor" (relatively and absolutely speaking) because they were discursively constructed as such. But what, then, does a historical study of the discursive construction of regional identities tell us that might be useful for addressing the question of why some are rich and some are poor?

In an indirect sense, my research has always been engaged with this question. A

[28] On the invention of the bandeirante myth, see Antonio Celso Ferreira, *A epopéia bandeirante: Letrados, instituições, invenção histórica (1870–1940)* (São Paulo, 2002).

[29] For a brief but illuminating discussion of the historical tendency to dissociate slavery from capitalism, see Walter Johnson, "The Pedestal and the Veil: Rethinking the Capitalism/Slavery Question," *Journal of the Early Republic* 24, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 299–308.

[30] There is a growing literature on the social and political construction of the Nordeste. Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Jr., *A invenção do Nordeste e outras artes* (Recife/São Paulo, 2001), and Stanley E. Blake, "The Invention of the Nordestino: Race, Region, and Identity in Northeastern Brazil, 1889–1945" (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 2001).

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principal motive for doing this sort of study of paulista regionalism was to challenge the moral and political claims that such discourses sustain, and to expose the racialized underpinnings of paulista exceptionalism. As many historians have said before me, discourses such as those produced by the paulistas seek to naturalize difference and hierarchy, to make uneven distributions of material and political resources seem natural and inevitable. To take apart those claims and illuminate their particular erasures, elisions, and distortions is in itself a meaningful contribution to any discussion of uneven developments and the historical origins of inequality. But can we push this further and think deliberately about how these discourses operate not only to naturalize hierarchies and inequalities in the cultural and political spheres, but also to deepen material inequalities?

Representations of São Paulo not just as producing more but as more modern and productive, and of the Nordeste as backward, I would argue, had discernible material consequences that further concentrated resources and exacerbated the process of divergence. The discourse of paulista superiority constructed São Paulo as a separate region and economy, and equated Brazilian national interests with São Paulo's regional progress. It produced the rationale for a federalized republic in which the paulista elites could consolidate both regional autonomy and their dominant position within the national government. And this political preeminence sustained a fiscal system in which the lion's share of revenue from coffee exports stayed within the state of São Paulo, where it remained largely at the elites' disposal for such purposes as subsidized immigration from northern Italy, coffee valorization, and the formation of a formidable state police force. What federal revenues did get siphoned off for public works in the Nordeste inevitably were spent either on drought relief or on schemes to resettle workers from the northeast in more prosperous regions of the country, where they often labored under conditions analogous to slavery or became, in effect, "guest workers."

By the 1920s, the final decade of Brazil's First Republic, paulista politicians and writers commonly referred to their region as the "locomotive"—but not only was São Paulo, in the paulista imaginary, the shiny, modern engine pulling the nation forward, but the rest of the nation was commonly identified as a chain of empty boxcars.[31] São Paulo's relationship with the Nordeste may have resembled colonialism in a number of respects, but their common location within the same national boundaries created some distinctive elements as well. Whereas in formal colonialism the metropolitan interests typically need to maintain the notion that the mother country gains some benefits from the colonial relationship, paulista elites had no incentive to acknowledge any contribution whatsoever from the Nordeste to their region's prosperity; indeed, economically it was represented as nothing but a drag on São Paulo's forward progress.[32] Hence the image of the empty boxcars. Furthermore, that left the nordestino elites themselves with little choice but to deploy a regional

[31] I discuss this at greater length in "Racializing Regional Difference: São Paulo versus Brazil, 1932," in Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, eds., *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003), 237–262.

[32] The Nordeste, as a "timeless" region, did become a source of folklore and cultural authenticity for many paulista scholars and artists. Nísia Trindade Lima, *Um sertão chamado Brasil: Intelectuais e representação geográfica da identidade nacional* (Rio de Janeiro, 1999).

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narrative of misfortune and suffering as their best chance to extract some meager additional resources from the national government.[33]

It is hardly surprising, then, that the paulista leadership reacted first with suspicion and then with outright alarm when Getúlio Vargas seized control of the federal government in 1930 with the explicit objective of centralizing political power and subordinating the state governments—especially São Paulo—to the authority of the federal executive. And even though Vargas hailed from Brazil's southernmost state, as the paulistas became more vocally opposed to his regime, they identified him more and more closely with his supporters in the Nordeste. By the time São Paulo took up arms and declared itself in open revolt against the federal government in July 1932, the enemy had mutated into the Nordeste, and the federal troops were routinely characterized as primitive nordestinos, or "sons of the slave quarters," sent to fight against the "fine flower" of the bandeirante bourgeoisie.[34] In the hothouse atmosphere of regional revolt, the paulistas' constructions of their economic interests had become thoroughly fused with their racialized and gendered representations of regional character.

Three months and a couple thousand lives later, São Paulo surrendered to the federal government. Yet even after the paulistas had capitulated to the larger and better-equipped federal forces, their defeat was far from complete: Vargas and his advisors assumed that the success of their economic policies depended upon the active support of the paulista business class, and this meant *not* imposing humiliating terms upon the recalcitrant region. It is evident from the aftermath of the 1932 uprising that the paulistas had consolidated their economic position to a point where it had become national "common sense" that São Paulo would be the pivotal economic fulcrum for any effort at national economic growth. One could argue, in effect, that the paulistas came out the winners in the long run, as Vargas's policies further concentrated wealth and industry in Brazil's Center South. By 1954, when the region celebrated the four-hundredth anniversary of the founding of its capital city, São Paulo could declare itself the "Fastest-Growing City in the World," as well as claim the distinction of being Latin America's foremost industrial powerhouse. But that was not all that was being celebrated: a special commemorative edition of a leading daily paper, *Diário Popular*, trumpeted the accelerating assimilation of (European) immigrants into the paulista population, and announced, with undisguised elation, that recent statistics revealed the city to be "87.78% white."[35] From this perspective, Black paulistas, most of them descendants of the slaves who worked the coffee plantations, became a remnant of the past destined to decline and eventually disappear, while the presence of hundreds of thousands of nordestinos desperately seeking employment in the burgeoning paulista economy went entirely unremarked.

Again, the processes that led to the initial divergence in the economic trajectories

[33] The leading scholar of nordestino identity sees it primarily as a construction of political and intellectual elites from the Nordeste. Albuquerque, *A invenção do Nordeste*, 65–172.

[34] One widely circulated separatist manifesto warned the paulista population that the federal troops were "*mestizos* born of slaves, the foul offspring of the slave quarters, who now wish to enslave you." Weinstein, "Racializing Regional Difference," 249.

[35] "Meio século de evolução da Paulicéia," *Diário Popular*, January 23, 1954, 3. By way of introducing the statistics on race in São Paulo, the article announced that "the hegemony of the white race over the others was revealed" by the new data. This is an interesting use of the word "hegemony" (*hegemonia*) to mean numerical preponderance.

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of São Paulo and the Nordeste were the result of a highly complex concatenation of fortuitous and unfortunate circumstances.[36] But once that process was under way, developmental economists would predict that market forces, responding to the advantages offered by the "fortunate" economy, would work to deepen inequalities, that the disparities between the regions would naturally worsen and the divergence would widen, absent any concerted effort to counteract it. In effect, the factors that foster inequality are treated as natural, automatic, almost unavoidable, whereas the factors operating to lessen inequality are external and "artificial." It is at this point that we, as historians after the linguistic/cultural turn, can intervene to imagine how political power and cultural representations shape economic forces and combine to lubricate a process of economic divergence, with its attendant spatial inequalities.

MY OWN RESEARCH FOCUSES ON THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF DIVERGENCE within the Brazilian nation, but examples elsewhere abound. David Ludden, in an essay on the origins of "modern inequality," traces the abrupt shifts in modes of representation of British rule in South Asia. Chronicles written in the early decades of the nineteenth century asserted the supremacy of British culture but did not remark on diverging economic trends in England and India; the theme of inequality typically appeared in descriptions of different social sectors *internal* to each society, and not between metropolis and colony. James Mill, in his 1818 magnum opus on the history of British India, did not claim British *economic* supremacy. Three decades later, Karl Marx could refer to Britain's surging economic superiority and greater productivity as an established and unquestionable fact. Even taking into account a colonially induced "great divergence" between Britain and India during these years, such starkly contrasting depictions of the economic trajectories of the two interconnected societies reveal a good deal of ideological work. According to Ludden's incisive account, "the new idea of divergence simply translated old ideas about cultural difference into the market lexicon of industrial imperialism . . . Modern theorists explained economic inequalities by reference to essential differences among people who ranked high and low on the economic scale. Difference explained inequality. Poverty marked inferiority and earned subordination."[37] Under the "right" conditions, discourses of inequality and difference could construct a global order that assigned England and India very dissimilar positions and defined their economies as spatially separate. Instead of colonialism producing a system conceptualized as a single unit, it became routine to think of England as a rich land and India as a poor land, one whose people did not (and could not) hope to share the living standards enjoyed by the average British citizen. In the British imperial context, as in the Brazilian regional context, discursive constructions not only substantiated inequality but produced new conceptions and definitions of bounded economic space.

The idea that no society would be permanently relegated to a lesser standard of

[36] To quote one developmental economist, "the power of attraction of a center today has its origin mainly in the historical accident that something was started there and not in a number of other places where it could equally well or better have been started, and that the start met with success." Gunnar Myrdal, *Rich Lands and Poor: The Road to World Prosperity* (New York, 1957), 27.

[37] David Ludden, "Modern Inequality and Early Modernity: A Comment for the *AHR* on Articles by R. Bin Wong and Kenneth Pomeranz," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 2 (April 2002): 470–480.

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living was precisely what was novel and different about development when it emerged as a systematic policy alternative in the mid-twentieth century. Its very premise was that all human beings could hope to share in the magic of modernity, and that the lessons of history could provide the signposts for a better future.[38] This attention to historical precedent would seem, at first glance, to be a very good thing: one of the truisms of the historical profession is that people in positions of power would produce better public policies if they had a deeper knowledge of the past. But that begs the question of which version of the past they would adopt. The engagement of developmentalism with history is an excellent example of the potentially problematic and selective uses of the past. All major theories of development had as their point of departure a certain historical explanation of economic progress in the wealthier, more successful nations. Yet even developmentalists of a critical bent tended to derive these explanations from historical narratives of economic success and failure originally deployed to construct the geopolitical boundaries of a particular economic space, and to present its economic success in ways that squared with prevailing notions of virtue and industry.[39] Hence the erasure of slave plantations and enslaved African labor from the story of São Paulo's exceptional economic success, and its conception of São Paulo as spatially separate from an area identified as the Nordeste. The problem was not only that the less-developed economies, by these lights, had not followed the normative developmental path, and therefore came to be judged defective or failed, but that the mapping of the path itself constituted a deeply flawed representation of how some societies became rich and others remained poor, or indeed how they came to be seen as separate economies in the first place.

One brief example of the way a particular reading of the past can produce problematic contemporary policies comes, ironically, from the work of Gunnar Myrdal and Albert O. Hirschman, two economists who are widely recognized for their thoughtful and humane ideas about development. Both Myrdal and Hirschman explored the way rapid economic growth had uneven effects in societies such as Brazil, with Hirschman going so far as to say that such inequalities not only were predictable, but in the short run could even prove advantageous for promoting economic growth.[40] Economists and policymakers in post-Mao China in the late 1980s and early 1990s seized upon these narratives of uneven developments to validate a developmental strategy that deliberately concentrated wealth and resources in the more "modern" eastern regions of China. Political pressures from the less favored regions eventually led to a partial reversal in policy, but not before regional inequalities had become even more severe.[41]

Yet Gunnar Myrdal himself proposed a way of thinking historically about development that reflected a less linear, teleological, and deterministic perspective on

[38] Arndt, *Economic Development*, 49–54.

[39] For a related argument, see Geoff Eley, "Historicizing the Global, Politicizing Capital: Giving the Present a Name," *History Workshop Journal* 63 (2007): 163–168.

[40] Even more ironically, a key point of their argument was to critique conservative claims that market forces, if left unfettered, would reduce inequality. Albert O. Hirschman, *The Strategy of Economic Development* (New Haven, Conn., 1958), 125–132; Myrdal, *Rich Lands and Poor*, 3–10, 23–38.

[41] C. Cindy Fan, "Uneven Development and Beyond: Regional Development Theory in Post-Mao China," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 21, no. 4 (1997): 620–639.

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the past. In *Rich Lands and Poor*, written in the mid-1950s, he claimed that "policies for economic development of underdeveloped regions" already had a long history. According to Myrdal,

> it should not be overlooked that even in the poorest and least progressive countries policy actions were all the time taken by the state to counteract the tendencies toward inequality . . . From time immemorial, history records uprisings of the poor against the rich, the exploited countryside against the city, the peasants against the landlord. When successful, these revolts by the underprivileged received the sanction of the state . . . From the earliest times national states, when they came into being, almost always relied partly upon popular appeal and therefore almost always exerted a certain amount of countervailing power against the tendency to regional inequality.[42]

Here he situates the developmentalist impulse not among the economists or the technical experts, but within all manner of movements against inequality and injustice. Moreover, he neither completely "naturalizes" tendencies toward inequality (given that they often reflect the unequal distribution of political resources, not the "natural" play of market forces) nor treats as "unnatural" or "artificial" the measures adopted to counteract trends toward inequality. Rather, he defines them as essential to the process of development. Within this framework, it is not the narrative of São Paulo's "extraordinary" economic growth that informs developmental policies, but rather the efforts to offset its economic hegemony. In our contemporary world, where neoliberal economics, despite some recent challenges, still holds sway, where the market is routinely represented as an autonomous force, and all attempts—at least by poorer nations—to restrain or redirect it are regarded as harmful distortions of the "natural" play of economic forces, Myrdal's definition of development is a poignant reminder of why developmentalism had such widespread appeal in the first place. Development's promise of economic growth *and* reduced inequality explains why it was (and is) so eagerly seized upon by so many popular movements, and why Nandy's dismissal of it as nothing more than a tool of First World domination obscures more than it reveals.

This is not to absolve Myrdal and the other progressive developmentalists of all the sins of which they are presumed guilty by Arturo Escobar and the other radical critics of development. Even Myrdal's and Hirschman's writings indicate an inability to escape from teleological notions of modernity and progress; hence the almost interchangeable use of "poor" and "backward" when referring to underdeveloped nations, and the uniformly positive associations attached to modern expertise and technology. This is not a minor issue. It was precisely the paulistas' representations of their region as the privileged site of Brazilian modernity that undergirded their gendered and racialized claims to superiority. And the appeal of that imagery, in analogous contexts, has by no means faded. More recently we have the case of Santa Cruz, a lowland region of Bolivia where a relatively prosperous economy, boosted by natural gas reserves, has produced a regionalist movement that resists the redistribution of wealth to the poorer highland regions. In the same vein as the paulis-

[42] Myrdal, *Rich Lands and Poor*, 43–44.

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tas, the cruceños represent themselves as more modern, more civilized, harder-working, and whiter than the "backward" Indians of the Bolivian highlands.[43]

In the conclusions of *Encountering Development*, Escobar, in tune with other post-developmentalists, avoids all reference to reducing inequality or material disparities, concepts apparently too compromised with normative notions of living standards and lifeways. He endorses, instead, a turn to cultural difference: "Cultural differences embody . . . possibilities for transforming the politics of representation, that is, for transforming social life itself. Out of hybrid or minority cultural situations might emerge other ways of building economies, or dealing with basic needs."[44] This resort to cultural difference (also known as identity politics) has been critiqued from a number of different angles. David Harvey, a geographer and political theorist, makes an epistemological point that seems especially germane to our concerns as historians: "respect for the condition of the homeless (or the racially or sexually oppressed) does not imply respect for the social processes creating homelessness (or racial or sexual oppression)."[45] In effect, unpacking regimes of representation does not explain changes in the distribution of resources and power. The new cultural history certainly provides us with any number of ways to explore changing images and discourses about housing, homelessness, and urban space. The question is whether these tools can also help us explore the social and economic operations that produced the problem of homelessness. I would argue that they could, but only if we use them to pose a multilayered question that makes a more explicit connection between representation and causation.

Finally, I think we need to consider what we lose if we give up entirely on the idea of development. For this I turn to a brief but eloquent essay entitled "Decomposing Modernity: History and Hierarchy after Development," by anthropologist and Africanist James Ferguson.[46] Writing from a position that assumes many of the criticisms of development discourse lodged by Escobar and others, Ferguson nonetheless argues that the loss of a view of history as progressive, of development's "not yet," has had some very dreary consequences. Acknowledging that "the claim that development is over would surely sound strange to many people in, say, South Korea or China," Ferguson insists that "the loss of credulity toward narratives of social and economic development has occurred not universally, but in specific ways and in specific places."[47] It is not that the "convergence narrative" of development has disappeared, but that certain locations—including almost the entire African continent—are no longer part of that conversation. Africanist scholars have responded by foregrounding "alternative modernities," but Ferguson finds that the Zambians he interviews perceive no such alternative, but remark that they "used to be modern." In their eyes, modernity is now "a standard of living to which some have rights by

[43] On regional inequalities and current tensions in Bolivia, see Simon Romero, "Bolivians Now Hear Ominous Tones in the Call to Arms," *New York Times*, December 15, 2007; "Protesters in Bolivia Seek More Autonomy," *New York Times*, December 16, 2007.

[44] Escobar, *Encountering Development*, 225. For a similar perspective, see María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo, *The Revolutionary Imagination in the Americas and the Age of Development* (Durham, N.C., 2003), esp. 191–257.

[45] David Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 363.

[46] James Ferguson, "Decomposing Modernity: History and Hierarchy after Development," in Loomba et al., *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond*, 166–181.

[47] Ibid, 172.

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birth and from which others remain simply, but unequivocally, excluded." The key concern is no longer progress, but egress, as millions of people cross bodies of water in rickety crafts, or trek across sun-blasted deserts, to arrive in a place where they expect to be treated miserably but will still be better off materially. In this post-development global order, "the key questions are no longer temporal ones of societal becoming . . . but spatialized ones of policing the edges of a status group. Hence the new prominence of walls, borders, and high technologies of social exclusion in an era that likes to imagine itself as characterized by ever-expanding connection and communication." Under these circumstances, to talk only of cultural difference, or alternative modernities, becomes a way of avoiding the question of a rapidly worsening global inequality and its consequences.[48]

It is my hope that, rather than avoiding or displacing the issue, we can use new cultural approaches to reconsider the history of material inequalities, and maybe even rehabilitate certain features of the discourse of development. As that student back in Bogotá reminded me, we still need to ask why some are so rich and some so poor, though we might ask *and* answer the question very differently than we would have a few decades ago, when developmentalism was all the rage.

[48] Ibid, 176–177, 179.

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Putting the Ocean in Atlantic History: Maritime Communities and Marine Ecology in the Northwest Atlantic, 1500–1800

W. JEFFREY BOLSTER

> No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries.
>
> Edmund Burke, 1775

FEW PLACES HAVE BEEN AS THOROUGHLY EXAMINED by historians as colonial New England, an anomalous corner of the northwest Atlantic. Settled by an extraordinarily literate people and long privileged by the American history establishment, colonial New England's every square inch has been seriously scrutinized. Or so the conventional wisdom has it. Consider this: Scholars have missed only 100,000 square miles, more or less, of terrain known intimately to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century villagers—the coastal ocean and its seafloor. The irony is superb, for the area seaward of the shore was the first part of the northwest Atlantic reconnoitered by Europeans, whether near Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, or New England. Now known by oceanographers as the Northeast Shelf large marine ecosystem (LME), this undersea territory, which overlaps parts of New England and Atlantic Canada, was crucial to the evolution of the Atlantic world. From the perspective of fishermen, the familiar continental shelf on which they plied their trade extended west-southwest from Newfoundland toward Cape Cod as a maze of shallow banks, named basins, submerged ledges, and deep gullies, the jumbled signature of a retreating glacier.[1]

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[1] The LME analyzed in this article is similar to the fisheries-based geographical unit explored by D. W. Meinig in *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History*, vol. 1: *Atlantic America, 1492–1800* (New Haven, Conn., 1986), 55–58. John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard described the same area, but from an economic and nationalistic vantage point, arguing that "The

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It was an underwater landscape whose physical features were not unlike those ashore, a place at once dangerous and tempting, a place, as the Scriptures said, that in its seasons revealed "the blessings of the deep that lieth under."[2]

"The ninth [of May], wee had two and twentie fadome in faire sandie ground, hauing vpon our Lead many glittering Stones," noted Gabriel Archer in 1602, as the *Concord* entered the Gulf of Maine. "The tenth wee sounded in 27 . . . fadome . . . vpon this banke we saw sculs of fish in great numbers."[3] Archer's account is part of the documentary record that makes it possible to begin systematically writing the living ocean into history. Although other regions and eras lend themselves to this approach, Atlantic history seems an appropriate place to start. Known for blurring historiographical and disciplinary boundaries, ignoring national boundaries, and probing novel social and cultural interactions, Atlantic history has become a dominant organizing principle for the early modern era.[4] Recently it has benefited from an unexpected synergy. Proliferating histories of oceans and seas are reorienting conventional geographies and emphasizing oceans as access points for innovative regional histories. For historians, the past has never looked so watery.[5]

major fishing waters frequented by colonial fishermen stretched in a line from Cape Cod to Newfoundland, linking the whole of what we might call 'greater New England' in one grand economic region." My ecological and transnational stance emphasizes a different perspective. The term "greater New England" slights large areas of the northwest Atlantic, such as the Gulf of St. Lawrence during the seventeenth century, in which inhabitants of the United States' forerunner colonies had minor roles, and it downplays the crucial roles of people other than Americans. McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985), 114. For an alternative marine geography that splits the region without regard to the coherence of the LME concept, see Stephen J. Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in Early Modern British America* (Hanover, N.H., 2005), 7. On LMEs, see Kenneth Sherman and Barry D. Gold, "Large Marine Ecosystems," in Kenneth Sherman, Lewis M. Alexander, and Barry D. Gold, eds., *Large Marine Ecosystems: Patterns, Processes, and Yields* (Washington, D.C., 1990), vii–xi.

[2] Genesis 49:25.

[3] *The Relation of Captaine Gosnols Voyage to the North part of Virginia, begunne the sixe and twentieth of March, Anno 42. Elizabethae Reginae 1602. and deliuered by Gabriel Archer, a Gentleman of the said Voyage*, in David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn, eds., *The English New England Voyages, 1602–1608* (London, 1983), 115.

[4] For the evolution of Atlantic history, see Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (June 2006): 741–757; David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (New York, 2002); Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005); Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, eds., *The Creation of the British Atlantic World* (Baltimore, Md., 2005); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik R. Seeman, eds., *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500–2000* (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 2007); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993). The most provocative recent Atlantic histories include Eliga H. Gould, "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery," *American Historical Review* 112, no. 3 (June 2007): 764–786; Joyce E. Chaplin, *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500–1676* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); James Sidbury, *Becoming African in America: Race and Nation in the Early Black Atlantic* (Oxford, 2007); Marcy Norton, "Tasting Empire: Chocolate and the European Internalization of Mesoamerican Aesthetics," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (June 2006): 660–691; Judith A. Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); Susan Scott Parrish, *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006).

[5] Recent ocean histories include Paul Butel, *The Atlantic*, trans. Iain Hamilton Grant (London, 1999); Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World, 1750–1840*, trans. Jocelyn Phelps (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); David Kirby and Merja-Liisa Hinkkanen, *The Baltic and the North Seas* (London, 2000); Barry Cunliffe, *Facing the Ocean: The Atlantic and Its Peoples, 8000 BC–AD 1500* (Oxford, 2001); Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun, eds., *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean* (New York, 2004); "Forum: Beyond the Atlantic," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. ser., 63

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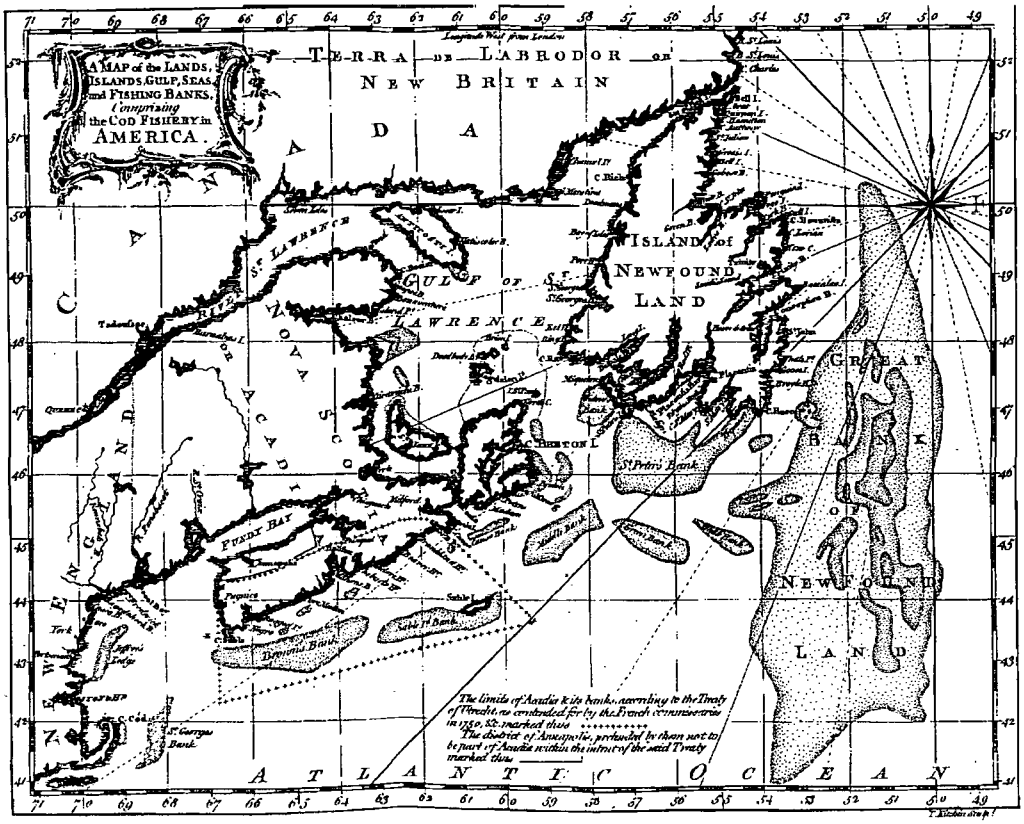


FIGURE 1: A crossroads of the emerging Atlantic world, and a zone of extraordinary economic productivity, the large marine ecosystem stretching from Cape Cod to Newfoundland underwent a fundamental sea-change between 1500 and 1800. From William Bollan, *The Ancient Right of the English Nation to the American Fishery* (London, 1764). Reproduced by permission of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Despite its emphasis on metageography, its fascination with the culture of curiosity toward the natural world, its self-conscious oceanic orientation, and its attention to the implications of producing, harvesting, and transporting organic commodities, one area of inquiry remains largely absent from Atlantic history: the ocean itself. In their disregard for the ocean as a set of linked ecosystems whose fluctuations had consequences for coastal people, all of whom relied on ecosystem products and services, Atlantic historians have followed traditional maritime historians, who—except for fisheries historians—have also neglected the living sea. While a sizable literature exists on fishing and whaling in the age of sail (still topics of perennial

(October 2006): 675–742; Kenneth McPherson, *The Indian Ocean: A History of People and the Sea* (Delhi, 1998); Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006); Jerry H. Bentley, Renate Bridenthal, and Kären Wigen, eds., *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges* (Honolulu, 2007). Ocean history was given a boost by a special issue of *Geographical Review*; vol. 89 (April 1999), dedicated to the theme "Oceans Connect," was inspired by Martin W. Lewis and Kären E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997). For sea and ocean history as "more novel than it sounds," see Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, "The Mediterranean and 'the New Thalassology,'" *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (June 2006): 722–740.

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interest), most traditional fisheries histories were framed around the business, diplomacy, or labor of extracting marine resources. Their authorial vantage points varied significantly from those of contemporary Atlantic or environmental historians.[6] Within the last decade or so, in what can only be regarded as a promising development, a dedicated cadre of journalists and historians have begun to produce more environmentally sensitive studies of the ocean. Marine ecologists have turned to the past to answer scientific questions. And interdisciplinary research projects and conferences on historic oceans have brought together historians and ecologists committed to investigating questions unanswerable by specialists in one discipline.[7] As nature becomes more central to scholars' conception of the past, rigid disciplinary boundaries and ossified categories of analysis are crumbling, and the ocean is appearing in a new light in written histories.

Yet despite these developments, most studies of the early modern Atlantic world have slighted nature, whether terrestrial or marine.[8] Nature is rarely problematized, and it is often assumed to be stable, even though humans are organisms who eat, excrete, and extract, and whose impact on the natural world invariably affects their options. As voices crying from the wilderness, environmental historians have insisted that anthropogenic environmental change and its consequences are worth investigating, and that those consequences are fundamental to human histories in the

[6] Classic works include Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery from Its Earliest Inception to the Year 1876* (Waltham, Mass., 1878); Raymond McFarland, *A History of the New England Fisheries* (New York, 1911); Harold A. Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy* (Toronto, 1940); Edouard A. Stackpole, *The Sea-Hunters: The New England Whalemen during Two Centuries, 1635–1835* (Philadelphia, 1953). The most sophisticated book on labor in the early modern fisheries did not address environmental concerns, although its author subsequently edited a volume of interdisciplinary research on fisheries history. See Daniel Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630–1850* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994); Vickers, ed., *Marine Resources and Human Societies in the North Atlantic since 1500: Papers Presented at the Conference Entitled "Marine Resources and Human Societies in the North Atlantic since 1500," October 20–22, 1995* (St. John's, Newfoundland, 1997).

[7] Journalists' accounts include Mark Kurlansky, *Cod: A Biography of the Fish That Changed the World* (New York, 1997), and Farley Mowat, *Sea of Slaughter* (Boston, 1984). For environmentally informed scholarship, see Peter E. Pope, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004); Daniel Vickers, "Those Damned Shad: Would the River Fisheries of New England Have Survived in the Absence of Industrialization?" *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. ser., 61 (October 2004): 685–712; David J. Starkey and James E. Candow, eds., *The North Atlantic Fisheries: Supply, Marketing and Consumption, 1560–1990* (Hull, 2006), vol. 8 in the *Studia Atlantica* series. The North Atlantic Fisheries History Association has organized conferences and published papers in this series since 1995. For a review of classic and contemporary literature in marine environmental history, see W. Jeffrey Bolster, "Opportunities in Marine Environmental History," *Environmental History* 11 (July 2006): 567–597. Collaborative work by historians and ecologists studying oceans past has been pioneered by the interdisciplinary History of Marine Animal Populations (HMAP) project, an arm of the international Census of Marine Life. See http://www.hmapcoml.org/. Other interdisciplinary collaborative work includes Jeremy Jackson, Enrique Sala, and Karen Alexander, eds., *Marine Biodiversity: Using the Past to Inform the Future* (working title; Chicago, forthcoming 2008).

[8] Exceptions include Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn., 1972); William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York, 1983); Carolyn Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender, and Science in New England* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989); Timothy Silver, *A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in South Atlantic Forests, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1990); Mart A. Stewart, *"What Nature Suffers to Groe": Life, Labor, and Landscape on the Georgia Coast, 1680–1920* (Athens, Ga., 1996); Richard H. Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens, and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600–1860* (Cambridge, 1995); Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (Oxford, 2004).

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realms of production, culture, and the asymmetries of social power.[9] For all that, if environmental historians generally have a blind spot, it is the 70 percent of the globe covered by salt water.[10] With most historians ignoring the environment, and most environmental historians ignoring marine ecosystems, the living ocean's role in history remains shrouded in fog, despite the growing prominence of oceanic histories and the Atlantic paradigm.[11]

The interactions of human maritime communities with the marine biological communities on which they depended seem to have remained largely uninvestigated because of the enduring assumption that the ocean exists outside of history.[12] Relegated to the role of narrative device, packaged as a sublime scene or means of conveyance, and shorn of its genuine mysteries and capacity for change, the ocean appears in most histories as a two-dimensional air-sea interface—a zone for vessel operations and a means of cultural interactions. Apparently having never succumbed to humans' attempts to tame its primeval wildness, as did continental and island landscapes, the living ocean has remained beyond the pale of most historians' concerns, even though familiarity with the ocean and the changing nature of its resources was at the heart of indigenous peoples' and colonizers' success.

As the notion that "oceans connect" gains currency among historians and geographers, we would do well to remember that in the Age of the Ocean, circa 1500 to 1800, people not only crossed oceans and used them to stitch together empires of commerce and meaning, but also relied on ocean products and services as never before. The salient connections were not only *across* oceans, but *between* people and the sea. It has long been known that western Europeans' adaptation to the late medieval and early modern commercial revolution included searches for distant sources of whale oil and merchantable fish.[13] Other relationships between people and the sea

[9] Cogent arguments for including nature in history can be found in Donald Worster et al., "A Roundtable: Environmental History," *Journal of American History* 74, no. 4 (March 1990): 1087–1147; William Cronon, "The Uses of Environmental History," *Environmental History Review* 17 (Fall 1993): 1–22; Alfred W. Crosby, "The Past and Present of Environmental History," *American Historical Review* 100, no. 4 (October 1995): 1177–1189; Ted Steinberg, "Down to Earth: Nature, Agency, and Power in History," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (June 2002): 798–820.

[10] Highly regarded environmental histories that essentially ignore the marine environment include J. Donald Hughes, *An Environmental History of the World: Humankind's Changing Role in the Community of Life* (London, 2001); John Opie, *Nature's Nation: An Environmental History of the United States* (Fort Worth, Tex., 1998); Ted Steinberg, *Down to Earth: Nature's Role in American History* (New York, 2002); and Carolyn Merchant, *The Columbia Guide to American Environmental History* (New York, 2002). I. G. Simmons, *Environmental History: A Concise Introduction* (Oxford, 1993), covers the entire ocean in three pages. The best treatment of marine topics is found in J. R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York, 2000), which includes a section on "Whaling and Fishing." John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World* (Berkeley, Calif., 2003), contains chapters on fishing and whaling, but they ignore nonhuman nature and ecological relationships, and come across as a variant of traditional fisheries history.

[11] This point is made eloquently by Kären Wigen in her introduction to the *AHR* Forum "Oceans of History," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (June 2006): 721. For the "Atlantic paradigm," see Cãnizares-Esguerra and Seeman, *The Atlantic in Global History*, xxiii.

[12] Individuals have always been puny in the face of the mighty sea, but collectively humankind has exerted profound influence on it. See Heike Lotze et al., "Depletion, Degradation, and Recovery Potential of Estuaries and Coastal Seas," *Science* 312 (June 23, 2006): 1806–1809; Lotze, "Rise and Fall of Fishing and Marine Resource Use in the Wadden Sea, Southern North Sea," *Fisheries Research* 87 (November 2007): 208–218; J. B. C. Jackson et al., "Historical Overfishing and the Recent Collapse of Coastal Ecosystems," *Science* 293 (July 2001): 629–638.

[13] Escalating European demands for fish are covered in Richard W. Unger, *The Ship in the Medieval Economy, 600–1600* (Montreal, 1980); E. M. Carrus Wilson, "The Iceland Trade," in Eileen Power and

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have received far less attention. Tides in the Thames River and elsewhere, for instance, were harnessed to make possible enclosed docks for ships. That riparian engineering affected not only the flow and siltation of estuarine rivers, but their tidal range, their biological productivity, and ultimately the magnitude of flooding endured by coastal residents. Psychologically, the seaside was recast (at least for people in the Western tradition) from the repulsive edge of the abyss to a sublime and desirable space. The impact on littoral resources was immediate and profound.[14]

Probing connections between such apparently disparate subjects, ocean history invites scholars to reconceptualize geographic and sociological boundaries, and to imagine multiple timescales, multiple chronologies, and multiple topics within a single historical interpretation. Meanwhile, its marine environmental history variant is drawing on conceptual advances in marine ecology to illuminate documentary and archaeological records of past maritime communities, and to incorporate that entwined analysis into larger histories about the Atlantic world and other regions. Oceanic approaches hold considerable potential for the fast-growing field of global history, with the caveat that regional histories have yet to fully capitalize on the promise of marine environmental history to redefine significant spatial units, and to integrate marine ecosystems into historical narratives. Global histories will need to incorporate monographic studies of historic marine environments. Focusing on the boreal North Atlantic in the early modern era, for instance, encourages analysis of the Atlantic as a single oceanic unit, a huge bioregion differentiated by human activities at different rates in specific subregions. It also raises difficult questions about the cultural implications of ecological change, and reminds us that relationships between nature and culture are anything but linear, even though ecological constraints affect human society and agency.[15]

Between 1500 and 1800, the large marine ecosystem between Cape Cod and Newfoundland became an Atlantic crossroads, a hot spot of interactions between Natives, itinerant Europeans, and settlers in search of marine resources.[16] The question that

M. M. Postan, eds., *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century* (New York, 1933), 155–183; Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge, 1984); Brian Fagan, *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History, 1300–1850* (New York, 2000).

[14] Michael S. Reidy, *Tides of History: Ocean Science and Her Majesty's Navy* (Chicago, forthcoming, 2008); Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea*. For the origins of marine science, see Margaret Deacon, *Scientists and the Sea, 1650–1900: A Study of Marine Science* (London, 1971). Land reclamation and the transformation of the Low Countries' coastal ecosystems are treated in J. A. van Houte, *An Economic History of the Low Countries, 800–1800* (New York, 1977); Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge, 1997). Between 1680 and 1755, Nova Scotia's Acadian settlers built elaborate dikes to transform thousands of acres of tidal marsh meadows on the Bay of Fundy into extremely productive arable lands. Their story is told in J. Sherman Bleakney, *Sods, Soil, and Spades: The Acadians at Grand Pré and their Dykeland Legacy* (Montreal, 2004).

[15] In biogeography, "boreal" refers to ecosystems or species found in the sub-Arctic region of the Northern Hemisphere.

[16] Large marine ecosystems are "characterized by unique bathymetry, hydrography, and productivity, within which marine populations have adapted reproductive, growth, and feeding strategies." The region between Cape Cod and Newfoundland is sometimes referred to as the Northeast Shelf LME, although oceanographers do not assume that the boundaries of such systems are precise. See Sherman and Gold, "Large Marine Ecosystems," vii–xi, quotation vii; Lewis M. Alexander, "Geographic Perspectives in the Management of Large Marine Ecosystems," in Sherman, Alexander, and Gold, *Large Marine Ecosystems*, 220–223. The classic, though now outdated, work on northwest Atlantic cod fisheries in the contest of

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has gone begging concerns consequences. The Puritan historian Edward Johnson regarded among New England's providential wonders the fact that a "remote, rocky, barren, bushy, wild-woody wilderness, a receptacle for Lions, Wolves, [and] Bears," had been transformed within a generation into "a second England for fertilness." Colonists celebrated those "improvements," while generally remaining blind to the implications of their ecological experiment on the land, much less in the coastal ocean and its estuaries. Along with deforestation, plow agriculture, river fishing, and the construction of milldams on hundreds of river sites, all of which affected estuaries, the relentless ocean harvest led not only to depletion of some marine resources, but to a restructuring of marine environments. It changed the sea.[17]

By 1800, the marine ecosystem between Cape Cod and Newfoundland had been reshaped by localized depletions, range contractions, extinctions, near-extinctions, and diminished estuarine productivity. Systemic ecological change may have included qualitative changes in oceanic and estuarine structure and function. Those changes, in turn, shaped the possibilities open to coastal people. Financial loss, technological innovation, geographic exploration, and refashioning of social identities followed changes in the sea. The myth of the timeless ocean as backdrop for history just won't do. Presented in light of Old World seas, New World actions, and Atlantic imperatives, the story of the coastal ocean between Cape Cod and Newfoundland after 1500 may inspire related work in Atlantic history, and challenge historians with other spatial and temporal specializations to historicize the ocean as part of human histories.

FROM A BIOLOGICAL AND GEOLOGICAL STANDPOINT, the northwest Atlantic was not all that different from the northeast Atlantic. Sculpted by the Pleistocene glaciations, and populated by boreal fish including herring, cod, and salmon, the cold gray seas of Banquereau, east of Nova Scotia, were remarkably similar to those of the Dogger Bank, east of Whitby. This was a far cry from the American tropics, where Spanish newcomers such as Christopher Columbus startled readers with depictions of fish "so unlike ours that it is amazing."[18] When Basque, Breton, Portuguese, and West Coun-

empires is Innis, *The Cod Fisheries*. More recent work includes D. B. Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements: The Norse Voyages to 1612* (New York, 1977); Quinn, ed., *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, 5 vols. (New York, 1979), esp. vols. 1 and 4; John Robert McNeill, *Atlantic Empires of France and Spain: Louisbourg and Havana, 1700–1763* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985); Laurier Turgeon, "Bordeaux and the Newfoundland Trade during the Sixteenth Century," *International Journal of Maritime History* 9, no. 2 (1997): 1–28; Pope, *Fish into Wine*; Peter E. Pope, "The Scale of the Early Modern Newfoundland Cod Fishery," in Starkey and Candow, *The North Atlantic Fisheries*, 9–28. On Native people in the region between the St. Lawrence River and Massachusetts, see Bruce J. Bourque, *Twelve Thousand Years: American Indians in Maine* (Lincoln, Neb., 2001); Colin G. Calloway, comp. and ed., *Dawnland Encounters: Indians and Europeans in Northern New England* (Hanover, N.H., 1991); Kathleen J. Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England, 1500–1650* (Norman, Okla., 1996); Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions*; Nicolas Denys, *The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia)*, trans. and ed. William F. Ganong (1672; repr., Toronto, 1908); Marc Lescarbot, *The History of New France*, 3 vols. (1618; repr., Toronto, 1907–1914).

[17] Edward Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England (1654) and Good News From New England (1648)*, ed. Edward J. Gallagher (Delmar, N.Y., 1974), 173. As this paragraph indicates, my approach has been influenced significantly by Cronon, *Changes in the Land*.

[18] Oviedo's *Natural History of the West Indies*, available in London in English translation as early as

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try fishermen began regularly to cross the Atlantic, the ecosystem they encountered was "new" only in its abundance: it had not been harvested systematically for centuries by legions of fishermen using the most sophisticated technologies then available to catch, preserve, and market sea fish.[19]

European fishermen familiar with the North Sea, the English Channel, and the Irish Sea had learned their trade in one of the world's most productive fishing grounds. Nutrient-rich polar water flowing southward toward the British Isles mixes with the eastern extremity of the Gulf Stream on a multitude of named fishing grounds, including Ballynahinch Bank, Fastnet Ground, and the Patch. The resultant upwelling provides ideal conditions for phytoplankton, which in turn nourishes the entire food web: benthic invertebrates such as polychaete worms and brittle stars; vast schools of bottom-dwelling hake, plaice, and cod; pelagic fish, including herring, pilchards, and mackerel; and crustaceans such as cockles and mussels. As in New England and the Canadian Atlantic Provinces, the European littoral was rife with estuaries and a complex suite of intertidal habitats. Flowing into the coastal ocean were rivers rich in fish, ranging from Scottish salmon streams like the Spey to the mighty Rhine. These aquatic and marine microenvironments contributed to the remarkable overall productivity of Europe's Atlantic coastal fisheries from the Bay of Biscay to Scandinavia. Primary productivity in the sea is based on phytoplankton abundance. Ecologists express primary productivity as milligrams of carbon per square meter. Measurements of primary productivity are remarkably similar along the coastline of northern Europe and that of New England and the Canadian Atlantic Provinces. In other words, the ability of the coastal ocean to produce biomass, ranging from plankton to whales, was not appreciably greater in the New World, although early modern fishermen agreed that codfish were larger and more numerous in America.[20]

Yet early accounts of the northwest Atlantic's coastal seas described a marine ecosystem whose structure and function, though not its suite of species, made it *very* different from the one in Europe. These descriptions, which sometimes have been dismissed as overly promotional, cannot be overlooked so easily. To begin with, they are numerous, and they corroborate each other, although they were written by dif-

1555, introduced "manatee and murene and many other fishes which have no names in our language." See Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *The Natural History of the West Indies* (1526), in John C. Pearson, ed., *The Fish and Fisheries of Colonial North America: A Documentary History of the Fishery Resources of the United States and Canada*, pt. 6: *The Gulf States and West Indies*, NOAA Report No. 72040301 (Rockville, Md., 1972), 1103; Christopher Columbus, *The Log of Christopher Columbus*, trans. Robert H. Fuson (Camden, Maine, 1987), 84.

[19] Representative early accounts include Martin Pring, *A Voyage set out from the Citie of Bristoll at the charge of the chiefest Merchants and Inhabitants of the said Citie with a small Ship and a Barke for the discouerie of the North part of Virginia, in the yeere 1603. Vnder the command of me Martin Pringe*, in Quinn and Quinn, *The English New England Voyages*, 226; James Rosier, *A True Relation of the most prosperous voyage made this present yeere 1605, by Captain George Waymouth, in the Discouery of the land of Virginia . . .*, ibid., 287; Lescarbot, *The History of New France*.

[20] Benthic species live on the bottom of the sea. Pelagic species live in the water column, or are associated with the open sea, such as pelagic birds. Polychaetes are a class of segmented marine worms, including the sand worms often sold to anglers as bait. On primary productivity, see T. Laevastu, "Natural Bases of Fisheries in the Atlantic Ocean: Their Past and Present Characteristics and Possibilities for Future Expansion," in Georg Borgstrom and Arthur J. Heighway, eds., *Atlantic Ocean Fisheries* (London, 1961), 18–39, esp. 19–20; Lotze et al., "Depletion, Degradation, and Recovery Potential," Table 1; Simon Jennings, Michael J. Kaiser, and John D. Reynolds, *Marine Fisheries Ecology* (Oxford, 2001), 21–38.

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ferent authors, with different agendas, over more than a century and a half. Landsmen wrote some, but many were the work of seamen with considerable experience in European marine systems.[21] These men had come of age knowing that "the fishing for cod upon the coasts of Lanchshire begenithe at East[er] and contyneth til mydsommer," that hake were found "in the deeps betwixt Wales and Ireland," and that the best fishing for herring "beginith at Bartholomewe tyde at Scarborough." George Waymouth, for instance, who made a "most prosperous voyage" to Maine in 1605, was from a family that had fished for generations in his home parish of Cockington, as well as in Ireland and Newfoundland. Confronting a familiar retinue of fish, seabirds, and marine mammals, men such as Waymouth framed New World abundance in light of the shopworn European ecosystems they knew firsthand.[22]

Europe's aquatic systems, estuaries, and coastal seas had already suffered significant ecological depletion by the time sixteenth-century mariners arrived in America. Ancient and early medieval inhabitants of the British Isles and the Continent had concentrated their efforts on freshwater fish, essentially ignoring plentiful schools of sea fish in close proximity to their shores. Zooarchaeological and documentary evidence indicates that until about A.D. 1000, most fish consumed were locally available freshwater species such as pike, perch, trout, and members of the carp family, in addition to anadromous and catadromous species.[23] Anadromous fish such as salmon, sturgeon, and shad are born in freshwater rivers or streams but migrate to the ocean, where they spend most of their lives before returning to rivers to spawn. Eels, still something of a biological mystery as late as the seventeenth century, also were eaten regularly in ancient and medieval Europe. Eels are catadromous fish. Born in the Sargasso Sea, they ascend rivers as tiny, translucent "elvers" (juveniles) to spend their lives in fresh or brackish water until it is time to return to the sea for their once-in-a-lifetime spawning. These marine species all shared a moment in their life cycles during which they could be easily trapped by people fishing from the safety of riverbanks.

While a Scots herring fishery existed in the mid-900s, exporting herring to the Netherlands, the beginning of relatively large-scale sea fishing in England, notably for herring and gadoids (cod, haddock, hake, etc.), did not begin in earnest until around the year 1000. The Anglo-Saxon language of pre-Norman England did not

[21] These chroniclers include, but are not limited to, Jacques Cartier (1534–1541), Anthony Parkhurst (1578), Charles Leigh (1597), Gabriel Archer (1602), John Brereton (1602), Martin Pring (1603), Samuel de Champlain (1603–1632), James Rosier (1605), Marc Lescarbot (1612), Captain John Smith (1614), William Bradford (1620–1650), Richard Whitbourne (1620), Francis Higginson (1630), John Winthrop (1630–1649), Thomas Morton (1632), William Hammond (1633), William Wood (1634), Roger Williams (1643), John Josselyn (1638–1671), Samuel Maverick (1660), Nicholas Denys (1672), and Chrestien LeClerq (1691).

[22] Quotations from a survey of English fisheries, 1580, reproduced as Appendix 3.1 in Todd Gray, "Devon's Coastal and Overseas Fisheries and New England Migration, 1597–1642" (Ph.D. diss., University of Exeter, 1988), 357–358. For George Waymouth's fishing lineage, see ibid., 27, and David R. Ransome, "Waymouth, George (*fl.* 1587–1611)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29155 (accessed December 5, 2007).

[23] Lotze et al., "Depletion, Degradation, and Recovery Potential," 1806–1809; Richard C. Hoffman, "Economic Development and Aquatic Ecosystems in Medieval Europe," *American Historical Review* 101, no. 3 (June 1996): 631–669; James H. Barrett, Alison M. Locker, and Callum M. Roberts, "The Origins of Intensive Marine Fishing in Medieval Europe: The English Evidence," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* B 271 (2004): 2417–2421; Inge Bødker Enghoff, "Fishing in the Southern North Sea Region from the 1st to the 16th Century AD: Evidence from Fish Bones," *Archeofauna* 9 (2000): 59–132.

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even have a word for "cod." By 1300, however, as historian Wendy Childs points out, "the fisheries of England's east coast constituted a complex and widely dispersed business activity, the scale of which was immense by medieval standards." During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Dutch herring fishery developed exponentially. Large-scale sea fishing began as freshwater fisheries across Europe decayed. During the late Middle Ages, growing human populations exerted pressure on fish stocks in lakes, streams, and rivers. Deforestation, dams, and disposal into watercourses of sewage, domestic animal waste, and industrial effluent combined to degrade freshwater fish habitats. Milldams stopped migratory fish and slowed running water. As agricultural silt settled and waters warmed, streams became unsuitable for some species' spawning. Yet fishing pressure continued. King Philip IV of France lamented in 1289 that "every river and waterside of our realm, large and small, yields nothing due to the evil of the fishers and the devices of [their] contriving." Unable to consume meat during approximately one-third of each year, medieval Catholics turned to sea fish only after freshwater fishes, which could be caught more easily and safely, had been depleted by overfishing and habitat degradation.[24]

Catholics and Protestants alike turned to sea fish with a vengeance. The European-dominated Atlantic world originated, to no small degree, from insatiable demands placed upon marine ecosystems in the Bay of Biscay, the English Channel, and the North Sea. Like every ecosystem, those were constantly being reshaped by natural changes. "Fluctuations," as contemporary ecologists point out, are "the very essence of ecosystems," and the populations of many species sought by humans, including mackerel, herring, and pilchards, fluctuate dramatically. The Devon pilchard catch, for example, was poor in 1587, low again in 1593, and virtually nonexistent in 1594. Irish herring were scarce in 1592. Faeroes Island cod fisheries collapsed in 1625 and again in 1629. Perceived "shortages" such as these—in other words, the inability of the ecosystem to produce the volume desired by harvesters—prompted fishing merchants to seek other stocks. Cooling temperatures may have contributed to the geographic expansion of the fishery. Scientists now know that seawater below a certain temperature inhibits the ability of cod to reproduce. As formerly reliable fishing grounds off Norway failed during the 1400s, at the outset of the Little Ice Age, well-capitalized English fishermen began to sail west instead of north, first to Iceland, then to Newfoundland and Maine. Whether northern Europe's once-abundant waters were being depleted by "the long continuance of fishing and some abuse in the taking," as one sixteenth-century document attested, or whether the ecosystem could no longer produce enough to satisfy heightened demand, perhaps because of climate change, is not clear. It is clear, however, that European fishermen wanted more fish than they could catch in home waters.[25]

[24] Wendy Childs, "Fishing and Fisheries in the Middle Ages: The Eastern Fisheries," in David J. Starkey, Chris Reid, and Neil Ashcroft, eds., *England's Sea Fisheries: The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales since 1300* (London, 2000), 19; Richard W. Unger, "The Netherlands Herring Fishery in the Late Middle Ages: The False Legend of William Beukels of Biervliet," in Unger, *Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400–1800* (Aldershot, 1997), 335–356; Hoffman, "Economic Development and Aquatic Ecosystems," 648. For the intensification of estuarine and coastal fisheries in the west country of England during the late Middle Ages, see Harold Fox, *The Evolution of the Fishing Village: Landscape and Society along the South Devon Coast, 1086–1550* (Oxford, 2001).

[25] Tim D. Smith, *Scaling Fisheries: The Science of Measuring the Effects of Fishing, 1855–1955* (Cambridge, 1994), 8–37, quotation 8; Gray, "Devon's Coastal and Overseas Fisheries," 126–127; Fagan, *The*

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FIGURE 2: By the time Pieter Bruegel the Elder created *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* (1557), his fantastic illustration of a maxim from Dutch life, Europeans had been putting pressure on coastal and estuarine ecosystems for centuries. Early modern voyages to Iceland, Newfoundland, and New England were inspired by the inability of European marine ecosystems to produce enough for European appetites. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1917 (17.3.859). Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Meanwhile, "pernitious *Trinker-men*," as Edward Sharpe called them, worked from small boats to "destroye the River of Thames, by killing the Fry and small Fish there, even all that comes to the Net, before it bee eyther meate or Marketable." It is clear that late medieval and early modern fisheries were depleting estuarine and river systems, including the Rhine and the Thames. The more open-ended question concerns the impact of northern European fisheries on stocks of cod, ling, herring, and other sea fish. Reliable quantitative data simply do not exist. However, biologists today understand that, among many stocks subject to fishing, the largest fish are caught first. Continued fishing reduces the size of average individuals because they are prevented from maturing, which can impede reproduction.[26]

Little Ice Age, 69–78; Wilson, "The Iceland Trade," 155–183. For the complicated relationship between climate fluctuations and marine ecology, see Jean M. Grove, *The Little Ice Age* (London, 1988), 379–421; Geir Ottersen, Jürgen Alheit, Ken Drinkwater, Kevin Friedland, Eberhard Hagen, and Nils Chr. Stenseth, "The Responses of Fish Populations to Ocean Climate Fluctuations," in Nils Chr. Stenseth, Geir Ottersen, James W. Hurrell, and Andrea Belgrano, eds., *Marine Ecosystems and Climate Variation: The North Atlantic—A Comparative Perspective* (Oxford, 2004), 73–94; Holger Hovgård and Erik Buch, "Fluctuation in the Cod Biomass of the West Greenland Sea Ecosystem in Relation to Climate," in Sherman, Alexander, and Gold, *Large Marine Ecosystems*, 36–43.

[26] Edward Sharpe, *England's Royall Fishing Revived; or, A Computation as Well of the Charge of a Busse*

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Whalers and fishermen became shock troops pushing west, inspiring chroniclers such as Richard Hakluyt to promote overseas expansion. As Europeans established outposts around the Atlantic rim, ecological changes followed. Commodities harvested from American ecosystems were routinely transported from New World centers of production to Old World sites of consumption. The rapid intensification of long-distance bulk trading in organic products, notably foodstuffs, timber, tobacco, and whale oil, constituted barely recognized ecological revolutions. By the seventeenth century, for instance, as much as 200,000 to 250,000 metric tons of cod per year (live weight) was leaving Newfoundland for Europe, an amount close to that landed in Newfoundland around the turn of the twentieth century, when Rudyard Kipling immortalized the fleet in his novel *Captains Courageous*. During the century prior to the American Revolution, striking improvements in shipping efficiency reduced the cost per ton/mile required to transport bulk goods. The story typically has been told as one of accounts payable, commodities transported, and fortunes made and lost. Silenced in that telling, however, is an account of biomass and energy being transferred from one ecosystem to another. Vast numbers of European consumers were then eating, as Richard C. Hoffman puts it, "beyond the bounds of natural local ecosystems," and as a result, refashioning distant environments.[27] The ocean was not immune. Pressured by commercial capitalism and cornucopian fantasies, the northwestern Atlantic's coastal ocean rapidly became an extension of Europe's diminished seas, a sea-change comprehensible only in transatlantic perspective.

Case studies add an ecological twist to the evolution of the Atlantic world by reconstructing stories of prominent prey species, the people who killed them, and the consequences. An ecosystem is considerably more than a group of isolated units; nevertheless, northwest Atlantic populations of marine mammals, anadromous fish, and seabirds, all of which declined precipitously after 1600, serve as indicators of a changing sea. This remade ocean could not help but shape the subsequent lives of the maritime communities that relied on it, whether aboriginal, settler, or European.

"EVERY DAY WE SAW WHALES PLAYING HARD BY US," observed several Pilgrims after the *Mayflower* anchored in the lee of Cape Cod in 1620. Lamenting their lack of "instruments & meanes" for whaling, they noted that "Our master and his mate, and others experienced in fishing, professed we might have made three or four thousand pounds worth of Oyle." A scouting party from the *Mayflower* came across "ten or twelve Indians" on the beach "cutting up a great fish like a grampus," and later

or Herring-Fishing Ship (London, 1630), E 3; Jennings, Kaiser, and Reynolds, *Marine Fisheries Ecology*, 242–243; Tony J. Pitcher, "Fisheries Managed to Rebuild Ecosystems? Reconstructing the Past to Salvage the Future," *Ecological Applications* 11, no. 2 (2001): 601–617.

[27] John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993), otherwise a magisterial work on early modern consumption, suspends attention to the environmental impact of globalization and consumer culture. For catch statistics, see Pope, *Fish into Wine*, 19–20; Pope, "The Scale of the Early Modern Newfoundland Cod Fishery," 27–28. For improvements in shipping efficiency, see Gary Shepherd and James Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America* (Cambridge, 1972), 3. Richard C. Hoffman, "Frontier Foods for Late Medieval Consumers: Culture, Economy, Ecology," *Environment and History* 7 (May 2001): 131–167, quotation 133.

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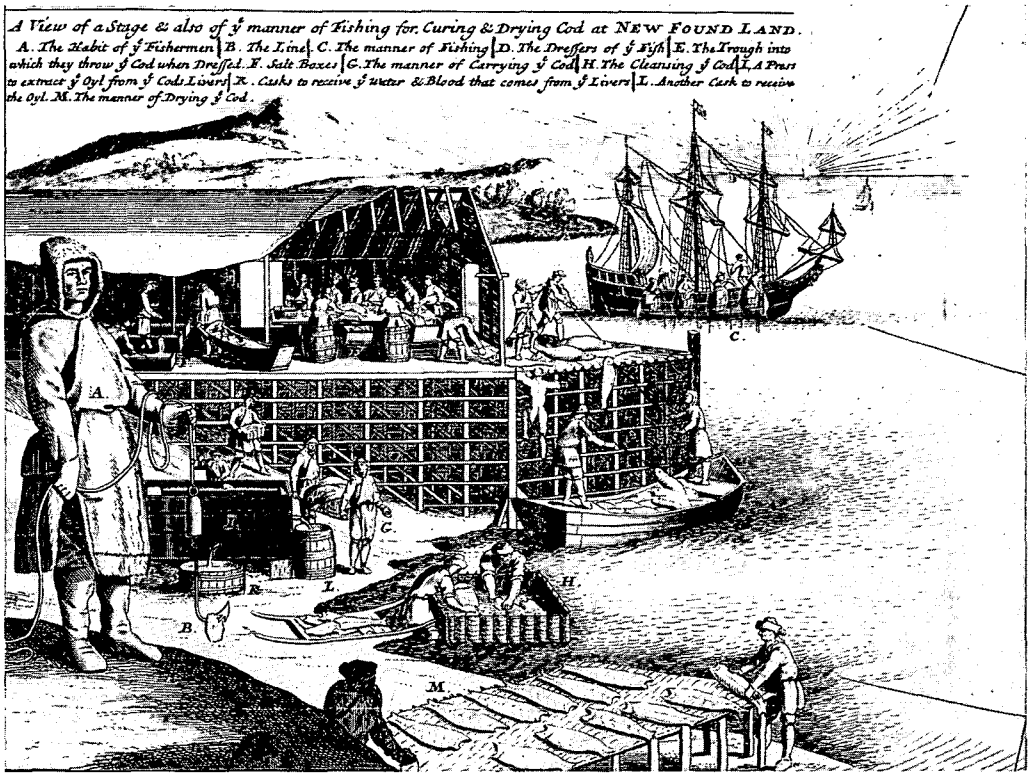


FIGURE 3: The exportation of marine biomass from North America to Europe and the resulting changes to American ecosystems have not received as much attention from Atlantic historians as they deserve. Thirteen steps detailing the method preferred by the English for catching and processing cod are shown here. Herman Moll, "A View of a Stage and Also the Manner of Fishing for, Curing, and Drying Cod at New Found Land" (1720). Reproduced by permission of the John Carter Brown Library.

"found two more of these" blackfish or pilot whales "dead on the sands," according to William Bradford, "a thing usual after storms in that place."[28]

Whales were everywhere, in contrast to coastal Europe, where they already had been overfished. Basques had been killing whales in the Bay of Biscay since the eleventh century, and possibly longer. Perceptions that stocks were decreasing caused King Alfonso XI of Castile to reduce his tax on Lekeitio whalers in 1334. A survey of English fisheries compiled in 1580 made no mention of local whales, but indicated that Englishmen routinely traveled to "the coast of Rushe towards Muskovie and St. nycolas" for summer whaling. The International Whaling Commission has reported that by "the first half of the 17th century . . . the local [European] population of *E. glacialis* [the right whale] was already severely affected." Even landsmen noticed the difference. Closing with the American coast in 1635, the Reverend Richard Mather delighted in the "multitude of great whales, which now was grown

[28] *Mourt's Relation; or, Journall of the beginning and proceeding of the English Plantation settled at Plimoth in New England* (London, 1622), 2. Most scholars agree that William Bradford and Edward Winslow were the authors of this anonymous work. William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620–1647*, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison (New York, 1953), 68.

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ordinary and usual to behold."[29] Experienced mariners could not help but observe that the ecosystem in the western Atlantic was organized differently because of the presence of great whales.[30]

Indians from Cape Cod to the Gulf of St. Lawrence may have occasionally hunted large whales during the pre-contact period, but the archaeological evidence is inconclusive, as are the early ethnographies. Nevertheless, Natives treasured whales. Mi'kmaq's "greatest liking," according to Nicolas Denys, a fisherman and early settler in Acadia, was "grease [which] they eat . . . as one does bread." According to Denys, Mi'kmaqs in Acadia relished the blubber from whales, "which frequently came ashore on the coast." Along with hunting pilot whales and porpoise, all Native people from Nantucket eastward routinely availed themselves of drift whales—stranded live whales or dead whales that washed up on the beach. As Elizabeth A. Little and J. Clinton Andrews point out, along certain sections of the coast, "drift whales were so numerous that no need had arisen to go to sea to kill them."[31]

"Pristine" is a loaded term in environmental history. It conveys the outdated notion of a static state or climax ecosystem, overshadowing the scientifically more defensible position that ecosystems fluctuate constantly. It channels ensuing arguments into a declension model: changes to "pristine" cannot be anything but degradation. And from Native American perspectives, assertions that an inhabited ecosystem was "pristine" appear to elide the people who lived there, reducing their humanity and agency.[32] All of these criticisms notwithstanding, the fact that Natives

[29] A. Rallo and Á. Borja, "Marine Research in the Basque Country: An Historical Perspective," in Á. Borja and M. Collins, eds., *Oceanography and Marine Environment of the Basque Country* (Amsterdam, 2004), 3–26, esp. 5; "Survey of Fisheries, 1580," reproduced as Appendix 3.1 in Gray, "Devon's Coastal and Overseas Fisheries," 357–358; Alex Aguilar, "A Review of Old Basque Whaling and Its Effect on the Right Whales (*Eubalaena glacialis*) of the North Atlantic," Special Issue, *Reports of the International Whaling Commission* 10 (1986): 191–199, quotation 194; Richard Mather, *Journal of Richard Mather* (Boston, 1850), quoted in Joe Roman and Stephen R. Palumbi, "Whales before Whaling in the North Atlantic," *Science* 301 (July 25, 2003): 508–510. For an alternative but less convincing view that Basque whalers probably did not diminish stocks in the Bay of Biscay, see Jean-Pierre Proulx, *Basque Whaling in Labrador in the 16th Century* (Ottawa, 1993), 12–13; Roger Collins, *The Basques* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 234–235.

[30] Scientists today are in the midst of a fractious dispute about just how many whales lived in the North Atlantic before widespread hunting began. Geneticists claim more than a million. Historically derived estimates are much smaller—nearly an order of magnitude smaller. But whether that population was closer to 100,000 or to a million, whales were prominent in the structure and function of the ecosystem. See Roman and Palumbi, "Whales before Whaling"; C. Scott Baker and Phillip J. Clapham, "Modelling the Past and Future of Whales and Whaling," *Trends in Ecology and Evolution* 19 (July 2004): 365–371.

[31] Archaeologists point out that "the interpretation of data on . . . large whales [at Native sites is] poorly understood." See Arthur E. Spiess and Robert A. Lewis, *The Turner Farm Fauna: 5000 Years of Hunting and Fishing in Penobscot Bay, Maine* (Augusta, Maine, 2001), 141, 154, 157–159, quotation 141. Russel Lawrence Barsh, "*Netukulimk* Past and Present: Mikmaw Ethics and the Atlantic Fishery," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 37, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 15–42; Bernard Gilbert Hoffman, "The Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1955); Elizabeth A. Little and J. Clinton Andrews, "Drift Whales at Nantucket: The Kindness of Moshup," *Man in the Northeast* 23 (Spring 1982): 19; Denys, *The Description & Natural History of the Coasts of North America*, 403. Marc Lescarbot and Chrestien LeClerq referred in passing to Mi'kmaq whaling from seagoing canoes during the seventeenth century. The single reference to Natives hunting whales in New England is found in Rosier's *A True Relation*, describing Maine in 1605.

[32] For ongoing debates over the extent to which Native Americans affected their natural surroundings, and the contexts in which those changes occurred, see Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (Berkeley, Calif., 1978); Shepard Krech III, ed., *Indians, Animals, and the Fur Trade* (Athens, Ga., 1981); Krech, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (New York, 1999);

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rarely or never hunted great whales suggests that northwest Atlantic whale populations were virtually unexploited during the era of European contact. Robust whale stocks and relatively low aboriginal population densities prior to contact meant that Natives' opportunistic reliance on drift whales sufficed for their needs.

Following permanent English settlement, Natives' right to appropriate drift whales was lost rather quickly on Martha's Vineyard and Long Island. On Nantucket, however, that right was codified into law in 1673. "The Court do order that . . . all the whal fish or Other drift fish belong to the Indian sachems." Purchasing shore frontage from Nantucket sachems in a series of transactions between 1684 and 1701, English buyers always agreed to the caveat "except drift whales." And on Nantucket and eastern Long Island, at least, because "Indian ownership of drift whales preempted the crown's rights . . . whale oil from Indian drift whales may have been exported tax-free." The exact steps by which settlers proceeded from scavenging beached whales to pursuing whales from the beach are lost to time, but the significance of whales is not. In 1635, Governor John Winthrop noted that "Some of our people went to Cape Cod, and made some oil of a whale which was cast on shore." The Plymouth Colony began to tax the enterprise in 1652. The Reverend Cotton Mather called whale oil "a staple commodity of the colony."[33] Shore whaling began in Massachusetts during the 1650s or 1660s, but very few years were required to deplete the abundant stock of near-shore whales. As early as 1720, the *Boston News-Letter* reported: "We hear from the towns on the Cape that the Whale Fishery among them has failed much this Winter, as it has done for several winters past." Contemporaries claimed that the near-shore whaling grounds had been "fished out" by 1740. The economic consequences were dire: capital equipment sat idle, and expected earnings did not materialize. Minor political consequences followed, too. In 1754, Selectman John Hallet petitioned the province to excuse the town of Yarmouth from sending a representative to the legislature because of the failure of inshore whaling.[34]

Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions*. Natives' exploitation of marine resources has drawn less attention, although sophisticated work posed in light of climate change, boat technology, and marine resource abundance is currently being conducted for the prehistoric period by archaeologists. See Arthur Spiess, Kristin Sobolik, Diana Crader, John Mosher, and Deborah Wilson, "Cod, Clams and Deer: The Food Remains from Indiantown Island," *Archeology of Eastern North America* 34 (2006): 141–187; Spiess and Lewis, *The Turner Farm Fauna*.

[33] Little and Andrews, "Drift Whales at Nantucket," 33–35, 21, 29; John A. Strong, *The Montaukett Indians of Eastern Long Island* (Syracuse, N.Y., 2001), 25–26. Mather quoted in Glover M. Allen, "The Whalebone Whales of New England," *Memoirs of the Boston Society of Natural History* 8 (1916): 105–322, quotation 154.

[34] Some controversy exists about exactly when shore whaling began on Cape Cod and Long Island. It may have been as early as the 1650s, and certainly by the 1670s. On its origins, see Little and Andrews, "Drift Whales at Nantucket," 17–38; Daniel Vickers, "The First Whalemen of Nantucket," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. ser., 40 (October 1983): 560–583; Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery*, 1–36; Stackpole, *The Sea-Hunters*, 15–47. Charting the transition from shore whaling to deep-sea whaling, Stackpole ignored depletion of inshore stocks as the cause, and emphasized whalemen's pioneering spirit. For contemporaries' observations of depletion, see William Douglass, *A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North America*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1755), 1: 58–62. For a useful chronology of the decline of shore whaling, constructed from excerpts of eighteenth-century documents, see John Braginton-Smith and Duncan Oliver, *Cape Cod Shore Whaling: America's First Whalemen* (Yarmouth Port, Mass., 2004), 143–146. Hallet quoted ibid., 145.

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According to one conservative study, colonists killed a minimum of 2,459 to 3,025 right whales between 1696 and 1734 from Delaware Bay to Maine. Other respected estimates suggest a much larger harvest. In 1794, the Reverend John Mellen of Barnstable, Massachusetts, noted, "Seventy or eighty years ago the whale bay fishery . . . employed nearly two hundred men for three months of the year . . . But few whales now come into the bay, and this kind of fishery has for a long time (by this town at least) been given up." The killing of northwest Atlantic whales had begun in earnest about a century before the *Mayflower* sailed. Basque whalers killed tens of thousands of right whales and bowheads in the straits between Newfoundland and Labrador from 1530 to 1620. Then, while coastal New Englanders were exploiting local stocks, Dutch and Basque whalers in the western Arctic harpooned 35,000 to 40,000 whales between 1660 and 1701, depleting populations considerably and affecting the whales' migration patterns.[35]

Once inshore stocks were depleted, sachems' possession of drift whales became a rather hollow "right." Lookout masts, whalemen's taverns, and try yards (the boiling facilities where whale blubber was rendered) were abandoned on Cape Cod and Nantucket. Merchants in towns on the north shore of Massachusetts Bay, such as Ipswich, that formerly had dabbled in shore whaling turned their attention entirely to fishing and sea trading. This took time. Whalemen did not give up all at once. But by the early eighteenth century, the number of whales being killed, getting stranded, or washing up dead was decreasing dramatically. By mid-century, shore whaling was no longer a source of reliable seasonal income. An air of desolation hung over facilities that not long before had been bustling and profitable. By the 1760s, well-capitalized Cape Cod vessels were voyaging to Labrador and Newfoundland to hunt for whales. As the biomass of the coastal ecosystem shifted to include fewer whales, Nantucket's remnant Indian population shipped as "men before the mast" aboard whaling vessels.[36]

The consequences of shore whaling were not limited to the expansion of deep-sea whaling, much less to the depletion of town coffers, the abandonment of once-productive whaling installations, or the redefinition of Native life on Nantucket and Long Island. The destruction of huge numbers of whales within a relatively short

[35] For conservative estimates of whale kills, see Randall R. Reeves, Jeffrey M. Breiwick, and Edward D. Mitchell, "History of Whaling and Estimated Kill of Right Whales, *Balaena glacialis*, in the Northeastern United States, 1620–1924," *Marine Fisheries Review* 61 (1999): 1–36. For more expansive estimates, see Spencer Apollonio, *Hierarchical Perspectives on Marine Complexities: Searching for Systems in the Gulf of Maine* (New York, 2002), 60–61. Mellen quoted in Braginton-Smith and Oliver, *Cape Cod Shore Whaling*, 146. For seventeenth-century Dutch and Basque whaling in the Arctic, see Laurier Turgeon, "Fluctuations in Cod and Whale Stocks in the North Atlantic during the Eighteenth Century," in Vickers, *Marine Resources and Human Societies*, 87–122; Richards, *The Unending Frontier*, 584–589.

[36] Braginton-Smith and Oliver, *Cape Cod Shore Whaling*, 145. Occasional references to shore whaling and whaleboats occur in Ipswich records as late as 1707, but not thereafter. See Thomas Franklin Waters, *Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony: A History of the Town from 1700 to 1917*, 2 vols. (Ipswich, Mass., 1917), 2: 235–236. For the abandonment of a Cape Cod whalers' tavern in Wellfleet, probably because of the failure of the inshore whale fishery, see Eric Ekholm and James Deetz, "Wellfleet Tavern," *Natural History* 80, no. 7 (August–September 1971): 48–56. On Indian whalemen, see Vickers, "The First Whalemen of Nantucket"; Daniel Vickers, "Nantucket Whalemen in the Deep-Sea Fishery: The Changing Anatomy of an Early American Labor Force," *Journal of American History* 72 (September 1985): 277–296. As Vickers makes clear, white whalemen's ideas about labor control, credit, and race were essential to the social relations of whaling, including Natives' dispossession.

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period removed their qualitative contribution to ecosystem stability. Baleen whales are not apex predators. As large, long-lived creatures, however, whales embody vast biomass in stable form. Before commercial harvesting began, naturally occurring populations of whales concentrated hundreds of thousands of tons of biomass in continental shelf ecosystems, imposing constraints on variability. Overharvesting of baleen whales liberated considerable prey from capture, which may have allowed prey populations to oscillate more dramatically than previously.[37]

Obed Macy's *The History of Nantucket* claims that the first whale killed in Nantucket was a "scragg." Paul Dudley explained in 1725 that "The Scrag whale is near-a-kin to the Fin-back, but . . . his Back is scragged with a half Dozen Knobs or Knuckes." Dudley's "scrag whale" appears to have been an Atlantic gray whale. Subfossil specimens of gray whales have been found along European shores, and from Florida to eastern Long Island. Radiocarbon dating has established that this species disappeared around 1675.[38] Evidence suggests that a population of Atlantic gray whales lived on both sides of the Atlantic; that those whales, like others, were hunted; and that the population became extinct during the early eighteenth century. Whether human hunters caused this extinction, accelerated it, or had nothing to do with it is unknowable. Given the rate at which whales were being killed then, however, it appears likely that this extinction of a North Atlantic marine mammal—the first of the post-Pleistocene era—resulted from the intensified whaling associated with the Age of the Ocean.

Shortly before the outbreak of the American Revolution, products from marine mammals—primarily whales—constituted 15 percent of the value of New England's exports and 8.5 percent of the combined value of exports from Quebec, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. Although prosecuted far from home, whaling was still Atlantic-based: not until the nineteenth century would Yankee whalers round the great capes to hunt in the Pacific and Indian oceans. But the size of whale and walrus populations, their geographic distribution in the Atlantic, their role in stabilizing coastal ecosystems, and the nature of northwest Atlantic whaling had all changed significantly during the previous half-century.[39] English New Englanders' relatively short-term accumulation of wealth, their knowledge of whales' seasonal migration and

[37] On whales as constraints in ecosystems, see Apollonio, *Hierarchical Perspectives on Marine Complexities*, 14–15, 53–71. For a similar ripple effect from whaling in the Svalbard archipelago, see Louwrens Hacquebord, "The Hunting of the Greenland Right Whale in Svalbard, Its Interaction with Climate and Its Impact on the Marine Ecosystem," *Polar Research* 18 (1999): 375–382; Hacquebord, "Three Centuries of Whaling and Walrus Hunting in Svalbard and Its Impact on the Arctic Ecosystem," *Environment and History* 7 (2001): 169–185.

[38] Obed Macy, *The History of Nantucket: Being a Compendious Account of the First Settlement of the Island by the English, Together with the Rise and Progress of the Whale Fishery; And Other Historical Facts Relative to Said Island and Its Inhabitants* (Boston, 1835), 28; Paul Dudley, "An Essay upon the Natural History of Whales, with a Particular Account of the Ambergris Found in the *Sperma Ceti* Whale," Royal Society of London, *Philosophical Transactions* 33 (1725): 256–269; James G. Mead and Edward D. Mitchell, "Atlantic Gray Whales," in Mary Lou Jones, Steven L. Swartz, and Stephen Leatherwood, eds., *The Gray Whale* (Orlando, Fla., 1984), 33–53; P. J. Bryant, "Dating Remains of Gray Whales from the Eastern North Atlantic," *Journal of Mammalogy* 76, no. 3 (1995): 857–861.

[39] McCusker and Menard, *The Economy of British North America*, 108, 115. Walruses in the Gulf of St. Lawrence were hunted systematically from the middle of the sixteenth century. The great gregarious herds that formerly hauled out on beaches from Sable Island to Labrador were on the path to extermination by 1800. By the nineteenth century, remnant populations of walruses inhabited a much-reduced range, limited largely to the Arctic and immediate sub-Arctic. E. W. Born, I. Gjertz, and R. Reeves, *Population Assessment of Atlantic Walrus* (Oslo, 1995), 7–8, 31–32.

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feeding habits, and their development of technologies appropriate for pursuing, killing, rendering, and marketing whales all came at the cost of downward trends in bio-complexity and ecosystem resiliency.

NO SIXTEENTH- OR SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY EUROPEAN COMMUNITY relied on the sea as much as the Mi'kmaq and Malecite hunter-gatherers of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, who may have secured as much as 90 percent of their annual caloric intake from marine resources. Seal hunters, seabird egg collectors, scavengers of drift whales, weir builders, hook fishers, and harpooners, Mi'kmaqs and Malecites studied the tides and remained alert for ecological signals from the neighboring sea. Not only did they know the sea; they felt it. Imagining themselves as descended from animal ancestors, including marine creatures such as eels and sturgeon, Natives along the Bay of Fundy and Nova Scotian coasts inhabited a totemic universe in which humans participated in the natural world without considering themselves separate from it. This was true in southern Maine and along Massachusetts Bay, too, where Native agriculturalists were also expert fishermen "experienced in the knowledge of all baits," and, as William Wood elaborated, knowledgeable of "when to fish rivers and when at rocks, when in bays, and when at seas." Accomplished Native harvesters understood the ocean differently than did European newcomers, but both knew that, like the land, it was biologically productive only in specific places and in its seasons.[40]

Archaeological evidence indicates that prehistoric Native inhabitants relied on Atlantic sturgeon in their seasonal eating strategy. Each year as the ice broke, and the annual springtime bloom of phytoplankton turned coastal waters murky brown, the return of spawning fish such as sturgeon, salmon, and alewives signaled Natives' season of plenty. Malecites and Mi'kmaqs relied so much on anadromous fish that they named several months for their return. One Englishman observed that Natives made "very strong sturgeon nets" of "their own hemp." As early as the 1630s, according to William Hammond, Indians were capturing a "great store of sturgeon" in the Merrimack River for English buyers. "The sturgeons be all over the country," noted Wood, "but the best catching of them is upon the shoals of Cape Cod and in the river of Merrimac, where much is taken, pickled, and brought for England. Some of these be twelve, fourteen, eighteen foot long." A twelve-foot sturgeon could weigh six hundred pounds.[41]

Giant, toothless, and armored with rows of bony shields along their sides and back, bottom-feeding sturgeon—with peculiar little barbells under their snouts—could be mistaken for no other fish. John Josselyn, who lived on the mid-coast of

[40] Hoffman, "The Historical Ethnography of the Micmac," 151–171, 235; Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions*, 44–50; Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England*; Harald E. L. Prins, *The Mi'kmaq: Resistance, Accommodation, and Cultural Survival* (Belmont, Calif., 2002); William Wood, *New England's Prospect* (1634; repr., Amherst, Mass., 1977), 107.

[41] William Hammond to Sir Simonds D'Ewes, September 26, 1633, in Everett Emerson, ed., *Letters from New England: The Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1629–1638* (Amherst, Mass., 1976), 111; Spiess and Lewis, *The Turner Farm Fauna*, 135–136, 155; Wood, *New England's Prospect*, 55, 107; Henry B. Bigelow and William C. Schroeder, *Fishes of the Gulf of Maine* (Washington, D.C., 1953), 82–83. Bigelow and Schroeder note that mature sturgeon up to 12 feet long and 600 pounds were occasionally landed in the Gulf of Maine during the early twentieth century, "but 18 feet, reported for New England many years ago, may not have been an exaggeration." For Natives' month names, see Hoffman, "The Historical Ethnography of the Micmac," 243–246.

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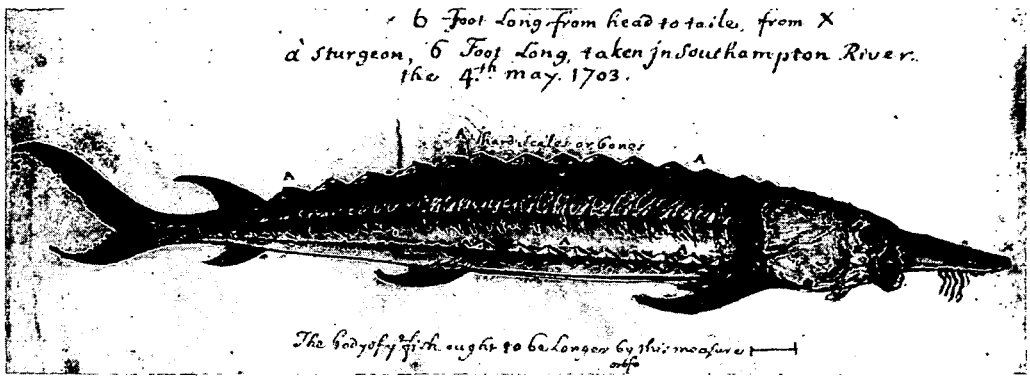


FIGURE 4: By 1703, Atlantic sturgeon was quite rare in western European ecosystems. Its status as a delicacy, however, promoted a robust sturgeon fishery in the rivers of northern New England. Overfishing rapidly led to localized depletion, and by the mid-eighteenth century, Atlantic sturgeon was the first fish pushed to commercial extinction in some areas of the northwest Atlantic. Drawing by Jean Barbot. By permission of The National Archives of the UK, ref. ADM 7/830 A&B.

Maine in 1638–1639, depicted the Pechipscut River (now the Androscoggin) as "famous for multitudes of mighty large *Sturgeon*." Settlers in the Piscataqua estuary named one of its tributaries Sturgeon Creek. Few settlers had ever seen sturgeon in Old England, where an eight-hundred-year fishing spree had almost eradicated them. Every Englishman, however, shared Thomas Morton's understanding of sturgeon as a "regal fish." In France and England, sturgeon was kings' fare. In New England, as Morton pointed out in 1632, every man "may catch what hee will, there are multitudes of them."[42]

The value of commodities exists in light of historically contingent meanings. During the mid-seventeenth century, sturgeon linked resourceful Native fishers, colonial settlers, London fishmongers, and highbrow English consumers because of the degraded state of European aquatic ecosystems. By the fourteenth century, chefs in France and England, according to historian Richard Hoffmann, "were circulating a recipe to 'make sturgeon' from veal, a distinct mark of the prestige and favor still attached to an almost extinct food fish."[43] Sturgeon were low-hanging fruit in the arbor of marine resources, and they were plucked quite quickly in all of northern New England's major rivers. They could be trapped in weirs, netted, or lanced—all

[42] Paul J. Lindholdt, ed., *John Josselyn, Colonial Traveler: A Critical Edition of "Two Voyages to New England"* (Hanover, N.H., 1988), 140; *York Deeds*, 18 vols. (Portland, Maine, 1887), 1: f. 13. Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan* (Amsterdam, 1637), 88. For an identical mention of sturgeon as "regal," see Lindholdt, *John Josselyn*, 76.

[43] Excavations in Gdansk, Poland, reveal a downward trend in sturgeon size from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. In the Low Countries, sturgeon size declined from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. See Hoffmann, "Economic Development and Aquatic Ecosystems," 649. For more on settlers' exports of sturgeon, see Captain John Smith, *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England, or Anywhere*, in Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580–1631)*, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986), 3: 294; Edward Everett Hale, Jr., *Note-book Kept by Thomas Lechford, Esq., Lawyer, in Boston, Massachusetts Bay, from June 27, 1638 to July 29, 1641* (1885; repr., Camden, Maine, 1988), 377; *A Volume Relating to the Early History of Boston Containing the Aspinwall Notarial Records from 1644 to 1651* (Boston, 1903), 423–424; Wood, *New England's Prospect*, 55. For the sturgeon fishery that began on the Pejepscot River in Brunswick, Maine, in 1628 and lasted until 1676, see George Augustus Wheeler and Henry Warren Wheeler, *History of Brunswick, Topsham and Harpswell, Maine* (1878; repr., Somersworth, N.H., 1974), 552.

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by part-time shore-based fishermen. Englishmen learned successful techniques from Indians. As Josselyn explained: "in dark evenings when they are upon the fishing grounds near a Bar of Sand (where the *Sturgeon* feeds upon small fishes . . .) the *Indian* lights a piece of dry *Birch-Bark* which breaks out into flame & holds it over the side of his *Canow*, the *Sturgeon* seeing this glaring light mounts to the Surface of the water where he is slain and taken with a fis[h]gig."[44]

By 1673, less than fifty years after Morton had written that "every man in New England may catch what he will," men from the Merrimack River towns determined that insufficient sturgeon remained for an open fishery. William Thomas of Newbury petitioned the General Court to prohibit the pickling or preserving of sturgeon for transport (i.e., other than for personal consumption) by anyone "except by such lawful authoritie shall be licensed thereto." Thomas successfully arranged a partial monopoly: thenceforth the Merrimack River sturgeon fishery was limited to those "able and fit persons" whom the General Court licensed for "the art of boyling and pickling of sturgeon." Inspectors (each of whom was dubbed a "searcher and sealer of sturgeon") were employed to maintain quality. Licensed townsmen in Newbury and Salisbury then conducted an extensive sturgeon-packing business. An act passed in Boston in 1687 mandated that "all sorts of Greene Dry Salted or Pickled ffish Sturgeon fflesh or Butter That shall be put up for Transportac'on to a fforaigne Market shall be searched and Surveyed." A similar regulation for "Preventing Deceit in Packing," which specifically mentioned sturgeon, passed in New Hampshire in 1719. At that point, when permanent English settlement had existed in New Hampshire and Massachusetts for approximately a century, and when the total population of the two provinces was only about 100,000, roughly the same size as the pre-contact Native population, the ancient sturgeon stock was headed for trouble. On July 6, 1761, when Matthew Patten caught a six-footer at the Merrimack's Amoskeag Falls, it created a stir. By then, sturgeon were relatively rare in the Merrimack, the Piscataqua, and the other rivers of northern New England.[45]

Atlantic sturgeon must grow about four feet long to reach sexual maturity. Their survival as a species was predicated on their longevity: as large armored fish with few natural enemies, they could afford the luxury of low reproductive rates. Throughout the first century and a half of English settlement in New England, nearly every river and creek was flanked each spring by eager fishermen with weirs, seines, and spears. Towns sold rights for the best places or for annual hauls, and seining companies pooled capital for rope, twine, lead, and boats. Immature sturgeon packed and sold as well as older fish, and all were captured indiscriminately. Neither regulation nor

[44] Lindholdt, *John Josselyn*, 100; Faith Harrington, "Sea Tenure in Seventeenth-Century New Hampshire: Native Americans and Englishmen in the Sphere of Coastal Resources," *Historical New Hampshire* 40 (Spring/Summer 1985): 18–33.

[45] Petition of William Thomas to the General Court, May 7, 1673, Massachusetts Archives, vol. 61:3, Massachusetts State Archives; John J. Currier, *History of Newbury, Mass., 1635–1902* (Boston, 1902), 282; Joshua Coffin, *A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury* (Boston, 1845), 113–114; George W. Chase, *The History of Haverhill, Massachusetts* (Haverhill, Mass., 1861), 118–119; Jack Noon, *Fishing in New Hampshire: A History* (Warner, N.H., 2003), 61–64, 152–154; Matthew Patten, *The Diary of Matthew Patten of Bedford, N.H. from Seventeen Hundred Fifty-Four to Seventeen Hundred Eighty-Eight* (Concord, N.H., 1903), 96. An accomplished fisherman and diarist, Patten had neither caught a sturgeon nor noted anyone else catching one during the six years he had kept his diary. Yet as late as 1774, the Merrimac River was labeled "the Merrimak or Sturgeon R." on Thomas Jefferys's "Map of the most inhabited part of New England."

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custom impeded colonial fishermen from taking all they could. By the end of the eighteenth century, the combination of overfishing and sturgeon's naturally low reproductive rate essentially had doomed this "regal fish" in the estuaries of northern New England. In 1793, for instance, when the Massachusetts General Court passed an act "to enable the town of Newbury to regulate and order the taking of Fish called Shad, Bass, and Alewives in the River Parker," sturgeon were already a distant memory, not even mentioned.[46]

Sturgeon would not be virtually exterminated in Chesapeake and Delaware bays and in the Hudson River until the caviar craze between 1870 and 1900. But in northern New England, where competitiveness in the emerging Atlantic economy depended on fishing and trade, only two centuries were necessary to accomplish what had taken a millennium in Europe—the severe reduction of a huge fish that in a natural state was likely to die of old age. Ecologically speaking, we do not know the exact qualities or contributions of sturgeon, or how the presence of many year-classes, with individuals of different sizes and ages, functioned in the ecosystem. Those difficult questions, pertinent to many species, remain to be answered by ecologists. Yet clearly the system had been perturbed by sturgeon removal. The eminent biologist E. O. Wilson reminds us that "The power of living Nature lies in sustainability through complexity." Each reduction in complexity contributes to degradation. It makes the overall system qualitatively different, and less sustainable. As long-living, large animals, sturgeon, like whales, had contributed stability to coastal ecosystems in North America. Moreover, they had contributed to the cultural and aesthetic values through which Natives and the first generations of English knew themselves and the region. For Natives, the abundance of sturgeon and other marine species affirmed their traditional consciousness of themselves as descendants from the totemic creatures on whom they depended, and with whom they coexisted. For English settlers, the presence of sturgeon conveyed security, prosperity, and upward mobility. By the outbreak of the American Revolution, sturgeon's contribution to resident identity and ecosystem stability was largely gone in New England, as was the once-thriving fishing and packing industry in old towns such as Newbury.[47]

Like sturgeon, striped bass spawned in fresh water beyond the tide. William Hubbard's seventeenth-century *A General History of New England* explained that the starving Pilgrims netted "a multitude of bass, which was their livelihood all that [first] summer. It is a fish not inferior to a salmon, that comes upon the coast every summer pressing into most of the great creeks every tide . . . Sometimes 1500 of them have been stopped in a creek." Such robust landings spelled trouble. By 1639, Massa-

[46] Currier, *History of Newbury, Mass.*, 283; Noon, *Fishing in New Hampshire*, 5–10, 61–64.

[47] This is not to say that Atlantic sturgeon were extinct in New England's rivers, just that their populations had plummeted. Sturgeon were still being caught in rivers in Maine and New Brunswick occasionally at the end of the nineteenth century. See U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, *Report of the Commissioner for the Year Ending June 30, 1898* (Washington, D.C., 1899), clxvi–clxvii; Theodore I. J. Smith, "The Fishery, Biology, and Management of Atlantic Sturgeon, *Acipenser oxyrhynchus*, in North America," *Environmental Biology of Fishes* 14 (1985): 61–72; Inga Saffron, "Introduction: The Decline of the North American Species," in Greg T. O. LeBreton, F. William H. Beamish, and R. Scott McKinley, eds., *Sturgeons and Paddlefish of North America* (Dordrecht, 2004), 1–21. Saffron unfortunately ignores the history of the northern New England fishery in her account. Apollonio, *Hierarchical Perspectives on Marine Complexities*, 46–51; E. O. Wilson, *The Creation: An Appeal to Save Life on Earth* (New York, 2006), 32; Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions*, 50–58.

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chusetts Bay authorities recognized the specter of waste and the threat of depletion. In what appears to have been New England's first fishery regulation, magistrates forbade the use of bass and cod for fertilizing fields. But the pressure on that fine, fat fish persisted. Josselyn noted that settlers in southern Maine were still taking bass "in Rivers where they spawn," and that he had seen "3000 Bass taken" with one set of the net.[48]

Unlike cod or whale oil, the cornerstones of New England's long-distance commerce, bass became part of the local exchange economy. Part-time fishermen put up bass for their own families, exchanged fresh-caught or barreled bass to square their debts, and sold the fish when they could. As town populations swelled in places such as Boston and Portsmouth, part-time fishermen peddled fish directly or vended it to consumers through fishmongers. When nets strained to the breaking point, surplus striped bass ended up as "manure" in tilled fields. In the heart of New England, overfishing threatened householders' livelihoods. On the periphery, it threatened the peace. During the 1680s, Cotton Mather attributed rising tensions between settlers and Abenakis in southern Maine to nets that prevented anadromous fish in the Saco River from reaching Native fishers.[49]

By 1770, according to the government of New Hampshire, fishing had "Almost extirpated the bass and blue fish" in the Piscataqua River. The Reverend Jeremy Belknap elaborated during the 1790s: "The bass was formerly taken in great plenty in the river Pascataqua; but by the injudicious use of nets . . . this fishery was almost destroyed." So, too, in Massachusetts: In 1771, petitioners from Newbury lamented the decline of striped bass in the Parker River, and implored the Massachusetts General Court to preserve them. The court obliged with regulations, but they were ignored or unenforceable, and stocks did not rebound. In 1793, town fathers in Newbury outlawed putting "a seine, hedge, weir or drag into the river Parker at any season" for "catching Bass." The regulations were too little too late. By the presidency of George Washington, the providentially abundant fish that had saved William Bradford and the Pilgrims during their starving time teetered on the verge of commercial extinction between Cape Cod and southern Maine. Residents lamented the loss. "Formerly large fish such as salmon, bass and shad came up the river in plenty," wrote Judge Benjamin Chadbourne from South Berwick, Maine, about 1797, "but they have forsook it and now there remains only Tom Cods, or what we call Frost fish which come in the month of December, smelts in the month of April, alewives in the months of June and July, and eels in about all seasons of the year."[50]

[48] William Hubbard, *A General History of New England, from the Discovery to MDCLXXX* (1815; repr., New York, 1972), 80; Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, 5 vols. (Boston, 1853), 1: 258. While striped bass can weigh more than 100 pounds, schooling fish are considerably smaller, averaging about 10 pounds. See Bigelow and Schroeder, *Fishes of the Gulf of Maine*, 390. If Hubbard was correct, gaunt, half-starved Pilgrims were occasionally stop-seining 15,000 pounds of bass in a single set. Wood corroborated Hubbard's observations on bass landings, noting that "sometimes two or three thousand" bass were taken in one set of a net. Wood, *New England's Prospect*, 55; Lindholdt, *John Josselyn*, 78.

[49] For tension between Abenaki and settler fishers, see Bourque, *Twelve Thousand Years*, 157.

[50] *Laws of New Hampshire: Including Public and Private Acts and Resolves and the Royal Commissions and Instructions with Historical and Descriptive Notes*, 10 vols. (Manchester, N.H., 1904–1922), 3: 537; Jeremy Belknap, *The History of New Hampshire*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1791–1792), 3: 130–131; Currier, *History of Newbury, Mass.*, 283–284; Judge Benjamin Chadbourne, "A Description of the Town and Village," c. 1797, ms. transcription, Old Berwick Historical Society, South Berwick, Maine.

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Chadbourne revealed how fishing had altered the composition of fish species, and thus the structure of his estuarine ecosystem. River fish were a crucial component of most families' livelihoods, too valuable to be stewarded effectively. Striving to secure a "competence," which they defined as financial independence and security for themselves and their dependents, householders targeted spawning runs each spring. Chadbourne ignored sturgeon, which he had never known, even though Sturgeon Creek (named prior to 1649) was just a few miles south of his home. He personally witnessed the disappearance of salmon, shad, and bass—long-lived, valuable fish—and his plaintive assessment reflected an estuary diminished by human population pressure and ineffectual regulation since its insertion into the Atlantic economy. The nature of the place, and of people's relationship to it, had changed significantly.[51]

CONCERNS ABOUT DEPLETING OCEAN FISH (not just estuarine species) appeared in America quite early. In 1668, the Massachusetts General Court ordered "that no man shall henceforth kill any codfish, hake, haddock, or pollock, to be dried for sale in the month of December or January, because of their spawning time." The same court, "being informed, that the taking of mackerel at unseasonable times do greatly diminish their increase," imposed fishing restrictions. Although no minutes of those deliberations survive, it appears that credible individuals convinced the magistrates that stocks were not infinite, and that precautionary measures were in order. This may have reflected consciousness of Old World depletions, or of natural fluctuations such as those in 1621 and 1651, when cod were in short supply.[52]

Assessed over the *longue durée*, the northwest Atlantic ecosystem seemed able to produce the approximately 250,000 tons of cod per year that fishermen extracted between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Yet that overall sustainability may have masked localized depletions. By the middle of the eighteenth century, Newfoundlanders began to shift their fishing efforts from areas of declining catch to relatively unexploited grounds such as eastern Labrador, a distant and inhospitable place requiring arduous seasonal migrations. The case is far from conclusive. But as biologist Jeffrey A. Hutchings puts it, "Fishing mortality rates may have exceeded sustainable levels as early as the early nineteenth century. If the northern cod stock is in fact comprised of many sub-stocks (e.g. bay stocks), then fishing mor-

[51] Vickers, "Those Damned Shad"; Pitcher, "Fisheries Managed to Rebuild Ecosystems?" 604–605.

[52] *The Charters and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay: Carefully Collected from the Public Records and Ancient Printed Books* (Boston, 1814), chap. 46, sec. 4, 114–115. On cod shortages in Newfoundland, including "the very bad season of 1592," the scarcity of fish in 1621, and the "poor or bad years . . . frequently remarked" on between 1657 and 1675, see Peter Pope, "Early Estimates: Assessment of Catches in the Newfoundland Cod Fishery, 1660–1690," in Vickers, *Marine Resources and Human Societies*, 11–14; Pope, *Fish into Wine*, 33–39. The failure of the Dorchester Company to develop fisheries near Cape Ann may have been connected to a poor year-class of cod in 1621, although this is speculative. See Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), 14. After a thorough discussion of fishing licenses and the politics of access, framed in light of a possible downturn in fisheries, Bailyn notes that "It is impossible to measure the decline, if there was any, in the New England fisheries during the 1620's." Pope's work has raised the possibility that natural fluctuations in the cod population were a factor. Ibid., 200–201 n. 20. On cod shortages at Boston in 1651, see *A Volume Relating to the Early History of Boston*, 390–391; William B. Leavenworth, "Fishermen, Merchants and New England's Maritime Environment, 1630–1651," forthcoming, *International Journal of Maritime History*.

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talities on such inshore stocks could have been very high relative to mortalities imposed on offshore stocks."[53]

The early impact of the cod fishery, however, came on seabird populations, whose depletion triggered ripples throughout human and non-human natural communities. At least eighty-five species of birds were likely to have been seen on salt water between Newfoundland and Cape Cod, including wading shorebirds (such as sandpipers); sea ducks (such as eiders); dabbling ducks, geese, and swans (such as teal); and genuine seabirds (such as puffins), which lived on land each year only long enough to nest. Marine birds exhibited a wide variety of ranges, migration patterns, and reproductive strategies. Some, including Double-Crested Cormorants, bred locally and roosted each night on sandbars, rocks, or trees. Others, including fishermen's favorite avian bait source, the Greater Shearwater, nested in the remote South Atlantic and appeared on northwest Atlantic waters only during the summer, where they stayed offshore and foraged for squid and fish. Seabirds ranged in size from the Northern Gannet, a magnificent white plunge-diver with a six-foot wingspan, to the diminutive Wilson's Storm-Petrel, smaller than a robin. Fundamental to the large marine ecosystem of which they were a part, seabirds were not particularly susceptible to its vagaries. Their relatively stable populations consisted of long-lived individuals relying on food supplies that were generally sufficient for reproduction, even in lean years.[54]

Although Natives had long relied on birds for eggs, meat, and feathers, the sheer numbers of birds, especially in offshore island rookeries, flabbergasted the first generations of European seamen. In 1535, Jacques Cartier noted that Newfoundland's Funk Island was "so exceeding full of birds that all the ships of France might load a cargo of them without any one perceiving that any had been removed." This augured well for commercial fisheries. Cod were not fastidious about what they ate, and along with capelin and herring, birds made fine bait. All of the Alcidae family (guillemots, murres, puffins, razorbills, and auks) nested in vast colonies on remote rocky islands. Those numerous Bird Islands and Egg Rocks between Cape Cod and Newfoundland had been outposts of safety in a cold, dark sea. With the rise of commercial fishing, island sanctuaries became slaughterhouses. Prized for their eggs, feathers, oil, and flesh, seabirds were decimated by fishermen and their dependents. From the late 1500s on, most crews fishing in the northwest Atlantic killed vast numbers of birds for bait during at least part of the season. A veteran noted in 1620 that "the Fishermen doe bait their hooks with the quarters of Sea-fowle."[55]

[53] Jeffrey A. Hutchings, "Spatial and Temporal Variation in the Exploitation of Northern Cod, *Gadus morhua*: A Historical Perspective from 1500 to the Present," in Vickers, *Marine Resources and Human Societies*, 43–68, esp. 48, 53, 55; Henry Lear, "History of the Fisheries in the Northwest Atlantic: The 500-Year Perspective," *Journal of Northwest Atlantic Fishery Science* 23 (1998): 41–73; Jeffrey A. Hutchings and Ransome A. Myers, "The Biological Collapse of Atlantic Cod off Newfoundland and Labrador: An Exploration of Historical Changes in Exploitation, Harvesting Technology, and Management," in Ragnar Arnason and Lawrence Felt, eds., *The North Atlantic Fisheries: Successes, Failures, and Challenges* (Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, 1995), 37–92.

[54] David Allen Sibley, *The Sibley Field Guide to Birds of Eastern North America* (New York, 2003); Apollonio, *Hierarchical Perspectives on Marine Complexities*, 71–77.

[55] For Natives' reliance on seabirds and their eggs, see Lescarbot, *The History of New France*, 3: 172, 231; Pierre Biard, *Relation de la Nouvelle France*, in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791*, 73 vols. (Cleveland, 1896–1901), 3: 81. Jacques Cartier, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, ed. Ramsay Cook (To-

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No bird had become better suited to fishermen's needs through thirty million years of evolution than the Great Auk, which early writers called "penguin." Standing two and a half feet tall, with solid bones and stubby vestigial wings, auks had evolved into superb swimmers and divers. Great Auks could not fly away from pursuers because, unlike every other North Atlantic bird species, they had sacrificed flying for underwater swimming as they evolved. They even migrated by paddling, traveling in vast rafts from Newfoundland to Cape Cod, and occasionally as far south as Carolina, before returning to the relative safety of rocky outposts near Newfoundland to nest. Anthony Parkhurst recounted in 1578 that sailors at Newfoundland's Funk Island drove "penguins" on "a planke into our ship as many as shall lade her."[56]

Great Auks, like Passenger Pigeons, could thrive only in huge, gregarious groups. Flightless, colonial, and adapted to living in the midst of rich fishing grounds, they collided headlong with commercial fishermen. As late as 1833, John James Audubon was assured by fishermen in Labrador that Great Auks nested "on a low rocky island to the south-east of Newfoundland, where they [the fishermen] destroy great numbers of the young for bait." Those fishermen were wrong. By then, Great Auks were nearly gone. By the end of the eighteenth century, only occasional stragglers were seen in the western Atlantic.[57] Extinction of their species came at Eldey, off Iceland, in 1844.

Other seabirds that had adapted to incubating their eggs relatively free from molestation were also susceptible to bait-seeking fishermen who invaded nesting colonies with clubs and sacks. Cliff-nesters such as Northern Gannets were not immune: ladders and lines provided access to hunters, who relished the sport, whether seeking eggs or birds. Even the tiny Wilson's Storm-Petrel, which nested in the sub-Antarctic, was not safe from bait hunters. Fishermen made whips from lengths of stiff cod line. As a fisherman remembered, the petrels were attracted with codfish liver: "when they had gathered in a dense mass, swish went the thongs of the whip cutting their way through the crowded flock and killing or maiming a score or more at a single sweep." Moreover, each spring, coastal folk in communities from Massachusetts to Newfoundland sought eggs in the wild. Colossal quantities were gathered: one year, four men from Halifax collected nearly 40,000 eggs, and scores of crews were at work. By the 1830s, eggers were sailing to Labrador, in part because rookeries between Cape Cod and Newfoundland already had been significantly depleted. John James Audubon then observed, "This war of extermination cannot last many more years. The eggers themselves will be the first to repent the entire disappearance of the myriads of birds."[58]

ronto, 1993), 4–5, 13–14, 40, quotation 40; Richard Whitbourne, *A Discourse and Discovery of Newfound-land* (London, 1620), 9.

[56] "A letter written to M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, conteining a report of the true state and commodities of Newfoundland, by M. Anthonie Parkhurst Gentleman, 1578," in Ernest Rhys, ed., *Hakluyt's Voyages*, 8 vols. (London, 1907), 5: 347; Jeremy Gaskell, *Who Killed the Great Auk?* (New York, 2000), 39, 52–53.

[57] John James Audubon, *The Complete Audubon: A Precise Replica of the Complete Works of John James Audubon Comprising the* Birds of America *(1840–44) and the* Quadrupeds of North America *(1851–54) in Their Entirety*, 5 vols. (Kent, 1979), 4: 245. On the extermination of Great Auks, see Errol Fuller, *The Great Auk* (Southborough, Kent, 1999), 60–77; Gaskell, *Who Killed the Great Auk?*

[58] Anthony J. Gaston, *Seabirds: A Natural History* (New Haven, Conn., 2004). Seabirds killed for bait included shearwaters, gannets, murres, gulls, puffins, terns, guillemots, auks, and cormorants. While

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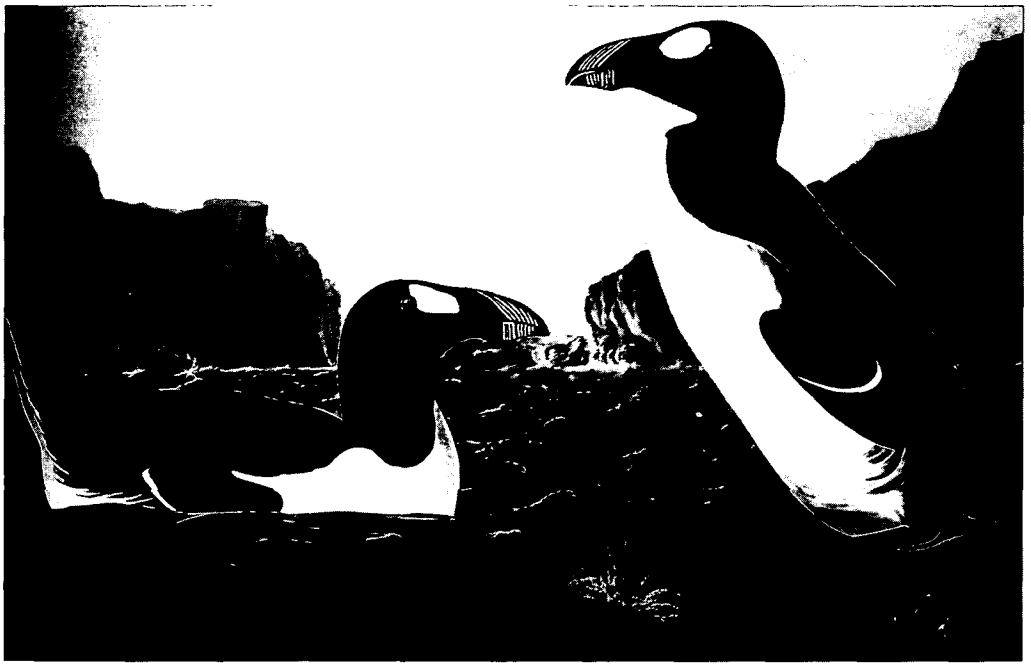


FIGURE 5: Some evidence suggests that seabirds' long life spans, low reproductive rates, and place in the food chain help to stabilize marine ecosystems. Fishermen valued seabirds, however, as a source of bait, eggs, feathers, oil, and meat. By 1800, relentless depredation had reduced the once-vast population of Great Auks to a tiny remnant; by 1844, the species was extinct. Aquatint by John James Audubon and Robert Havell from Audubon's *The Birds of America* (London, 1827–1838). Courtesy of Errol Fuller.

Gunning probably wreaked less havoc on waterfowl and seabirds before 1800 than baiting and egging, but it also depleted flocks whose numbers had stunned early visitors. Swans, noted Thomas Morton in 1632, could be found in "greate store at the seasons of the yeare." Geese "of three sortes" existed in "great abundance": "I have often had 1000 before the mouth of my gun." Ducks, teals, widgeons, cranes, sanderlings—all were available. As Wood observed of shorebirds, "one may drive them on a heap like so many sheep, and seeing a fit time shoot them." As early as 1710, Massachusetts legislators observed that shorebirds were diminishing because of gunners using canoes or floats "disguised with hay, sedge, seaweed" and the like "to shoot them . . . upon the flatts and feeding ground." An act that year outlawed such methods, but no evidence suggests that it was effective.[59]

John James Audubon did not witness seabirds being slaughtered for bait until the 1830s, his vivid accounts of a long-standing practice illuminate its impact on the ecosystem. See Audubon, *The Complete Audubon*, 4: 45–47, 156, 163–164, 176, 238–241; Maria R. Audubon, *Audubon and His Journals*, 2 vols. (New York, 1897), 1: 361–362. On egging, see ibid., 1: 374, 383; 2: 406–411, 423; Philip W. Conkling, *Islands in Time: A Natural and Cultural History of the Islands in the Gulf of Maine* (Rockland, Maine, 1999), 134. The quotation about killing petrels was by a nineteenth-century fisherman. See Captain J. W. Collins, "Notes on the Habits and Methods of Capture of Various Species of Sea Birds That Occur on the Fishing Banks off the Eastern Coast of North America, and Which Are Used as Bait for Catching Codfish by New England Fishermen," in United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries, *Report of the Commissioner for 1882* (Washington, 1884), 311–335, quotation 334.

[59] Morton, *New English Canaan*, 67–69; Wood, *New England's Prospect*, 48–53, quotation 52–53. See also Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, 90; John Pory to the Earl of Southampton, January 16, 1622/1623, in Sydney V. James, Jr., ed., *Three Visitors to Early Plymouth: Letters about the Pilgrim Settlement in New*

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Natural characteristics made some bird species particularly vulnerable. Samuel Penhallow reported that in 1717, at Arrowsic, Maine, Abenakis in canoes drove eider ducks "like a flock of sheep before them into the creeks." Most seabirds shed their feathers one at a time, replacing worn ones in rotation. Eiders molt all at once, which renders them flightless for several weeks in August, during which time they raft in vast numbers. "Without powder or shot they killed at one time four thousand six hundred," Penhallow noted. Killing eiders with paddles and sticks, Abenakis sold "a great number of them to the English for a penny a dozen, which is their practice yearly." Maine island residents capitalized on eiders' flightlessness during molting as long as eiders lasted. Each August, a flotilla assembled to drive the ducks into previously selected killing grounds. Duck Harbor, on the southwest side of Isle au Haut, was a choice spot. Its narrow mouth and steep walls trapped the birds. Naturalist Philip Conkling points out that "A single drive on Vinalhaven took 2,100 birds, which may have been half the nesting population of eiders for the west [Penobscot] bay that year. After the 1790s, the drives became less and less successful as the eider population declined." When the Reverend Jonathan Cogswell published his history of coastal Freeport in 1816, he observed "that birds of no kind abound in Maine." The maritime economy had virtually destroyed seabirds and shorebirds in the Gulf of Maine, and made serious inroads into their populations all the way to Newfoundland.[60]

True seabirds, such as shearwaters, petrels, and gannets, which had baited the cod hooks of several empires, actually share many similarities with marine mammals. As one ecologist explains, both have "long lives, late maturity, low reproductive rates," and "well-developed social behavior." Both are "highly migratory," and neither is "at the top of the food chain." Moreover, the small fish on which birds and most whales prey have high reproductive rates, meaning that birds consume juveniles "surplus to the supply needed to maintain the populations." Seabirds thus may function in an ecosystem similarly to marine mammals, stabilizing it and dampening dramatic oscillations. If that is the case, "an abundance of seabirds could in fact contribute some stability to the fisheries."[61] Ecological interactions are much more complicated than linear cause and effect. The systematic seabird slaughter not only restructured the

England during Its First Seven Years by John Pory, Emmanuel Altham, and Issack De Rasieres (Plymouth, Mass., 1963), 10. Yasuhide Kawashima and Ruth Tone, "Environmental Policy in Early America: A Survey of Colonial Statutes," *Journal of Forest History* 27 (October 1983): 176. *Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, 21 vols. (Boston, 1869–1922), 1: 667–669, quoted by Kawashima and Tone.

[60] Samuel Penhallow, *The History of the Wars of New England, with the Eastern Indians; or, A Narrative of Their Continued Perfidy and Cruelty, from the 10th of August, 1703. To the Peace Renewed 13th of July, 1713. And from the 25th of July, 1722. To their Submission 15th December, 1725. Which was Ratified August 5th, 1726* (1726; repr., Boston, 1924), 80–84; George L. Hosmer, *An Historical Sketch of the Town of Deer Isle, Maine, with Notices of Its Settlers and Early Inhabitants* (Boston, 1886), 16–18; Conkling, *Islands in Time*, 133–134. On Indians slaughtering molting eider ducks in the Bay of Fundy, see Audubon, *Audubon and His Journals*, 434–435. Rev. Jonathan Cogswell, "Topographical and Historical Sketch of Freeport, Maine," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2nd ser., 4 (1816): 184–189. Looking for gulls, guillemots, cormorants, and other species in the Gulf of Maine in August of 1832, John James Audubon wrote despondently to Dr. Richard Harlan from Eastport, Maine, "*Birds* are very, very few and far between." See Alexander B. Adams, *John James Audubon: A Biography* (New York, 1966), 400.

[61] Apollonio, *Hierarchical Perspectives on Marine Complexities*, 71–77, quotations 76–77. The impact on fish stocks of destroying seabird colonies is mentioned in Ernst Mayr, *This Is Biology: The Science of the Living World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 225.

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marine ecosystem by depleting populations of seabirds, but may have destabilized the fisheries that were the cornerstone of the northwest Atlantic economy, in addition to drastically reducing a resource that could have been eternally renewable. The reputation that coastal residents cultivated as skilled gunners or persistent eggers came at a cost, as did fishermen's opportunistic slaughter of seabirds for bait.

When Edmund Burke rose in the House of Commons in 1775 to salute the not-inconsequential accomplishments of His Majesty's subjects in North America, he attested to American whalers' ingenuity and work ethic. As Burke put it, there exists "no sea but what is vexed by their fisheries."[62] It was an apt turn of phrase by a masterful orator. New Englanders not only harvested the sea, Burke suggested; they troubled it. It is unlikely that he intended a point about ecological change. His word choice, however, reveals the link between hard physical labor in extractive industries and the toll that such labor takes on the environment. We know now that marine ecosystems could not be assaulted systematically over centuries by people wielding harpoons, hooks, seines, weirs, pots, guns, and eggers' baskets without consequences, both ecological and cultural.

The notion of "traditional fisheries," often shorthand for preindustrial activity, remains a mythic trope obscuring historic changes in marine ecosystems. It plays to the indefensible but commonplace assumption that the ocean has existed outside of history. Yet just as early modern people modified the terrestrial environments in which they lived, so, too, did they modify the marine ecosystems on which they increasingly relied. Partnering with marine scientists, or at least relying on their work, historians have an opportunity to explore those interactions in the Cape Verdean archipelago, Chesapeake Bay, the Caribbean, and other seas transformed by Atlantic connections. Increasing intimacy with the marine environment during the Age of the Ocean promoted commercial opportunities, curiosity about nature, new cultural forms—and changed ecosystems. Yet the relationship between that historical ocean and Atlantic history, much less other histories, is just beginning to emerge. It is a beckoning path, if one beset by cautions. Cause-and-effect relationships in ecosystems often are not immediate, not linear, and not obvious: so, too, with the interactions between ecosystems and human systems. While the economic implications of ecological constraints can sometimes be tracked relatively clearly (for instance, Newbury's sturgeon-packing establishments closed after eighteenth-century sturgeon stocks plummeted), reconstructing subtle cultural shifts triggered by changes in the sea—especially in the early modern era—will require careful interdisciplinary study of maritime communities and marine environments, and attention to linked phenomena occurring on widely varying timescales. That is the promise of ocean history.

By 1800, the northwest Atlantic was beginning to resemble European seas. Seventeenth-century impacts, in keeping with the small population, were modest. But during the eighteenth century, each human generation confronted fewer whales,

[62] Edmund Burke, "Speech on Conciliation with America," in Burke, *The Beauties of the Late Right Hon. Edmund Burke, Selected from the Writings, &c. of that Extraordinary Man*, 2 vols. (London, 1798), 1: 20.

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bass, sturgeon, and seabirds. With but few exceptions, this diminished ecological capital became regarded as the norm. Ecologists call this the "shifting baseline syndrome": it appears to have been well under way in the northwest Atlantic by 1800.[63] Downward trends in the coastal ocean's faunal populations and ecological resiliency during the eighteenth century are just as obvious as the lack of reliable statistics that rigid quantifiers claim necessary to make such a case. Attentive to those trends, and their implications, historians reconstructing the increasingly integrated Atlantic economy have the chance to imagine the ocean historically, and the opportunity to write it into history. The Age of the Ocean deserves nothing less.

[63] Daniel Pauly, "Anecdotes and the Shifting Baseline Syndrome of Fisheries," *Trends in Ecology and Evolution* 10 (October 1995): 430.

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Before Race Mattered: Geographies of the Color Line in Early Colonial Madras and New York

CARL H. NIGHTINGALE

BY THE 1710S, BRITISH AUTHORITIES AT BOTH MADRAS, INDIA, and New York City had made, by fits and starts, more than a half-century of progress in their efforts to increase their power over people they categorized as "black." Yet the residential color lines they drew in these two cities contrasted sharply. In Madras, known today as Chennai, stout stone walls separated a privileged European neighborhood from the city's Asian districts. Similar arrangements existed in other colonial cities in the Eastern Hemisphere, but Madras was the first place in world history to officially designate its two sections by color: "White Town" and "Black Town." In New York, by contrast, a small part of town outside the city wall sometimes called the "negro lands" was dismantled, along with the wall itself. In a pattern that New Yorkers would scarcely recognize today, but which was common among slave-importing cities of the Atlantic world, authorities forced black slaves to live inside the households of whites, especially the wealthiest ones. There, the politics of domestic life settled further questions of color and space.

What can we learn from juxtaposing these tales of two cities on opposite sides of the world? Read together, they tell us much about the ties between ventures of European expansion in the Eastern and Western hemispheres, and about the cities that anchored many of those ventures. They also allow us to explore the intellectual, political, and institutional emergence of color lines not only in their commonly assumed Atlantic birthplace, but also in the Indian Ocean, where much less is known about their earlier years.[1] Around the turn of the eighteenth century, some European colonial officials in both hemispheres reassessed the categories of human difference they deemed most useful to their political projects, and turned increasingly to color

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[1] "Perhaps more than any other set of ideas, race was Atlantic," writes Joyce Chaplin, and by their collective choice of research topics and approaches, historians have made this statement so. Chaplin, "Race," in David Armitage and Michael Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (London, 2002), 154. While the academic debate on the role of "race" in the origins of Atlantic slavery is enormous and so well-known as to make its citation unnecessary here, historians have done little, for example, to explore the role of concepts of difference in the making of the early modern British Empire in Asia—even though race and civilization are key aspects of work on the empire from the late eighteenth century on.

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concepts such as "black" and "white," even if they still showed little interest in the idea of "race." The inspiration for telling the stories of Madras and New York alongside each other comes from historians who approach comparative topics by highlighting connections between different parts of the world, and more specifically by calls to reframe the "Atlantic world" in larger contexts.[2] But such transnational and trans-hemispheric perspectives also help us scrutinize the real extent of larger connective changes. Were keywords, ideas, politics, and institutions of colony-building actually exported successfully from one part of the world to another, or did barriers operating within overlapping hemispheric, oceanic, continental, imperial, regional, urban, neighborhood, or even smaller geographies prevent or alter such long-distance trade?

Such an approach treats colonial cities as continually changing participants in larger-scale historical transformations—not subject to time-freezing typologies, as they often are. Certainly, no single geographic structure marked "the colonial city," as some scholars of Asian and African urban segregation have argued.[3] Instead, colonial urban authorities sought to restrict the movement and residence of their subjects using changing ranges of policies that involved both large-scale neighborhood division and forced co-residence. Explaining the policy mixes and priorities in any given colonial city at any time requires us to highlight the contingencies of political dramas that unfolded on various geographic scales.

As in all early modern colonial cities, officials in both Madras (founded in 1639–1640) and New York (founded as New Amsterdam in 1624–1626) were forced to continuously engage in diplomacy and war with local governments and rival European imperial enterprises. They also simultaneously contended with restive, polyglot local populations, who often violently resisted colonial rule and used urban space in transgressive ways. Indeed, spatial politics in Madras and New York took shape overwhelmingly in the context of concerns about urban defense and social control. Of course, quests for profit, commercial monopoly, and control over labor and land undergirded much of the colonial urban enterprise, but in residential matters, even economic concerns were sometimes subordinated to political and geopolitical imperatives. Other questions that became so important to modern urban structure, such as moral improvement and urban sanitation, had much less impact on the residential policies of the two cities during this earlier period.[4]

At the same time, the politics of urban defense and control in colonial cities was also contingent upon well-known hemispheric differences in the contexts of colonization. In Madras, the focus on residential separation reflected a genre of urban

[2] Peter A. Coclanis, "*Drang Nach Osten*: Bernard Bailyn, the World Island, and the Idea of Atlantic History," *Journal of World History* 13, no. 1 (2002): 169–182; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Eric Seeman, eds., *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500–2000* (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 2007); Alison Games, "Beyond the Atlantic: English Globetrotters and Transoceanic Connections," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 62, no. 4 (2006): 675–692; Philip J. Stern, "British Asia and British Atlantic: Comparisons and Connections," ibid., 693–712; and Peter A. Coclanis, "Atlantic World or Atlantic/World?" ibid., 725–742.

[3] Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power, and Environment* (London, 1976), 16–17, 39–40; King, *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System* (London, 1990), 35–37.

[4] On questions of moral reform and segregation in a transnational context, see Carl H. Nightingale, "The Transnational Contexts of Early Twentieth-Century American Urban Segregation," *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 3 (2006): 667–702.

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politics that had precedents in early New Spain and Portuguese West Africa and had traveled to the East. There, separation policies became more permanently established in a context in which colonialism was limited to seaborne trade, urban outposts, and often ambiguous power balances between itinerant European agents and local merchants and rulers. In the New World, where large-scale settler and plantation colonialism was possible, interest in large-scale urban separation schemes waned. Instead, colonial authorities in New York and in cities across the Americas prioritized policies of forced co-residence long associated with urban slaveholding.

As authorities in Madras and New York mobilized support for their contrasting policies of residential restriction, they drew heavily on contemporary concepts of human difference. In the official records from the two cities, a striking similarity emerges in these otherwise very different places. In both Madras and New York, almost simultaneously at the turn of the eighteenth century, a dichotomous color politics, involving a prioritization of polarized concepts of "black" and "white," began to dominate authorities' pronouncements. When these official sources are read through trans-hemispheric lenses, a crisscrossing transoceanic trade in urban political ideas emerges. Residential policies traveled for the most part within separate hemispheres, from one empire to another. By contrast, the black-white dichotomy became a trans-hemispheric phenomenon, traded principally within a single empire, the British one. Still, hemispheric and local contingencies mattered in the invention of urban color politics, for British authorities in West and East defined "black" and "white" differently and used it for different purposes. In Madras, the need to appease a particular constellation of foreign Asian merchant communities led to the first instance in world history of an officially designated urban residential color line. In both cities, the challenge of controlling the smallest, the most intimate, and arguably the least governable urban spaces left important imprints on the nature of color politics. To a great degree, then, the world's color lines and the hurly-burly of urban politics created each other.

These contingencies in the historical geography of urban color lines force us to come to terms with lingering universalistic assumptions in historians' analysis of concepts of human difference—most notably those associated with the search for the origins of "race." A vast consensus has emerged among scholars in many disciplines that color and race categories are continually reinvented within the context of social and political contestation, and that they have no all-embracing meaning outside those contexts. But as is true of many "origin" narratives, the search for the origins of "race" or "racism" (as well as the debate about the role of race in creating slavery) usually begins with universal definitions. For some, any historical use of color categories represents sufficient evidence of the presence of "race"—and many of us who demur on this point still instinctively refer to "black" and "white" as "racial" concepts. More historians are satisfied by the idea that race arises once moral and cultural characteristics of groups are seen as inalterably linked to attributes of the physical body, or are seen as heritable and thus linked to sex. Finally, some scholars use the term "proto-racial" to describe early modern ideas or institutions that do not quite add up to their universal definition of race, but which surely laid the way for

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"full-blown" racial versions later on, presumably in the modern era of "scientific" racism.[5]

The stories of Madras and New York force us to abandon such preset definitions. In the official discourse of both cities, intellectual projects involving black, white, body, heredity, sex, nation, people, color, complexion, *casta*, and race all had richly contingent histories that were sometimes connected to each other and sometimes separate. The history of "black," which authorities in both cities used widely from early on, was separate from that of "white," which replaced a preference for the self-designation "Christian" within the British Empire only much later. As "white" came into greater usage, other ideas about human difference, involving heredity and sexuality, were more firmly linked to color than they had been before—although more so in New York than in Madras. Most striking of all, however, in both cities throughout this period of seminal developments in color politics, authorities *never* found the word "race" useful at all, even though it was surely available to them. They overwhelmingly preferred "nation," "people," and later "color" and "complexion" as more general categories for "white" and "black"—as well as for other kinds of subcategories of people, including those defined by religious, cultural, and political terms.[6]

To analyze the urban politics of Madras and New York as "racial" or "proto-racial" in disguise would be to allow arbitrarily privileged notions of race to obscure the sheer multiplicity of early modern concepts of human difference at play. It would also be to muddy much more interesting questions: why historical actors prioritized some of these concepts over others, developed particular meanings and uses for them, and used them in support of political and institutional projects. Indeed, the most important lesson of the tale of these two cities is about why *color* categories, not at all connected to a notion of race, were selected and deployed within urban politics to help build key institutions of Western domination: segregation and slavery.

"WITHOUT . . . DEFENSIBLE PLACES," WROTE A BRITISH MERCHANT in 1642 from India to the Court of Directors of the British East India Company in London, "your goods and Servants among such treacherous people are in Continuall hazard. The just feare

[5] Joyce Chaplin, for example, invokes "The definitive and insidious feature of racism: its grounding in the human body and in lineage, which thus defines it as inescapable, a nonnegotiable attribute that predicts socio-political power or lack of power." Chaplin, "Race," 155. See also Chaplin, *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), 9–21, 157–200; George Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton, N.J., 2002), 5–6, 11, 23, 39–40, 41, 75; Nancy Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth-Century America* (Oxford, 2004), 125–140. For analyses that come closer to my argument here, see Nicholas Hudson, "From 'Nation' to 'Race': The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 3 (1996): 247–264; Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia, Pa., 2000).

[6] Both David Theo Goldberg, in *Racist Culture* (Oxford, 1993), 62–63, and Audrey Smedley, in *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview* (Boulder, Colo., 1993), 36–40, treat "race" as a synonym of "nation" and "people," but neither mentions that "race" was used much less often and for more circumscribed purposes, a point made by Hudson in "From 'Nation' to 'Race,'" 247, 256, 259 nn. 1–2. Nancy Shoemaker has noted that "white" emerged in a later period than "black" (and "red" even later); *A Strange Likeness*, 129–134.

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whereof hath induced the Portugalls [and] Dutch . . . to frame themselves in more safe habitations."[7] Citing the precedent of their rival imperialists, the directors agreed, and once they built their new fortress—named Fort St. George—outside the little fishing village of Madraspatnam, a new divided city grew up, much like the European colonial towns that stretched along the coasts from Morocco to East Asia.

In these cities, tropical disease and long distances from the metropole kept European populations small—tiny in British settlements. Surrounding them were vast and generally increasing indigenous populations with long-standing urban traditions of their own. Some of the world's richest and most powerful governments held sway—the Mughals in India, the Savafids in Persia, and the anti-foreign Qing in China and Tokugawa in Japan. Powerful foreign merchant communities from across Asia and East Africa dominated many individual port cities. Slavery thrived in the Indian Ocean world, and European colonial authorities relied on slaves, even to build the walls around their cities.[8] But overall, European expansion in the Indian Ocean world was never fundamentally dependent on the slave trade or slave labor; the vast majority of wealth came from transshipping luxuries such as spices, porcelains, and cloth within the Eastern Hemisphere and back to Europe. Dutch, British, and French mercantile companies were chartered to establish as much control over this trade as they could wrest from the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and each other. Under such conditions, Europeans did generally force non-European slaves and servants to live within their households. But the politics of defending and controlling Indian Ocean colonial cities was focused above all on separating the residence of Europeans and largely non-enslaved local Asians or Africans.

As the British merchant suggested, the Portuguese had first shown the way, by building a long chain of urban fortresses called *feitorias*, beginning with the castle of Elmina in West Africa in 1482. As these forts became the nuclei for towns, the Portuguese experimented with legislation setting aside separate quarters for Europeans and Natives, although not all of their colonial cities took a dual form. When the Spanish founded Manila in 1570, they vigorously enforced a policy of dividing cities that they had originally tried less successfully in the Americas. Authorities set aside a heavily fortified section of the city called "Intramuros" for Spaniards, and they passed stringent decrees banishing the local Filipino, Chinese, and Japanese populations to several separate neighborhoods outside the walls. In the early seventeenth century, navies of the Dutch East India Company took over many of the Portuguese forts by force and built some new ones of their own. As Remco Raben has shown, their walls were supplemented with the Indian Ocean's most sophisticated systems of urban segregation, sometimes involving intricate population registration systems and pass laws, most notably in their capital, Batavia.[9]

[7] Henry Davison Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640–1800: Traced from the East India Company's Records Preserved at Fort St. George and the India Office and from Other Sources*, 3 vols. (1913; repr., New York, 1968), 1: 39–40, 217.

[8] The trade in slaves to and from Madras was significant, but exports of slaves from the port were outlawed for a short time in the seventeenth century, and all slave trading was abolished in 1790. Ibid., 1: 127–136, 147–149, 545–546; 2: 81, 135, 451; 3: 382.

[9] Some make connections between *feitorias* and foreign merchant enclaves known as *fondaccos* in the Mediterranean, which were also related to early modern Jewish ghettos. Unlike these forebears, though, the *feitorias* were a vehicle of colonial control by foreigners over locals. Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the*

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At Madras, East India Company officials observed and debated the merits of these precedents and adapted them to meet the local constellation of political threats. Far from being an almighty overlord, the ragtag band of company agents who acquired Madraspatnam in 1639 did so under an arrangement that made the company an only somewhat privileged vassal to a petty local official of the long-crumbling Vijayanagar Empire, the Naik Damarla Venkatappa. Local sovereignty over the region shifted continually and unpredictably over the next seventy-five years, and company authorities had to fend off several besieging armies as well as spies who mingled among the many Indians and other Asians who settled near the new commercial outpost. The Portuguese occasionally harassed Madras from their nearby town of São Thomé; the Dutch had a fort a few miles up the coast; and the French would soon threaten from Pondichéry just to the south.[10]

As the town grew around Fort St. George, Europeans appear to have built their houses closest to the fortress walls. By the mid-1650s, they built yet another wall, which formed a much larger trapezoidal perimeter around the whole European settlement, enclosing what was then called "Christian Town."[11] Meanwhile, it also became clear that the rapidly growing Indian city beyond those walls posed its own security threat because it provided easy cover for enemy armies. For five decades, authorities at Madras tried to cajole the city's wealthiest Asians into financing a wall around Black Town as well. In 1687, the East India Company's powerful court director, Josiah Child, even insisted that the Hindu and Muslim merchants of Madras as well as the resident Armenians and Portuguese be encouraged to participate in the local "Corporation" (municipal government) as aldermen, and in exchange pay a wall tax. Some have traced this type of charter to the Americas, but as Child saw it, his goal was "to set up a Dutch Government amongst the English in India." Finally, in 1706, after seven years of periodic sieges from a particularly mercurial local sovereign, the Nawab Daud Khan of the Carnatic and Gingee, Governor Thomas Pitt (grand-uncle of the "Great Commoner") used British arms to confine the "heads of the castes" of Black Town in a local pagoda until they came up with the money. A stone wall finally went up around Black Town in the next few years.[12] (See Map 1.)

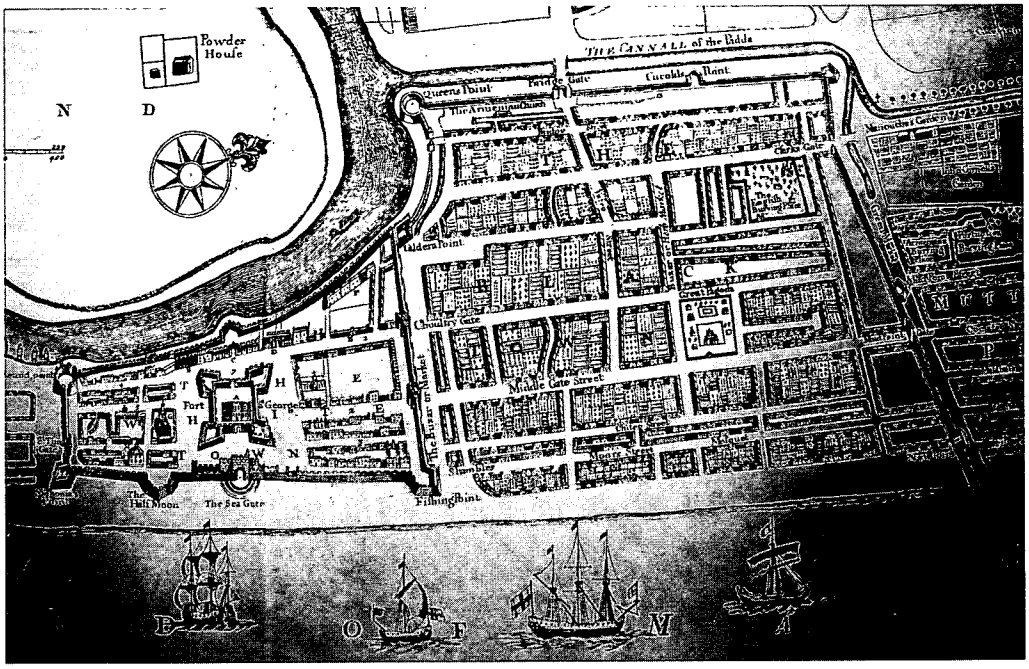
Middle Ages (Cambridge, 2003). Although no synthetic treatment exists of Portuguese cities in Africa and Asia, clues can be found in João Teixéira Albernaz, *Plantas das cidades, portos, e fortalezas da conquista da India oriental*, reproduced in François Pyrard, *Voyage de Pyrard de Laval aux Indes orientales (1601–1611)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1998), 1: 417–441. At Goa, the clergy successfully pushed for religious separation decrees, but secular authorities did not enforce them, and the capital city never took on the structure of a divided town. C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415–1825* (Oxford, 1963), 5, 9–11. On Manila, see Robert R. Reed, *Colonial Manila: The Context of Hispanic Urbanism and Process of Morphogenesis* (Berkeley, Calif., 1978), 38–63. On Batavia, see Remco Raben, "Batavia and Colombo: The Ethnic and Spatial Order of Two Colonial Cities, 1600–1800" (doctoral diss., University of Leiden, 1996), 162–247; Leonhard Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Dordrecht, 1986), 73–96.

[10] Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 1: 9–24, 34–38, 43, 63–65; 2: 149.

[11] Ibid., 1: 204–207.

[12] Child's instructions can be found in Government of Madras, *Records of Fort St. George: Despatches from England* (Madras, 1911–1971), 61 vols. covering 1670–1758 [hereafter DfE], vol. 8, June 9, 1686, nos. 16, 27, 29. On the trans-hemispheric trade in colonial charters, see Stern, "British Asia and British Atlantic," 701–705. For the wall tax debate, see Government of Madras, *Records of Fort St. George: Diary and Consultation Books* (Madras, 1910–1953), 82 vols. [hereafter PC or "Public Consultations"], vol. 11, January 4, 1686; vol. 19, January 14, 1692; vol. 28, May 10, 1699; vol. 29, December 4, 1700; vol. 31, August 3, 1702; vol. 36, July 6, 1706. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 1: 497–498. On Pitt's resolution, see

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MAP 1: Detail from Governor Thomas Pitt's map of Madras, ca. 1711. From Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras,* 1: facing 593.

Indians played important roles in the politics and the divided development of Madras, and not only by threatening the city with armies. In fact, the subcontinent's traditional openness to outsiders, which contrasted so markedly with policies in China, Japan, and even Java, made the company's initial deal with the Naik conceivable in the first place. Indian practices of caste and religious segregation may have also made the dividing of Madras easier. As in other South Indian cities, the rival Right Hand and Left Hand Hindu caste alliances in Madras lived on separate streets in Black Town, as did "untouchable" Pariars and Muslims. Many Hindu residents of Madras no doubt preferred to live far from what were seen as sacrilegious practices of the British, such as eating beef or hiring Pariars as household servants—although mercantile interests just as doubtlessly led many to suspend some such pieties.[13]

British authorities' relationships with Indian merchants at Madras, as elsewhere in the Indian Ocean, were based on delicate push-me pull-you power dynamics. Security needs to keep locals at a distance were contradicted by equal and opposite economic incentives for close interaction. The would-be monopoly required exclu-

PC, vol. 34, October 25, 1705; vol. 35, July 6, July 25, and September 12, 1706; and Cornelius Neale Dalton, *The Life of Thomas Pitt* (Cambridge, 1915), 214–230.

[13] Patrick Roche, "Caste and the Merchant Government in Madras, 1639–1749," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 12 (1975): 392–393; Arjun Appadurai, "Right and Left Hand Castes in South India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 11 (1974): 245–257; Joseph J. Brenning, "Chief Merchants and the European Enclaves of Seventeenth-Century Coromandel," *Modern Asian Studies* 11 (1977): 398–404. On the difficulties of attracting pious Hindu servants to work in European homes, see Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 2: 617.

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sive access to middlemen, called *dubashes* at Madras, to make business contacts, help with negotiations, and provide financing for purchases. At Madras the company's dependence on locals was especially acute, as cloth production required an elaborate cottage-industry infrastructure and thousands of artisans to make it work.[14]

Still, it would be a mistake to call the double city of Madras a case of "voluntary," "mutual," or "de facto" segregation. The walls themselves were, of course, the work of the East India Company itself, and they communicated commanding superiority over Indian subjects. The architecture of the European section radiated might: parapets and cannons festooned the roofs of the walls, gates, and houses. By the eighteenth century, most buildings in White Town were plastered with *chunam*, a substance made from the crushed shells of a local mollusk, which gave exteriors a marble-like appearance and from out at sea made White Town shine *whiter*—literally—than Black Town. Proclamations from the company agent and later governor were traditionally issued to the sound of cannon shots from White Town and large processions that passed from the fort through the massive Choultry Gate into Black Town. In support of the walled division of residences, governors felt it necessary to either pass or propose laws in 1680, 1688, 1690, 1698, 1706, 1743, 1745, and 1751 that regulated where various groups could live, sometimes ordering English residents to restrict the resale of their houses to other Englishmen. Because of all these measures, a dual housing market, and even a version of what South African historian Paul Maylam calls "fiscal segregation," developed in Madras by the eighteenth century, if not before. Property values were deemed much higher on average in White Town—even taking into account Indian merchants' palatial dwellings and temples in Black Town—and tax rates for European property were set lower than those levied in Black Town to avoid excessive burdens on Englishmen.[15]

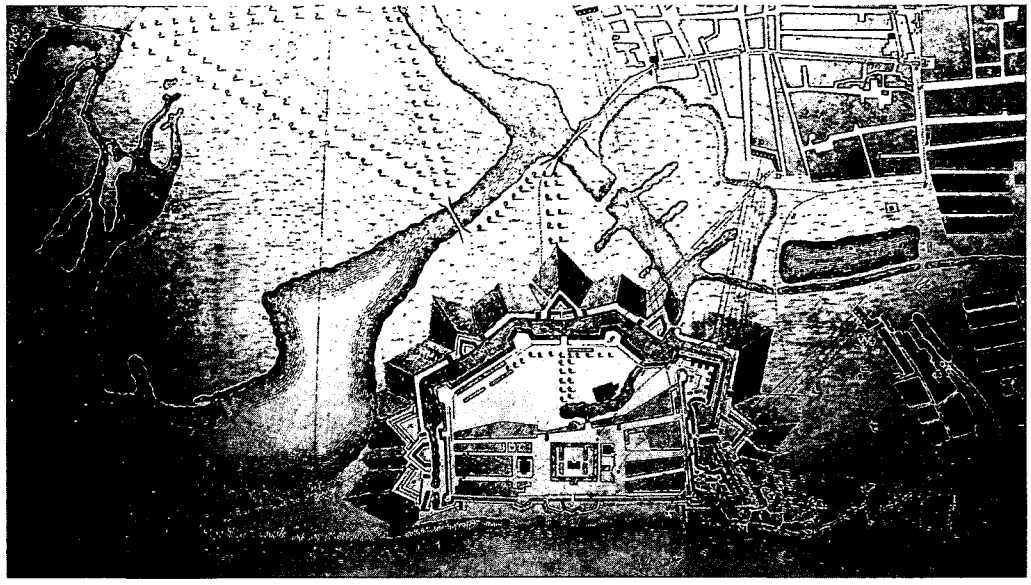
On top of that, the British company was not above using Indian caste politics for its own ends. For many years, governors relied primarily on members of the higher-status Right Hand caste alliance as the company's principal *dubashes* and suppliers. When the British sought better prices by allowing merchants from the Left Hand to bid on contracts, they provoked an enormous battle that centered on fights over the neighborhoods allotted to each caste. Governor Pitt finally forced caste leaders into seclusion to negotiate a clear division of Black Town, complete with a system of boundary stones, and the British got their cheaper cloth.[16]

[14] Susan Nield, "The Dubashes of Madras," *Modern Asian Studies* 18, no. 1 (1984): 1–31; C. A. Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 1988), 45–78; K. N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge, 1985), 80–118, 203–220. In the early years, separation was also aimed at controlling the movement of the company's own servants, with an eye to minimizing private trade. Curfews and forced attendance at the governor's table for dinner were gradually abandoned by the late 1680s, however. Hiram Bingham, *Elihu Yale: The American Nabob of Queen Square* (1939; repr., [Hamden, Conn.], 1968), 20.

[15] PC, vol. 2, September 1680, 115–116; vol. 14, February 27, 1688; vol. 16, July 21, 1690; vol. 26, February 25, 1698; Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 2: 25, 308, 395–396, 425–426, 573; Paul Maylam, *South Africa's Racial Past: The History and Historiography of Racism, Segregation, and Apartheid* (Aldershot, 2001), 149. Property values in Madras were ascertained during a survey of 1727. J. Talboys Wheeler, *Annals of the Madras Presidency*, 3 vols. (1861–1862; repr., Delhi, 1990), 3: 1–10, 21.

[16] PC, vol. 38, June 26, July 17, August 20, 22, 25, and 27, September 10, 13–16, and 23–25, October 1, 6, 20–22, and 30, November 7 and 13, and December 2 and 6, 1707; vol. 39, January 1 and 20 and June 10 and 23, 1708. Dalton, *The Life of Thomas Pitt*, 319–334; Appadurai, "Right and Left Hand Castes," 245–257; Brenning, "Chief Merchants and the European Enclaves," 398–404; Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 2: 25–30.

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MAP 2: Detail from "Plan of Fort St. George, Part of the Black Town and Country Adjacent . . . " (1758), showing the destruction of the old Black Town and new fortifications around White Town. From Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 2: facing 554.

As in divided cities throughout history, the color lines at Madras were semipermeable, regularly transgressed by Indian servants, mercantile collaborators, and people in search of sex. Separation proclamations tended to arise in moments of crisis and to languish in a less-enforced state during more stable times. But the walls of White Town and the color inequalities they created continuously served as a primary instrument in institutionalizing what became a color hierarchy—as well as a grand stage for the theatrics of an emerging colonial authority. In the 1740s, as Britain's wars with France and Spain took on trans-hemispheric dimensions, the process of fortified and legalized separation by color intensified dramatically at Madras. In 1746, the French seized the city, leveled the historic Black Town (wall and all), and resettled its inhabitants four hundred yards from the gates of White Town. When the British regained Madras two years later, they forbade any building in the intermediate zone, which became a military *cordon sanitaire* forcing besieging armies into the open. Then they filled in the languid Elambore (or Cooum) River to the west of White Town, allowing for a doubling of White Town's area and making room for a bristling, state-of-the-art Vauban-style fortification system. (See Map 2.) Later in the eighteenth century, the company subsidized the growth of White Town beyond the walls. Its methods, which evoke those of twentieth-century South Africa and the United States, included grants of land for suburban "garden estates," and the construction of wider roads to accommodate the greater number of horse carriages carrying commuters into the city's historic business center.[17]

[17] Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 2: 347–348, 448–452, 520–538, and map facing 554; Susan Nield, "Madras: The Growth of a Colonial City in India, 1780–1840" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1977), 309–336; Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, 1985), 190–218; Susan Parnell, "Slums, Segregation, and Poor Whites in Johannesburg, 1920–1934," in

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In the Americas, very different epidemiological, demographic, political, and economic circumstances held sway, creating an intra-hemispheric, trans-colonial flow of very different mixtures of urban planning ideas. In contrast to the East, the Atlantic microbial exchange favored the increase of the New World's European and African populations and wrought catastrophic decreases in the numbers of Native people, who were also in general far less urbanized than in Asia. Even after the fall of the Mexican and Inka empires, Native American governments and economies could be formidable by world standards, as the governors of New York found in their many dealings with the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy and the Canadian Indians beyond. But, in part because of population decline, no Native government in the Americas was able to prevent Europeans' increasingly dense settlement of coastal hinterlands, the confiscation of the continents' mineral resources, and, from Maryland to Brazil, the appropriation of vast lands for cash-crop plantations. Native Americans were widely enslaved but were never available in large enough numbers to match the Atlantic plantation system's sheer demand for labor. By well before 1700, the economy of the Western Hemisphere, unlike that of the Indian Ocean, depended overwhelmingly on imports of captive Africans as slave laborers.

In some colonial cities of the Americas, residential separation became a feature of European policies toward Amerindians, most notably in New Spain, where in 1563 King Philip himself issued an edict that established separate *reducciones* or *barrios* for urban Indians, which were off limits to all Spaniards except friars in charge of Christian conversion, and that forbade Natives from entering the "precincts of the [Spanish] town" in the interest of defense. In the French and British colonies, similar but much smaller districts—called "praying towns" in New England—were established, and some frontier towns, including Albany, New York, passed laws restricting seasonal Indian traders to camps outside the walls. In New Amsterdam, Governor Peter Stuyvesant built the city's famous, if flimsy, wall in 1658 (destined to give its name to the Wall Street financial district) to protect the city's landside approach against both Indians and expansion-minded colonists from New England. Laws forbade Indians from "tarrying . . . during the night" south of the wall.[18]

Nowhere in the Americas, however, did such separation policies remain central to urban politics for long. In New Spain, local authorities enforced their king's decree lackadaisically, if they were able to at all, in the face of the rapid growth of a Christian mestizo and mulatto population and the declines in Native populations. In North America, European settlement of the hinterlands of coastal towns meant that nearby Native peoples—whose settlements often changed seasonally and were thus unlikely

Robert Morrell, ed., *White but Poor: Essays on the History of Poor Whites in Southern Africa, 1880–1940* (Pretoria, 1992), 115–129.

[18] Quote from the Spanish ordinance from Zelia Nuttal, "Royal Ordinances Concerning the Laying Out of New Towns," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 4 (November 1921): 753. Quote from the New Amsterdam ordinance in Berthold Fernow, ed., *Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674 Anno Domini*, 7 vols. (Baltimore, Md., 1976), 2: 51–52. See also 1: 22 and 4: 32. Similar prohibitions on overnight stays were instituted by the British, but these applied to "strangers" of all backgrounds, not just Indians. Herbert L. Osgood, Frederic W. Jackson, Robert H. Kelby, and Hiram Smith, eds., *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1675–1776*, 8 vols. (New York, 1905), 1: 135, 220, 246. On praying towns, see Yasu Kawashima, "Legal Origins of the Indian Reservation in Colonial Massachusetts," *American Journal of Legal History* 13 (1969): 42–56. On Albany, see City of New York, *The Colonial Laws of New York*, 5 vols. (Albany, 1894), 1: 89, 2: 150.

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in any case to develop into long-standing "Indian Towns"—moved farther inland, declined due to war and disease, or, as among "praying Indians," assimilated into colonial society. Although historians argue that schemes such as the praying towns prefigured segregated rural Indian reservations, the spatial politics of port cities such as New York, unlike Madras, were decreasingly affected by the otherwise complex ongoing diplomacy and warfare between Europeans and Native peoples.[19]

Instead, urban authorities in the Americas became increasingly preoccupied with suppressing what they saw as the nearly constant insubordination of urban black slaves. To such authorities, the idea of creating separate neighborhoods for slaves was seen as nothing less than an open invitation to slave revolution, and possibly the downfall of the whole Atlantic plantation system. Instead, they preferred a technique that went back to ancient times, forcing slaves to live in the households or on the properties of their masters. In practice this amounted to a private, domestically run system of household separation, with slaves living in garrets and closets in the house or in the "black houses" (*cases á nègres*) sited in back courtyards next to the kitchens and stables where many urban slaves worked. To enforce that system, authorities from Mexico City to Charles Town and from New Orleans to Rio de Janeiro passed draconian black codes that limited slaves' movements and actions and kept any independent social or political life to an absolute minimum, especially between slaves and free blacks. In other words, beyond the master's home, blacks had to be segregated from one another.[20]

Large-scale residential color separation of Africans was very limited in slave-importing colonial cities of the Atlantic. In New Amsterdam, the Dutch West India Company itself owned many slaves and for a short period maintained a guarded compound for them. But for the most part, the segregation of Negroes occurred in defiance of the regime of slavery, not in defense of it. Slaves themselves, often with help from free blacks, built black enclaves—including Charleston's Neck, Savannah's Bluffs, the yards of Kingston, and Rio's first informal hillside settlements—as a means to ensure a small measure of independent life within a brutal system.[21]

On Manhattan, the disappearance of residential separation for both blacks and Natives went hand in hand with the effort to formalize slavery. New Amsterdam had

[19] Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810* (Stanford, Calif., 1964), 147, 370–381; R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Mexico City, 1660–1720* (Madison, Wis., 1994), 16–21; Kawashima, "Legal Origins of the Indian Reservation," 42–56.

[20] For a few examples among many on the residence of slaves in cities, see James C. Anderson, *Roman Architecture and Society* (Baltimore, Md., 1997), 293–336; A. C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441–1555* (Cambridge, 1982), 96–99, 120–125; Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, 15–21; Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1850* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 59–66; Anne Pérotin-Dumond, *La Ville aux Iles, la Ville dans L'Ile: Basse Terre et Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe, 1650–1820* (Paris, 2000), 462–470, 641–718; Pedro Welch, *Slave Society in the City: Bridgetown, Barbados, 1680–1834* (Kingston, Jamaica, 2003), 39–40, 158–163; Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820–1860* (New York, 1964), 55–79.

[21] On the "Quartier de Swarten de Comp Slaves" on Manhattan, see Graham Russell Hodges, *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613–1863* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999), 12. Panamá is an exception that proves the rule: it was rebuilt as a dual city after being sacked by Henry Morgan in 1671. The light-skinned elite there had less to fear from slaves than from a large free population of color who were not tied to elite households and who became the inhabitants of the *Arrabal* outside the city walls. Alfredo Castillero Calvo, *La Ciudad imaginada: El Casco Viejo de Panamá* (Panamá, 1999). Thanks to Professor Aims McGuiness for help in summarizing Castillero Calvo's argument.

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no formal slave code. A substantial group of "Atlantic creoles" who served as bondspeople to the Dutch West India Company were able to petition for a "half-free" status, and a number owned land in what were called the "new negro lots" or the "negro lands" well north of Peter Stuyvesant's town wall, in the general area of today's Washington Square. When the British took New York, they agreed to honor this arrangement, but over time they also pushed for expansion north of Wall Street. In the process, unlike their counterparts at Madras, officials in New York asserted control over "blacks" by destroying a wall. Land prices and taxes increased as the city edged northward, ultimately forcing many of the city's blacks to leave Manhattan altogether, ending the faint pattern of residential separation.[22]

In New York, also in contrast to Madras, it was the local city and provincial authorities—many of whom were slaveholders themselves and faced the threat of rebellion most acutely—who took the initiative for ever more draconian strategies of control, often over the objections of the governors sent from Britain. In 1681–1683, 1702, 1706, and 1712, the Common Council of New York City and the New York Assembly formalized slavery in the city and colony in much the same way the Spanish, French, and British West Indians had before. In addition to rules that forced slaves to live in their owners' houses and carry notes from their masters when they ventured outside, the 1712 code made manumissions even more difficult and forbade manumitted slaves from owning property. This made it impossible for any free black residential community, separate or otherwise, to grow in New York. Slaves were dispersed in small numbers throughout the white residences of the city. Because the wealthiest New Yorkers owned the largest numbers of slaves, the greatest concentrations of blacks lived in the wealthiest white neighborhoods. Authorities did agree to establish a separate African burial ground, but that only proves the rule about the structure of slave cities: black people were granted a "neighborhood" of their own only when they were dead.[23]

Laws such as New York's created big obstacles to intimate relationships between blacks, including marriage. Local authorities also tried mightily but less successfully to interpose their agents into other, smaller, troublesome spaces in the urban fabric where slaves could find transgressive autonomy and connection: workplaces, schools, informal markets, ceremonial grounds, taverns, and at night in the city's labyrinthine back alleys. The economics of urban slaveholding often thwarted these efforts. Although many urban slaves, especially women, were domestic servants whose jobs bound them to their masters' households, slaveholders could also make a good profit by hiring slaves out, a practice that gave blacks considerable autonomy to move about, gather, and even establish separate residences. Although the slaveholding elite quarreled among themselves over the dangers of this system, and ordinary white workers bitterly opposed the competition from slaves' low-wage labor, pocketbook concerns kept it alive, and new measures to control slaves' movements proliferated. Local legislatures forbade more than four, then more than three, slaves from meeting together, strengthened pass laws, outlawed Sunday revelries and the sale of liquor

[22] Fernow, *Records of New Amsterdam*, 1: 72, 78, 97–98, 177; 2: 51–52, 209; 5: 104; 6: 382, 385, 392. Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 34–36; Leslie Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626–1863* (Chicago, 2003), 23–24.

[23] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 63–68; Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery*, 31–36; Jill Lepore, "The Tightening Vise," in Ira Berlin and Leslie M. Harris, eds., *Slavery in New York* (New York, 2005), 69–75.

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to slaves, and set ever more stringent curfews, which ultimately even made it illegal for a slave to walk around after dark without a lantern. As Ira Berlin has argued, these laws, passed and re-passed throughout the Americas, only document the wide extent to which slaves flouted them. In New York, slaves continued to mount insurgencies, often allied with radicalized poorer whites, most notably in 1721 and 1732. The biggest conspiracy of all was that of 1741, in the midst of the same bout of brewing pan-imperial warfare that triggered a surge of segregation in Madras. In New York, the result was a rash of gruesome public executions and another series of crackdowns on slaves' movements outside their masters' households.[24]

TO SELL THEIR POLICIES OF DEFENSE, CONTROL, AND URBAN RESIDENCE, colonial officials drew on rich languages of human difference. The crucial change in these languages at both Madras and New York was the decreasing use of national and religious categories in favor of color categories, first "black" and then, considerably later, "white." Important increases in British authorities' power in both cities were accomplished at the same time that the hybrid "Christian-black" opposition was replaced by the more thoroughly color-struck politics of "white" and "black." Despite the divide between the institutions of British colonization in the Americas and the East India Company in Asia, the rise of whiteness in both places around the turn of the seventeenth century suggests that the early modern British Empire served as a conduit for color concepts that linked West and East. Still, black and white politics took different forms in the two cities, reflecting the contrasting hemispheric contexts and local contingencies that drove residential policies.

As Winthrop Jordan and others have shown, the history of blackness in the West reaches back to classical times. The most complex premodern vocabulary of color, however, developed within the Muslim world, and when the Portuguese began exploring, and slaving, on the West Coast of Africa, they adopted the Arab convention of using "white" (*branco*) for Arabs and "black" (*negro*) for Africans. The Spaniards also used *negro* for the slaves they imported into New Spain, and that word was absorbed, along with *mulatto* and *mestizo*, in various Iberian-inspired forms into Dutch, French, and English throughout the Atlantic, including at New Amsterdam from its earliest years.[25]

European travel writers used a variety of colors as descriptive terms for Asians—"white," "yellow," "brown," and "black"—but colonial authorities rarely used these words as official political categories for their subjects. The Dutch, English, and French, for example, never used a variant of the word "Negro" to describe Asians;

[24] Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 156–157; Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 48–50, 59–69; Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery*, 33, 39–45; Jill Lepore, *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth Century Manhattan* (New York, 2005).

[25] On Arab color systems, see Bernard Lewis, *Race and Color in Islam* (New York, 1971). For examples of early Portuguese use of color terms, see Valentim Fernandes, *Description de la côte d'Afrique de Ceuta au Sénégal*, trans. P. De Cenival and Th. Monod (1506–1507; repr., Paris, 1938), 58, 69; Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire*. On early modern British discussions of blackness, see Winthrop Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Baltimore, Md., 1968), 3–43. For examples of *casta* terms in New York slave laws, see *The Colonial Laws of New York*, 1: 597–598, 766, 845, 922.

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in the Indian Ocean, even Africans were most often called "Caffres" or "Kaffirs," after the Arabic word for "unbeliever." Moreover, although colonial authorities had often divided their towns into zones for Europeans and Asians from the 1480s on, the records reveal no instance where authorities officially designated these sections by color before Madras's "Black Town" in the mid- to late seventeenth century.[26]

Even at Madras, the choice of a color designation was not automatic. The inhabitants of the city included many people who were usually described as "black" by travelers—sometimes even "black as pitch."[27] British officials at Madras, however, most often used national or religious designations such as "Malabar Town" (the word for Madras's majority Tamil population) or "Gentue Town" (a word that referred to either the city's large minority Telugu population or Hindus in general) to designate the Asian section of their outpost. Locals preferred to call Madras, or at least its Asian section, Chennaipattanam (the root of today's "Chennai"), in honor of the Naik Venkatappa's father, and they avoided "Black Town" in their petitions to the British governors. Only after 1676 did the phrase "Black Town" enter the vocabulary of British officials, and it appears to have been a derogatory term. Some of this disdain may have come from associations between blackness and slaves in the Atlantic, but agendas within the local politics of defense and control were clearly more important. From the city's earliest years, the British saw local inhabitants as "treacherous people," and they most often used the word "black" as a way to express their frustration with Indians' refusal to submit to company commands. The phrase "Black Town" arose in the context of one of many energetic but fruitless efforts to get Indian merchants to pay the wall tax. In letters written from London, the language of the East India Company's Court of Directors fluctuated. At one moment they were issuing thundering directives to tax the "black merchants" by force, and at another they were advising "gentleness and perswasion" to entice the "Gentues and Moores" to take seats as aldermen of the Madras Corporation and pay the tax voluntarily. The company's local agents, by contrast, had more at stake in being consistently respectful, since they engaged heavily in illegal trade to supplement their low salaries, and were thus dependent on good personal relationships with the *dubashes*. Their tendency was to use "Gentue Town" and "Malabar Town," and even "Chennaipattanam," although "Black Town" grew in frequency. By the first decade of the eighteenth century, "Gentue" and "Malabar" disappeared from local usage, after Pitt finally forced the "black merchants" to pay for the Black Town wall.[28]

The history of "white" as a self-designation for Europeans has a completely dif-

[26] For a selection of travel writers' use of color terms along the routes to the East, see Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huygen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, ed. Arthur Cooke Burnell and P. A. Tiele (1596; repr., New York, 1970), 28, 46, 64, 77, 94, 101, 126, 135, 183–184, 255, 261, 269; Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. 3: *Travels in England, India, China, Etc., 1634–1638* (London, 1919), 233, 252, 260–266, 312; and Pyrard, *Voyage*, 1: 65–66. At Elmina, the African section was sometimes called the "village of the blacks," but not officially; most other names for sections of cities reflected architectural styles, not color: "Intramuros" at Manila, "Casteel" at Batavia, and "Zona da Cimiento" and "Zona da Macuti" ("Cement Zone " and "Mangrove Zone") at Moçambique; Malyn Newitt, "Mozambique Island: The Rise and Decline of an East African Coastal City," *Portuguese Studies* 20, no. 1 (2004): 31.

[27] Linschoten, *Voyage*, 269.

[28] Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 1: 84–85, 95, 118–119, 198, 206–207, 280, 368, 370–371, 421–422, 432–433, 443, 454, 497–498; 2: 52. On the end of the Black Town wall crisis, see PC, vol. 35, July 25, 1706. Quote from directors in DfE, January 22, 1692. The authorities at Madras used the words "treach-

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ferent chronology and global geography from that of "black." The Spanish and Portuguese occasionally used it for themselves, in obvious contrast to *negro*, but like the Muslims they used it more systematically as a descriptive term for Arabs and other light-skinned Asians. In the realm of official categories, Iberians in Asia much preferred to call themselves "Christians" or by their respective national designations, and other Europeans copied this practice in both East and West. In the *sistema de castas* of New Spain, *negro* was the bottom category, but the top category was almost always designated by the term *Español*. In Portuguese India, top place in a similar system was given to the *reinois*, those born in Portugal, not to "whites." The Dutch appear to have almost entirely dispensed with "white" in the population registration systems of Java, preferring "European." At Madras, during just about the entire seventeenth century, the European section of the city was universally called "Christian Town."[29]

It was not until the 1660s that authorities in any European colony began to use the term "white" widely as an official category. The practice probably began in the sugar colonies of the British West Indies. The first censuses there, which date from 1661, universally use the dichotomy of "white" and "black."[30] This contrasts dramatically with similar documents from the same period from the British North American mainland. Historians Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington catalogued hundreds of citations to continental censuses and musters. Of the subset of these documents that distinguished Europeans from Africans, only one, a document from Rhode Island, used the category "white" before 1700. Terms such as "English," "Christians," "freemen," and "taxables" abound, and one Massachusetts muster used the elliptical category "souls besides the blacks." The earliest sustained use of "white" on the mainland comes from the slave laws of Virginia. In 1691, the legislature updated an earlier law forbidding sex between what they now called "English

erous peoples" and "nations" for any suspected enemy, including the Portuguese and Dutch. See Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 1: 37, 39, 45, 246, 310.

[29] Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven, Conn., 2004), 5–38, 42–53; she documents uses of the word *blanco* (211 n. 32 and 231 n. 91), but these are from the late eighteenth century; the word *albino* occurs in a painting on 54–55. Also, Magali Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings* (Austin, Tex., 2003), 44–105. In the Philippines, Spaniards deemed the "white" or "light" skin color of the Chinese a sign of superiority: e.g., Maximilianus Transylvanus, *De Moluccis Insulis*, in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, 55 vols. (Cleveland, 1903), 1: 309. At Goa, Afonso da Albuquerque famously ordered his lieutenants to marry "white and beautiful [*alvas e de bom parecer*]" widows of Muslim traders he had slaughtered. Boxer, *Race Relations*, 64–65. On the Portuguese *casta* system, see Linschoten, *Voyage*, 46, 64, 67, 77, 94, 114, 126, 135, 183–184, 255, 261, 269; Linschoten uses "white man" (*wit man*) only once, on p. 216. See also Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, 233, 261; and Pyrard, *Voyage*, 1: 12, 17, 65–66. On Batavia, see Raben, "Batavia and Colombo," 77–116. The index to Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras* (vol. 4), contains an entry under "Christian Town" on pp. 32–33 that gives numerous references to that naming convention.

[30] Nancy Shoemaker speculates that Barbadian migrants to the Carolinas may have brought their usage of "white" to the mainland; *A Strange Likeness*, 129–130. Seventeenth-century musters censuses from the West Indies and Bermuda, all containing "white and "black," can be found in W. N. Sainsbury et al., eds., *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, vol. for 1669–1674 (Vaduz, Liechtenstein, 1964), 495 (Barbados, 1673); and at the Public Record Office, London, in the Colonial Office Record Group in the following locations: for Barbados, 29/2/4–5, 28 (1676); for Jamaica, 1/15/192 (1661), 1/45/96–109 (1680); for the Leeward Islands, 1/42/195–240 (1678); and for Bermuda, 37/2/197–98 (1698). For Jamaica, see also Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1972), 155, which gives a tabulation from censuses dating from 1662, 1670, and 1673 in addition to the 1661 document cited above.

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or other white women" and black slaves. After about 1700, and especially after 1710, "white" appears in colonial documents with what, considering the slow pace of cultural historical change, must be called sudden profusion.[31] In New York, in 1712, the principal categories that authorities used in counting the population were still "Christians" and "Slaves." In 1723, however, the census of the colony first used "white" and "black," a practice repeated in 1737, 1746, and 1749. A similar transformation occurs in the language used in statutes, ordinances, reports, and official correspondence.[32]

In Madras, the use of "white" increased at approximately the same time as on the North American mainland. "Whyte Town" first occurred in an isolated incident in 1693, and then not again until 1711, on a map published under the orders of Governor Pitt (reproduced here as Map 1). Authorities were nevertheless very comfortable contrasting "Black Town" with "Christian Town" from the 1670s until about 1720, after which "White Town" took over as the most widely used designation—again, the first place in Asia where this was the case.[33]

Why would colonial authorities abandon "Christian," a term that for centuries had marked them as instruments of God's will, and instead identify themselves by the color "white"? Overarching explanations about the favorable meanings of whiteness in Western culture or a secularization of Western society probably do not help here, since neither could explain why "white" so swiftly and suddenly became a powerful term of group pride and solidarity in a succession of different British colonies.[34]

A more likely explanation involves political conflicts between Europeans over class, religion, and nation that grew as the British formalized slavery in their American colonies. Such struggles began in the late 1650s, in discussions that linked the West Indies and Parliament in London. As the "sugar revolution" transformed is-

[31] Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932). The Rhode Island document is on p. 62; the phrase "souls besides the blacks" is on p. 14.

[32] For New York colonial censuses, see John Romeyn Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York Procured in Holland, England and France*, ed. E. B. O'Callahan, 15 vols. (Albany, N.Y., 1855), 4: 420; 5: 340, 702, 929; 6: 133, 392, 550; and O'Callahan, *The Documentary History of the State of New-York*, 4 vols. (Albany, 1849), 1: 240–241, 467–474. I found no use of the word "white" before 1690 in the Brodhead or O'Callahan collections just cited or in any of the following: E. B. O'Callahan, *Journal of the Legislative Council of the Colony of New York, 1691–1743* (Albany, N.Y., 1861); City of New York, *The Colonial Laws of New York*, 5 vols. (Albany, N.Y., 1894); and Osgood et al., *Minutes of the Common Council*. "Christians" is used occasionally, and "ffreeman or woman professing Christianity" (*Colonial Laws*, 1: 570 [1703], 762 [1712], 830 [1716], 889 [1716]). The words used most often for Europeans are "freemen," "masters" or "mistresses," and simply "people" or "inhabitants."

[33] PC, vol. 20, February 6, 1693. Thomas Salmon's *Modern History; or, The Present State of All Nations* describes voyages to Madras in 1699–1701, and he uses "White Town"; however, his memoirs were not published until 1736, so this might reflect later usage. See excerpts in Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 2: 73. Alexander Hamilton also uses "White Town" in his *A New Account of the East Indies*, ed. William Foster, 2 vols. (London, 1930), 1: 192–209; it was originally published in 1727 but refers to visits in 1707, 1711, and 1719. On dating Thomas Pitt's map, see Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 2: 88–90. For other references to "White Town," see PC, vol. 48, October 21, 1717; vol. 58, September 23 and October 14, 1728, and January 8, 1733; vol. 71, June 26 and 30, 1741; vol. 73, August 22 and October 17, 1743; vol. 75, June 4, 1745; vol. 81, January 19, 1749; and Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 2: 395–396, 425, 451, 520, 525, 573, 604, 609, 622; 3: 52, 80–81, 167. In vol. 1, Love has reproduced a map of John Fryer's from 1672–1681 and affixed the label "White Town" under it, but it was not in the original. John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia, Being Nine Years' Travels, 1672–1681*, ed. William Crooke, 3 vols. (London, 1909), 1: facing 103.

[34] Jordan, *White over Black*, 7–8; Fredrickson, *Racism*, 52–54.

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lands such as Barbados into the wealthiest colonies of the British Empire, creating Britain's first true "slave societies," the status of European indentured servants came into question. To many horrified observers in London and the islands, such servants had been reduced to "Christian slaves"—a term that sometimes was increasingly rendered as "white slaves"—threatening to make "our lives . . . as cheap as negroes." Meanwhile, various clerics and later the Crown put increasing pressure on slaveholders to convert Africans to Christianity. Many slaveholders were reluctant to do so, fearing that conversion would result in emancipation. Morgan Godwyn, a prominent propagandist for slave conversion, inveighed against the tendency by which "*Negro* and *Christian, Englishmen* and *Heathen*, are by idle corrupt Custom and Partiality made *Opposites*; thereby as it were implying, that the one could not be *Christians*, nor the other *Infidels*." While no one ever made it an explicit policy, adopting "white" as the designation for free people instead of "Christian" could have clarified such matters, defusing dissension between the Crown, the missionaries, and the slaveholders, as well as helping to cement political support among European colonists of different classes and persuasions in defense of slavery.[35] This alliance between whites in the British colonies also reflected different demographic conditions and gender politics than existed in New Spain, where the larger Native and smaller European female populations led to a "plebeian" class of mixed Indian, black, and European heritage. Elite power there rested on segmenting plebeians into dozens of *casta* categories. In British colonies, larger white female populations created a larger unmixed population, so authorities resorted to a politics of whiteness, which purchased the allegiance of poorer European colonists by offering the compensatory illusion of sharing elite status with slaveholders.[36]

In New York, the process of establishing and formalizing slavery occurred later than elsewhere in British America—and so did the arrival of black-white politics. Leslie Harris has argued that as European indentured servants became more likely to outlive their terms of service in the 1690s, they could put greater pressure on slaveholders to reserve certain areas of labor to them, not hired-out black slaves, thus forcing slaveholders to negotiate across class boundaries for political support. Thelma Wills Foote adds that British authorities at New York needed to unite a restive population with origins in many nations of northern Europe. Economic and national struggles had fueled Jacob Leisler's "revolution" against British authorities in 1689–1692, for example. Since more slaves had also converted to Christianity by

[35] Quotes on "white slaves" from Hillary McD. Beckles, "The 'Hub of Empire': The Caribbean and Britain in the Seventeenth Century," in Nicholas Canny, ed., *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1998), 228–232. See also Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 238–246. Historians of Virginia note similar processes at work in the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion: Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975), 327–329; Theodore Allen, *The Invention of the White Race*, vol. 2: *The Origins of Racial Oppression in Anglo-America* (London, 1997), 203–238. Quote from Morgan Godwyn, *The Negro's and Indians Advocate* (London, 1680), 36. Godwyn uses "white" frequently; see, e.g., 4, 24, 39, 84. On the Crown's pressure to convert slaves in New York, see Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 3: 374, 547, 690, 823; 4: 138, 290, 510–511.

[36] On the use of *casta* categories for social control, see Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 42–48. A white-black dichotomy also seems to have arisen at about the same time in the French Caribbean. See Antoine Gisler, *L'esclavage aux Antilles françaises (XVII^{e}–XIX^{e} siècle): Contribution au problème de l'esclavage* (Fribourg, 1965), 86–100. On the very different use of terms such as *grands blancs* and *petits blancs* in the later eighteenth century, however, see John D. Garrigus, *Before Haiti: Race and Citizenship in French Saint-Domingue* (New York, 2006), 51–82.

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the first decades of the 1700s, whiteness could well have offered more than Christianity as the ideological basis for such an alliance between Europeans. New York's role as a provisioner of the West Indian sugar plantations grew dramatically after the turn of the century, as did the number of slaves in the city and the numbers of hard-bitten, "white"-identified, expatriate West Indian slaveholders. Such developments echoed those that had occurred a decade or so earlier in the Chesapeake, where "white" came into widespread use sooner than in New York.[37]

If whiteness went hand in hand with the rise of British American slave societies, what, then, was the role of the Indian Ocean world in the rise of the black-white dichotomy? The spatial movement of whiteness across time strongly suggests some kind of trade in color concepts from West to East. However, the records from Madras and New York contain only inconclusive testimony on this question, and it will take a different line of research to determine how, and under whose auspices, the eastern and western wings of the early modern British Empire met and shared ideas. Officials in both cities made only passing references to people and places outside the scope of operations of their respective colonial institutions. We know, however, that many East India Company directors invested in American ventures. Some also served in Parliament, so they might have been familiar with the growing use of "white" and "black" in English discussions of slavery. Philip J. Stern points to the pivotal influence of the company court director Josiah Child, who had much interest in imperial policy in general and American slavery in particular. Child's letters to the governors of Madras, however, do not make allusion to color politics in the Americas. Two of the most celebrated governors of Madras during the years immediately preceding the adoption of "white" for Europeans—Thomas Pitt's predecessors Elihu Yale and Nathaniel Higginson—were born in New England. Yale left as a very young boy, however, and got into the business of endowing a college in New Haven only at an advanced age. Higginson grew up in Connecticut and Massachusetts, graduated from Harvard College in 1670, and left for England in 1674. Thus, if he had direct knowledge of the changing color politics of slavery in the mainland colonies, it would have been earlier than the changes described here. Travel writers may have played a bridging role, by familiarizing readers across the empire with the political mores of places on opposite sides of the world. Their use of color terms as descriptions of people could well have served as the model for the politicized use of "black" and "white." Color politics, like slavery, was of course alive in early modern Britain itself, and the growing persecution of blacks there in the early eighteenth century may have also influenced the mindset of officials who spurred concepts of whiteness in the East.[38]

Whatever the answer to this question about the operation of global intellectual connections, the contingencies of hemispheric and especially local politics in early

[37] Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery*, 16–17, 34; and Thelma Wills Foote, *Black and White Manhattan: The History of Racial Formation in Colonial New York City* (Oxford, 2005), 91–158.

[38] Theodore K. Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England, 1575–1630* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967); Stern, "British Asia and British Atlantic," 698–702; Bernard Steiner, "Two New England Rulers of Madras," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (1902): 209–223. On color politics in Britain, see Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race*; Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire, and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2003); Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, Conn., 2004), 83–156; Folarin Shyllon, *Black People in Britain, 1555–1833* (London, 1977), esp. 84–114; Rozina Visram, *Asians in Britain: 400 Years of History* (London, 2002), 3–43.

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British India clearly did leave an enduring mark on the world's color lines. At Madras, the pairing of white and black fit different political needs than in the Atlantic, and gave new life to a different institution, the divided colonial city. Color politics, and the designation "White Town" in particular, was not intended to forge a new political alliance between "whites," but to tacitly renegotiate one between the East India Company and the city's important populations of Portuguese and Armenians—a situation that also distinguished Madras from most other cities in its hemisphere. Both of these groups had been allowed to live at Madras since the city's origins—the Portuguese to shore up the small British army, and the Armenians because of their connections to Indian courts and their long-standing trade contacts with the Middle East. Among other things, the designation "Christian Town" functioned to welcome both of these groups and to encourage their loyalty—indeed, for a while, authorities even circulated a plan to double the size of Christian Town to allow more Armenians to settle there.[39]

By the early eighteenth century, however, the company was showing increasing impatience with its Christian allies. The Portuguese had long been subject to suspicion because their Inquisition-minded priests lurked in the nearby settlement of São Thomé, and because they often deserted the defenses of Madras or spied for rivals. The Armenians increasingly fell behind on their taxes; traded with the French, Dutch, and Danes; ignored the authority of Madras courts in adjudicating their disputes; and were often suspected of treachery during wartime.[40] Although both groups were manifestly Christian, the British held them to be of indeterminate color—sometimes they were pigeonholed as white, sometimes by the Portuguese *casta* term "musteez" (*mestiço*), and sometimes they took places in long lists of Indian castes. In this linguistic context, the name "White Town" seems to have fit a general strategy among British authorities to cool their welcome of the Portuguese and Armenians, and to keep disloyal members of both ambiguously colored communities on notice.[41]

Indeed, the new designation was increasingly invoked in the context of growing calls to kick the company's Christian allies out of the more privileged section of town. A long period of prosperity and relative political peace began in Madras during the 1720s, attracting more resident English merchants and soldiers, and putting pressure on the finite space in White Town. Competition over real estate, especially with

[39] "English Town," which was used by some contemporaries, could have evoked nationalist or royalist passion, but it would have undercut alliances with the Portuguese and Armenians. It does not appear in official documents. That "European Town" was not adopted, despite the widespread use of "European" in Dutch population registration systems at Batavia, further suggests that Christian Town may have served to welcome Armenians. See, for example, Wheeler, *Annals of the Madras Presidency*, 1: 184–185.

[40] On complaints about the Armenians, see PC, vol. 22, November 28, 1695 (taxes); vol. 25, May 31, 1697 (interlopers); vol. 32, May 7, 1703; DfE, April 16, 1697, nos. 5 and 8; DfE, February 12, 1713, 94; Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 1: 231–232, 308, 425, 573; Wheeler, *Annals of the Madras Presidency*, 1: 240, 2: 247–248.

[41] On efforts to categorize the Portuguese, see Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 1: 183, 376, 387–388, 441, 481, 529; 2: 128; PC, vol. 17, February 7 and July 21, 1690; vol. 20, October 23, 1693; vol. 21, April 19, 1694. On the Armenians, see DfE, April 11, 1688; PC, vol. 17, March 6 and April 26, 1690; Wheeler, *Annals of the Madras Presidency*, 1: 184–185, 204; 2: 273–276, 247–248; PC, vol. 22, November 28, 1695; DfE, April 16, 1697, nos. 5 and 8; PC, vol. 35, July 6, 1706; DfE, January 16, 1706; PC, vol. 41, June 15, 1710, and vol. 45, July 29, 1714; Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 2: 231–232, 308, 395–396, 425–426, 573.

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Armenians, exacerbated tensions.[42] In 1749, when the East India Company regained Madras after the devastating French occupation, local company officials fulfilled the veiled threat contained in the designation "White Town." Some Armenians and Portuguese had sided with the French and enriched themselves off of the occupation. In response, the British passed new ordinances that for the first time explicitly forbade Armenians and Portuguese from settling in White Town. Houses were confiscated, a pitiful sum was paid in compensation, and both groups were sent to live in the new Black Town four hundred yards distant from the fort. While this latest spasm of separation lasted, it rested upon the most exclusive possible interpretation of local color categories.[43]

HISTORIANS HAVE LONG WANTED TO ATTRIBUTE THESE DEVELOPMENTS to "race" or "racial formation," especially those who argue that slavery was a racial institution from its origins. At least at Madras and Manhattan, however, early colonial authorities did not engage in the "formation" or "construction" of "racial" categories of any sort, since they did not find "race" at all useful for their political or institutional goals. To them, the concepts of human difference that mattered were "nations" and "peoples." The concepts "color" and "complexion" grew more important, too, as "white" and "black" came into greater usage, especially in New York. As late as 1744, when the New Yorker Daniel Horsmanden chronicled the repression of allegedly one of the largest slave conspiracies in the Americas, he used "color" and "complexion" instead of "nation"—but never "race"—as a general container for "white" and "black." The first references to "race" in Madras do not appear until the 1770s.[44]

Winthrop Jordan has written of the North Atlantic world that "until well into the eighteenth century there was no debate as to whether the Negro's non-physical characteristics were inborn and unalterable; such a question was never posed with anything like sufficient clarity for men to debate it."[45] However, the official language of the color line in both New York and Madras, and the policies it helped to support, make clear that intellectual and political experiments of some kind were going on,

[42] DfE, February 12, 1713, 94; Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 2: 308; Wheeler, *Annals of the Madras Presidency*, 1: 240, 2: 247–248.

[43] Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 2: 231–232, 308, 395–396, 425–426, 573.

[44] Proving the complete absence of anything in such a vast Babel as was any colonial city is of course impossible. The publication of thousands of pages of documents from both cities in indexed volumes has, however, helped me make a pretty good survey. The only use of the word "race" before 1740 that I encountered occurs in some propositions made to New York authorities by what were called the "praying Indians of the three tribes or races of the Maquass [Mohawks]" in a 1691 document; Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 3: 770. In Asia, travel writers use "race" rarely to describe people in Asia, and as in this New York instance almost always to describe groups of common ancestry. See Linschoten, *Voyage*, 27; Mundy, *Travels*, 263. Pyrard de Laval uses "race" to describe Indian Brahmins and Banians, perhaps picking up on the hereditarian bases of the caste system; *Voyage*, 1: 38, 751; 2: 343, 348, 374. These suggest that "race" might have been more prevalent in spoken language than in written official documents; if so, it reinforces my contention that colonial authorities had access to the concept but did not find it useful to accomplish their goals. In any case, words such as "nation" and "people" are infinitely more common in all of these types of sources. Travel writers use synonyms for ancestry groups—such as "posterity," "seed," and "issue"—at least as commonly as "race." On Horsmanden's use of color and complexion, see Daniel Horsmanden, *The New-York Conspiracy; or, A History of the Negro Plot* (1810; repr., New York, 1969), 354, 363, 369, 371.

[45] Jordan, *White over Black*, 26. Joyce Chaplin gives some examples of more explicit contemporary thinking on similar matters in *Subject Matter*, 79–201.

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unstated as they may have been, regarding links between skin color and moral characteristics, the possibility that the two might be inherited alongside each other, and the role of sex in the process. For starters, "white" and "black" were not solely abstract terms in either city: they referred to perceived, heritable features of people's bodies. Thus, even as authorities in both cities prioritized the black-white dichotomy, they retained terms such as "mulatto" and "mestizo," borrowed from Iberian *casta* systems, as subordinate categories to designate people who inherited those physical characteristics from parents of different colors.

But the differences between the two places were even more suggestive. Once again, the early modern histories of color politics and ideas about heritability and sex appear to have been loosely connected at best, even within the British Empire—subject to political contingencies operating on multiple geographic scales. The biggest irony of our tale of two cities is that authorities in "segregated" Madras often encouraged cross-color sex, while in "integrated" New York, many saw cross-color sex (and certainly black men's sex with white women) as an abomination. In New York, unlike Madras, authorities also fanned such concerns to transform the color line into the conceptual basis for a system of inherited legal status.

Because few European women could be persuaded to migrate halfway around the world to Madras, many East India Company officials, including Court Director Josiah Child, thought that intermarriage with locals would be the only way to guarantee a loyal population in the city. Once again, this policy was a Dutch import, for as Child noted, authorities at Batavia had long debated the merits of intermarriage, and cross-color unions were very common. Dissenters in this debate existed as well, including the company agent who in 1666 urged more imports of British women so that "your Towne might be populous of our owne and not a mixt Nacão." (In so doing, the agent demonstrated that heritability could be linked to the concept of "nation," and also signaled another intra-imperial connection, with Portuguese concepts.) However, to the extent that we can even read such things into the sources, questions of heritability and sex seem to have been largely insignificant to the adoption of both "black" and "white" in Madras politics. Even though considerably more British women migrated to South Asia after 1720, the embrace of whiteness does not seem to be linked to a sudden jump in the desire to restrict sex to the boundaries of the color group. Indeed, the policy of encouraging cross-color marriages was not officially abandoned until the late eighteenth century, and then only when concerns explicitly voiced in terms of "race" were brought up against it. Furthermore, the capacity of the White Town–Black Town dichotomy to work as a cautionary tale about Armenian and Portuguese loyalty depended upon sustaining color ambiguity, not melding mixed people permanently into either category. If there was a characteristic inherent to ambiguously colored people, it was that a moral attribute, their degree of loyalty, determined whether they were white or black, not the other way around. In any case, the conclusion that "northern European" cultures were much more wary than Iberians about cross-color sex is not supported by evidence from early Dutch or British Asia.[46]

[46] Child's efforts can be found in DfE, vol. 8, April 8, 1687, and vol. 9, January 28, 1688. Quote from Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 1: 247. On Batavia, see C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600–1800* (Harmondsworth, 1965), 219–230. On later prohibitions of cross-color sex, see Durban Ghosh, "Colonial

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In New York, as elsewhere in British America, questions of cross-color sex and heritability aroused much greater concern, ultimately finding institutional expression in inherited legal statuses based on color. The Dutch once again set the tone when they outlawed non-conjugal sex between "Christians" and "Negroes" in New Amsterdam as early as 1638. British authorities' subsequent efforts to control slaves' movements were heavily directed at their interactions with poorer whites in taverns, where sex (and conspiracy) across the color line was presumed to be rife. Cross-color sex was associated with a prurience and a sense of moral disgust that was mostly absent in contemporary Madras. As early as 1664, a British law had implied that slavery was an inherited status associated with color. In 1706, in the wake of escalating slave insubordination in New York City, the colonial legislature more explicitly linked slavery to the small galaxy of categories "Negro, Indian, Mullato, and Mestee Bastard Child or Children" as a way of establishing that slave status would follow "ye state of the Mother." The heritability of white skin might also have been a factor in replacing "Christian" with "white" as the official category for non-slaves during the same period. This was not, however, as Thelma Wills Foote describes it, "a point at which the discursive construction of *race* began to take on its modern biologized form under a racist state apparatus." It was a highly contingent political decision to fuse otherwise independent currents of thought—the heritability of human moral and somatic characteristics with a pair of newly adopted color categories, themselves seen as "nations" or "complexions"—in the interest of urban social control and the formalization of a slave society.[47]

WHAT CATEGORIES OF HUMAN DIFFERENCE DID HISTORICAL ACTORS PRIVILEGE at any given time and place? How did they use them? For what purposes? And why those particular choices? By asking questions such as these, instead of assessing whether languages of difference approached or deviated from an externally imposed definition of "race," we can identify some of the contingencies involved in the intellectual, political, and institutional development of color lines in the early modern world. Read in trans-hemispheric contexts, the official discourses of color in two cities reveal the temporal and spatial dimensions of these contingencies. Decisions to attach white to black, to link nations and peoples with colors, and to associate color with the heritability of fixed moral or legal characteristics and sexuality were never inevitable. Nor was it foreordained that colonial authorities would apply these intellectual connections to urban politics and then deploy them to build support for institutions such as residential separation and slavery. In fact, the politics of urban space, with its focus on defense and control, was highly dependent upon the gulf in empire-building between East and West, as well as European empires' sharing of

Companions: *Bibis, Begums*, and Concubines of the British in North India, 1760–1830" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 2000), 34–80.

[47] Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 12, 48, 93–94; Edwin Vernon Morgan, "Slavery in New York: The Status of the Slave under the English Colonial Government," *Papers of the American Historical Association* 5 (1891): 3–16; "An Act to Incourage the Baptizing of Negro, Indian, and Mulatto Slaves," passed October 21, 1706, in *Colonial Laws of New York*, 1: 597–598; Foote, *Black and White Manhattan*, 127–128, 152–156.

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concepts and policies within each hemisphere. Black-white politics, by contrast, seems to have come to both New York and Madras when the otherwise divided British Empire gained the capacity to transmit ideas within and then across the hemispheres—although further research will be necessary to determine exactly how. The Atlantic world, and especially its sugar plantation colonies, does seem to deserve a reputation for innovations in the politics and institutions of color lines. If theorists of the "racial" origins of slavery have one thing right, it is that the politics of Atlantic slavery depended on a politics of color—that is, of blackness—from the moment of its fifteenth-century inception, if not before. Whiteness came much later. But long before "white" or "black" became associated with a concept of race, color politics was capable of boosting substantial increases in European imperial control in both East and West. Non-racial whiteness also helped generate political support for key institutions of unequal wealth-holding—in commerce, slaves, and real estate—that were as formidable as any described by Cheryl I. Harris or David Roediger in later periods.[48]

Along the way, cities mattered very much, too, in both the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. As increasingly world-spanning phenomena, Western color lines took the specific shape they did to serve some colonial authorities' efforts to defend and control their cities, by intervening in the politics of even smaller spaces—residential neighborhoods, streets, taverns, households, and even bedrooms. The very complexity, variability, and perhaps ungovernability of those urban places taxed authorities in ways that forced them to innovate politically; thus, cities were creators as well as creations of the global color line. The particular demographic or political economic development of individual places could determine much about the timing and the particular meanings associated with color categories as well as the shape of the institutions they inspired. The very residential structure of cities could also symbolically tell key parables about the unequal order of white and black. Madras's gleaming White Town and its dowdier Black Town, for example, impressed travelers on their way to the newer city of Calcutta, which adopted similar designations in somewhat different political circumstances. A more ambiguous version was also debated at Bombay, and later British colonial cities further adapted the pattern.[49]

Later, from the late eighteenth century on, "race" did become much more widely used; its definition was vastly expanded and increasingly contested (although it was never unambiguously more "full-blown"); and its political influence became pivotal to world history. It took planet-shaking modern events to make this so—Enlightenment science, egalitarian political revolution, industrial labor struggle, the invention of capitalist property markets, professionalized urban reform, bourgeois sexuality, and the modern advance of world-spanning empires. But cities—and the complex politics of their increasingly multifarious spaces—continued to play key, if

[48] Cheryl I. Harris, "Whiteness as Property," *Harvard Law Review* 106 (1993): 1707–1791; David Roediger, *Working toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White—The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (New York, 2005).

[49] The enormous influence of Madras on Calcutta can be followed in the original sources in C. R. Wilson, ed., *Old Fort William in Bengal: A Selection of Official Documents Dealing with Its History*, 2 vols. (London, 1906), 1: 28–38, 74–78, 90–93, 158–167, 173–178, 214–222; 2: 4–20, 112–118, 129–132. On Madras and Bombay, see Dulcinea Correa Rodrigues, *Bombay Fort in the Eighteenth Century* (Bombay, 1994), 58–59, 72–115; and S. M. Edwardes, *The Rise of Bombay: A Retrospect* (Bombay, 1902), 104–109, 138, 146, 152–153, 170–178, 206, 229–238.

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always still contingent and never preordained, roles in the ongoing reconfiguration of the global color line. As Atlantic slavery first expanded, then fell, during this new age of race, the White Towns and Black Towns of the East rose in importance as institutions of racial inequality, especially as new colonial cities cropped up across Asia and Africa, including South Africa. There, new, explicitly racialized concerns—tied to public health and other great urban reform crusades as well as to commodified real estate markets—vied for importance in segregationist thinking alongside reconfigured issues of urban defense and control. Early colonial urban separation is often dismissed in modern accounts of racial segregation,[50] but many of the techniques employed in the modern era—racial zoning laws (with their exceptions for live-in servants), restrictions of property sales, property confiscation, urban *cordons sanitaires*, dual housing markets, dual fiscal systems, and official encouragement of white suburbanization—bore a resemblance to those used in the early modern past, even if their adoption was doubtlessly dependent on new, unforeseen political turns operating on many geographic scales.

By the twentieth century, however, Madras's long-forgotten role as an avatar of color segregation was thoroughly eclipsed by the big shadow of an American former slave city, New York. By late in the century, New York's segregated "ghettos," Harlem and the South Bronx, became key symbols of the world's race politics, as authorities in places such as London, Paris, Sydney, Toronto, Rio, and even Johannesburg contemplated the contingencies of yet a new generation of urban and global color lines.[51]

[50] For example, see John W. Cell, *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South* (Cambridge, 1982), 2–3, 55.

[51] I develop these arguments in Nightingale, "The Transnational Contexts of Early Twentieth-Century American Urban Segregation," and Carl H. Nightingale, "A Tale of Three *Global* Ghettos: How Arnold Hirsch Helps Us Internationalize U.S. Urban History, " *Journal of Urban History* 29 (March 2003): 257–271.

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"A Penny for the Little Chinese": The French Holy Childhood Association in China, 1843–1951

HENRIETTA HARRISON

"You will sign up again this year for the work of the Holy Childhood, won't you?"

"I can't—my parents don't want to pay."

"But you must have some small sum. You can pay with your own money."

"I don't have any money . . . I have a rabbit and I could sell it, but . . . " Tears rose in the little boy's eyes.

"Come, come, I will put your name down."

"He is so pretty! And I like him so much!" Then, after a moment of reflection, "All the same, I could certainly sell him for the sake of the little Chinese."[1]

Contract breaking off relations: Chen Zhiwan of Diantou village in the Western Mountains has a son, Yinwa, age 12, but his family is too poor to raise the child, so he requests to send him to the Geliaogou boys' orphanage to be brought up, and to study and learn prayers. Henceforth whether this boy lives or dies will be of no concern to Chen Zhiwan. He will not regret and go back on his word, and he signs this contract breaking off relations as proof.

25th day of the 1st month of the 28th year of the Guangxu emperor [1902]

Signed: Chen Zhiwan

Middlemen: Eldest son-in-law Liu Rong; Scribe Wang Yongzhen[2]

THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE SENTIMENTAL DESCRIPTION of the sale of a French child's rabbit and the harsh terms of a contract for the sale of an impoverished Chinese boy to a Catholic orphanage is stark, but both of these children's lives were touched by one organization: a charity founded in the nineteenth century to raise money from

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[1] *Annales de l'Oeuvre de la Sainte Enfance* [hereafter *Annales*] 25 (1874): 69. All translations in this article are my own.

[2] Geliaogou cunweihui dang'anju [Geliaogou Village Party Committee Archive Office], Baochihui dang'an [Orphanage Archives], 1902–1944, Chen Zhiwan, 1902/1/28.

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French children to rescue Chinese babies from infanticide. The Holy Childhood Association is a fascinating institution because its history unites the lives of some of the most powerless members of society with the grand narratives of world history. These narratives often work at a level that makes it difficult to integrate this generation's growing interest in the history of globalization with our closely related passion for the local, the family, and the history of everyday experience.[3]

The Holy Childhood Association (l'Oeuvre de la Sainte Enfance) was established in 1843 by Charles-Auguste-Marie-Joseph de Forbin Janson, the bishop of Nancy, who had been moved by tales of infanticide in China. China had played an important role in debates over the proper ordering of French society ever since popular Jesuit missionary writings had depicted it as an idealized benevolent monarchy and a model for Europe. Since then there had been a dramatic increase in trade, and in 1840, Britain's victory in the Opium War had signaled that the country was likely to be formally reopened to missionaries. Indeed, the French government, as official protector of Catholic missions in China, was negotiating the lifting of the Chinese government's ban on Christianity. Forbin Janson saw himself as the new Moses, leading an army of children who would rescue Chinese children and turn them into apostles and martyrs. For this purpose he set up an association for children under the age of twelve who would give a small monthly donation that would be used in China to baptize abandoned children, to buy them and raise them in Christian families, and later to build schools on the frontiers of China to train them as missionaries.[4] The idea is well illustrated by a picture that accompanied an article in a popular Catholic journal in 1848; it shows Chinese in fanciful costumes bringing unwanted babies to two Catholic priests, one of whom has his hand raised to baptize a child being held up to him. (See Figure 1.) The accompanying text decries China as a country where "savage mothers throw into the public road and expose to the teeth of cruel beasts the child whose sex should inspire the greatest compassion."[5] Forbin Janson died not long after setting up the association, and its headquarters were moved to Paris, where a committee of church and state dignitaries published its journal, took in the donations that arrived as a result, and distributed the money to missionaries.

From 1843 to 1870, the Holy Childhood's growth was extraordinary. Its annual income reached 250,000 francs in 1851, and nearly 2 million by 1869. Membership also spread to other countries, with the largest donors outside France being dioceses in Belgium, Italy, and Germany. In North America, the association was active in Catholic schools in Baltimore, New York, Cincinnati, St. Louis, New Orleans, and Boston. Its journal appeared in fourteen languages, including Czech, Maltese, Polish, and Danish. As the Holy Childhood's membership expanded, so did its activities, so that it came to care for children in Indochina, India, Africa, and Southeast Asia as well as China.[6] The 1860s and 1870s were the period of its greatest popularity, and the time when it established its characteristic institutional framework. At this

[3] C. A. Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol, and Patricia Seed, "*AHR* Conversation: On Transnational History," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (December 2006): 1441–1464.

[4] *Annales* 1 (1846–1847): 17, 36, 64.

[5] *Musée des Familles: Lectures du Soir* 16 (1848–1849): 213–214.

[6] *Annales* 3 (1851): 290; 11 (1859): 94–100; 18 (1866): 80–85, 160–163; 21 (1869): 75; Paul Lesourd, *Histoire générale de l'Oeuvre Pontificale de la Sainte-Enfance depuis un siècle* (Paris, 1947), 109.

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FIGURE 1: "Chinese Children Rescued by the Holy Childhood." The work of the Holy Childhood as it was imagined in nineteenth-century France. From A.-M. Touzé, "La Sainte Enfance," *Musée des Familles: Lectures du Soir* 16 (1848–1849): 213.

time France was the source of its institutional culture, and despite the fact that it was active in many other countries, its fundraising focused on images of China. The Holy Childhood Association exists today as the Vatican's organization for helping children in the developing world, but since the turn of the twentieth century, its story as a mass-membership organization has been one of decline. In Europe, World War I destroyed its financial base and the social culture in which it had flourished; it became unable to meet its huge financial obligations and was taken over by the Vatican. In China, the growth of anti-imperialist nationalism focused elite hostility on the institution, and ultimately led to its activities being ended by the Chinese Communist Party in 1951.

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There is almost no existing literature on the history of the Holy Childhood Association. Instead, its story has been submerged in two of the major narratives through which relations between China and the West during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been understood: Christian missions and imperialism.[7] Both of these provide important insights into its story, but they also have their limitations. A contemporary Chinese observer commenting on the evangelistic aims of the organization wrote, "Sometimes they buy baby girls elsewhere, take them into the church compound, and let only those who practice their religion see them. How this contributes to spreading the religion is hard for outsiders to understand."[8] It is easy enough for us to share this skepticism. Alternatively, the association has been seen as part of the spread of European and American imperialism in China. Its connection with the foreign powers was indeed crucial to its history: in 1870, it was at the center of an international diplomatic crisis when rumors that children were being killed and mutilated in its orphanages caused riots in the city of Tianjin that led to the death of the French consul. However, there are other aspects of the Holy Childhood's activities, such as the encouragement of French children to pray to powerful Chinese guardian angels, that are not easily explained by the idea of imperialism. While we should not deny the importance of either of these explanatory frameworks, we ought to see the Holy Childhood Association as one of the earliest examples of a distinctive contemporary institution: the transnational aid organization.

The existing literature on the history of international organizations tends to see their origins in ideals of internationalism that developed in the second half of the nineteenth century, with the International Red Cross, established in the 1860s, as the key early example.[9] Religious organizations play only a subordinate role in this narrative, but the history of the Holy Childhood Association suggests that this imbalance needs to be reexamined. This is not merely because religion provided a motive for charitable giving, but also because the Catholic Church was one of the few organizations at the time with the financial and human infrastructure through which charitable funds could be collected, transmitted, and dispersed across the world. Moreover, the Holy Childhood Association was remarkably similar to today's transnational aid organizations. Like many contemporary nongovernmental organizations, it was highly entrepreneurial in building a mass membership in the donor country through emotionally affecting stories of individual desperation and dramatic rescues in foreign lands, but it became embedded in a very different culture and social order and developed in ways that came to contradict its original aims. The association's fundraising was focused on the moment of dramatic rescue when the abandoned Chinese child was taken into the arms of a waiting priest, an image that appealed to and legitimated the sentimental emotions around which the modern bourgeois family was being constructed in France. This moment bore almost no relationship to the realities of the Holy Childhood's work in China, but its emotional power came to shape the association's activities even while it misrepresented them.

[7] The only study is Lesourd, *Histoire générale*.

[8] Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, *Jiaowu jiaoan dang* [Archives of Religious Affairs and Cases], 21 vols. (Taibei, 1974), series 1: 915.

[9] Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002).

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Missionaries administering the association's projects had to operate in the space between the French rhetoric and the realities of family life for the poor in China. The result was a situation in which the ritual of baptism became divorced from Christian conversion, and the children taken in were sometimes bought for the church rather than rescued from their families. What we see, then, is neither a one-way flow of ideas from Europe to China nor a process of homogenization, but a far more complex interaction that involved differences of class as well as nation and that tended to strengthen rather than weaken distinctively different visions of the family.

Differences between China and France came to shape the Holy Childhood's work in unexpected ways, but much of its initial success was attributable to similarities between the two countries. Stories of Chinese women abandoning babies made sense because some of the same pressures and problems existed in France.[10] In both societies, parents wished to limit the size of their families, either because they were too poor to support large numbers of children or in order to maintain their social status. The means by which they did so, including abstinence from sexual activity, withdrawal during sexual intercourse, and the neglect, abandonment, killing, and sale of unwanted children, were also controversial in both societies. In France, where withdrawal was a common contraceptive technique but was condemned as a sin by the church, the pious bourgeois women who were at the heart of the Holy Childhood Association's work were under particular pressure over this issue.

Abandonment was a common solution to the problem of unwanted children in both China and France. Studies of foundling homes in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Europe have suggested extraordinarily high rates of abandonment: in some years, the number of children left in foundling homes in Paris, Milan, and other major European cities was more than 20 percent of the total number of births recorded in the city.[11] The issue of child abandonment in China, partly because of the legacy of the Holy Childhood Association and its claim that infanticide was a Chinese cultural practice, has been far more politically controversial. And while the vast majority of French children who were abandoned were taken to foundling homes where detailed records were kept, there is little demographic data for Chinese children. The killing of children at birth was widely condemned in China. It was reported as an evil custom in many local gazetteers, was banned by local and national government, was depicted in temples as the cause of torments in hell, and was the subject of many moral tracts. An illustration from one of these, titled "Preventing Infanticide Moves the Gods," shows an infant drowning in a bucket by the mother's bed, while one woman persuades another against the evil deed. In the clouds above, the gods take notice of her virtuous act. (See Figure 2.) Since documents of this sort

[10] See Christine Adams, "Maternal Societies in France: Private Charity before the Welfare State," *Journal of Women's History* 17, no. 1 (2005): 87–111.

[11] Rachel Ginnis Fuchs, *Abandoned Children: Foundlings and Child Welfare in Nineteenth-Century France* (Albany, N.Y., 1984), 72; Volker Hunecke, *I trovatelli di Milano: Bambini esposti e famiglie espositrici dal XVII al XIX secolo* (Bologna, 1989), 306. These statistics are complex, in part because not all of the children left in a city's foundling home came from within the city. Giovanna da Molin, who computed figures for abandonment for Italian regions for 1869, concluded that in Sicily and Umbria, more than 6 percent of all children were abandoned after birth. Giovanna da Molin, "Illegittimi ed esposti in Italia dal Seicento all'Ottocento," in Società italiana di demografia storica, *La demografia storica delle città Italiane: Relazioni e comunicazioni presentate al convegno tenuto ad Assisi nei giorni 27–29 ottobre 1980* (Bologna, 1982).

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FIGURE 2: "Preventing Infanticide Moves the Gods." Nineteenth-century Chinese woodblock print urging people to prevent infanticide. The French Jesuit Gabriel Palatre collected this and other ephemera related to the issue of infanticide from bookshops in Shanghai. From Gabriel Palatre, *L'Infanticide et l'Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance en Chine* (Chang-hai, 1878), 76.

give no indication of the frequency of the practice, scholars have used the assumption that girls were more likely to be unwanted than boys, and then looked at sex ratios to find evidence of infanticide. These show that girls died in disproportionately large numbers, but not necessarily that they were killed at birth. Some women did kill their infants, but more commonly it seems that children were abandoned in situations

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where they were likely to die. In other cases, abandonment, especially of baby boys, who had a higher market value, could be nearer to a form of sale.[12]

In response to the problem of infanticide and abandonment, both China and France had private and state-run foundling homes. In both countries, foundling homes were large, well-established, and prestigious charitable institutions: a nun who visited a Tianjin foundling home run by the city's wealthy salt merchants commented that it received vast donations, and that the children would definitely be better off there than with their families. The problems that foundling homes faced were also very similar in the two countries and stemmed above all from the huge demand for their services, which meant that they were nearly always in financial difficulties. A visitor to one of Beijing's two foundling homes in 1848 found that each wet nurse was responsible for several children, a problem that was also typical of European foundling homes and inevitably led to deaths from malnutrition. Moreover, in both countries, foundling homes were prestige buildings constructed in urban centers to display the donors' virtue, whereas many of the parents who abandoned their children lived in rural areas. As a result, infants were often shipped long distances in baskets and panniers, and many died before they ever reached a wet nurse.[13] These factors, with the addition of epidemics exacerbated by crowding, led to appallingly high death rates. In the city of Bourg, France, between 1815 and 1849, 37 percent of foundlings died before their first birthday, a figure that was about twice the normal rate of child mortality at the time; in Paris in 1841, 63 percent of children died in their first year. In China, the Songjiang foundling home had a death rate of 48 percent by age one in 1869, while at a foundling home in a poor part of Hunan province, the figure was 67 percent.[14] When the Holy Childhood Association opened foundling homes in China, it was operating institutions that made sense both to

[12] Huang Liuhong, *Fuhui quanshu* [A Complete Book Concerning Happiness and Benevolence], 32 *juan* (1699), 31: 16–20; Gabriel Palatre, *L'Infanticide et l'Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance en Chine* (Changhai, 1878), 2–114; Zhang Jianmin, "Lun Qingdai niying wenti" [On the Problem of Female Infanticide in the Qing], *Jingji pinglun*, no. 2 (1995): 75–82; Michelle King, "Drowning Daughters: A Cultural History of Infanticide in Late Nineteenth-Century China" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 2007); James L. Watson, "Transactions in People: The Chinese Market in Slaves, Servants, and Heirs," in Watson, ed., *Asian and African Systems of Slavery* (Berkeley, Calif., 1980); James Z. Lee and Cameron D. Campbell, *Fate and Fortune in Rural China: Social Organization and Population Behavior in Liaoning, 1774–1873* (Cambridge, 1997); Lillian M. Li, "Life and Death in a Chinese Famine: Infanticide as a Demographic Consequence of the 1935 Yellow River Flood," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 33, no. 3 (1991): 466–510. There are many anecdotal accounts of infanticide. One of the most striking is in Carma Hinton's 1985 documentary film *One Village in China*, in which a woman explains that, under pressure from her in-laws, she smothered her second son as an infant during the 1940s because she had two babies and not enough food.

[13] *Annales* 2 (1848–1850): 45; 16 (1864): 171. Foundling homes in both China and France have been well studied: Angela Ki Che Leung, "L'accueil des enfants abandonnés dans la Chine du Bas-Yangzi aux XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles," *Études Chinoises* 4, no. 1 (1985): 15–54; Xiao Qian, "Qingdai Jiangxi minjian yuying shiye yanjiu" [Research on Foundling Care in Qing Dynasty Jiangxi], *Zhongguo shehui jingjishi yanjiu*, no. 1 (2001): 38–46; Fuchs, *Abandoned Children*.

[14] Alain Bideau and Guy Brunet, "La mortalité des enfants trouvés dans le département de l'Ain aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles," in Società italiana di demografia storica, *Enfance abandonnée et société en Europe XIVe–XXe siècle: Actes du colloque international* (Rome, 1991), 245; Fuma Susumu, "Shindai Shōko ikueido no keiei to chihō shakai" [Local Society and the Actual Management of the Hall for Infant Relief in Qing Dynasty Songjiang], *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 45, no. 3 (1986): 74–75; Angela Ki Che Leung, "Relief Institutions for Children in Nineteenth-Century China," in Anne Behnke Kinney, ed., *Chinese Views of Childhood* (Honolulu, 1995).

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Western donors and to Chinese who came into contact with them, although the high death rates meant that these institutions were also feared by many.

The Holy Childhood's fundraising exploited both the unspoken similarities and the imagined differences between China and France. The key image used was the abandoned Chinese baby girl at risk of being eaten by wild animals. A trinket that was widely awarded to the association's members depicts little children sitting on the ground while huge, fierce animals approach to eat them. One of the little girls is pushing away an animal when a priest comes and takes her in his arms. The combination of horror and fascination was well designed to inspire the desire to rescue such children.[15] The emotional effect was often strengthened by contrasting the innocence of the French children with the sufferings of the Chinese. So, for example, a French girl in Chinese costume sang at a school concert:

> I am a Chinese child, a child of poverty:
> I never knew a mother's kiss;
> Driven from the cradle, abandoned by my father,
> My bed is the hard ground, the sky my roof.[16]

With such performances, the Holy Childhood Association appealed to French mothers in a world where child mortality was high and the financial collapse of the family or the death of a parent might bring poverty or destitution. Moreover, the dramatic images and the easy solution of a small donation given by a child contrasted with the much more difficult problem of abandonment in France, which was associated in the public mind with improper sexual relations and illegitimacy. Although it was never stated, it is clear that abandoned Chinese children were often felt to be a more appropriate object of pity for innocent French children and pious young women than their French counterparts.

The association also promoted attractive images of the power of French Christian children over the pagan Chinese. Children taking part in Holy Childhood processions often carried statues of the infant Jesus through the streets, an image not of weakness as such, but of power through weakness. This idea was central to the appeal of the Holy Childhood, for it spoke not only of family and sentiment, but also of France and missions and empire, of the exotic and oriental transformed by Christian children. In other words, it presented, at very little cost, an image of the future power of France in which Christian women and their children played the central role.[17] The association of innocence with power is also seen in the idea that the souls of the Chinese infants would become intercessors with God on behalf of those who had sent them to heaven. A poem about a dying French child published in the association's journal has her speaking of heaven, and then:

> But I see . . . look . . . I see
> My brothers the little Chinese
> Leaving the eternal plains;
> And all coming, in a single flight,

[15] *Annales* 19 (1867): 279. Cf. Lisa Cartwright, "Images of 'Waiting Children': Spectatorship and Pity in the Representation of the Global Social Orphan in the 1990s," in Toby Alice Volkman, ed., *Cultures of Transnational Adoption* (Durham, N.C., 2005).

[16] *Annales* 21 (1869): 355.

[17] *Annales* 27 (1876): 345.

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To crown me with a wreath of gold
And put on my white wings . . .[18]

People also prayed directly to the dead children's souls. Children were taught to pray,

Oh little Chinese brothers, love us:
By your tender prayers, help us![19]

As a result, members of the association were thought to be under the miraculous protection of "those good little Chinese angels whom we love and who love us."[20] The power of these angels and their very specific care for Holy Childhood members were demonstrated by miracles that were reported in the association's journal. These tended to the direct, personal, and somewhat capricious protection of the members: a woman with four children had enrolled the three oldest in the Holy Childhood when an epidemic broke out. All four children became ill, but only the youngest, who was not under the protection of the association, died.[21] From this point of view, the sheer number of Chinese children who died immediately after baptism was an asset to the association (for children who survived might very well not become angels). A missionary in one north China diocese wrote to the members:

For our part, this year we offer you more than eight thousand little angels who have departed for Heaven! They have a duty to care for you, and when your good and tender mother cannot watch over your cradle or over your steps still tottering in the way of virtue, your little angels will be there, putting to flight the demons, driving away bad company and wicked words, and inspiring you with good thoughts and good examples.[22]

More brutally, one missionary bishop was reported by a hostile critic to have said "that it would be most desirable to have a good epidemic that would rid him of his orphans."[23]

The Holy Childhood Association was also successful in France because it fitted into the culture of consumption that was growing around bourgeois women and their families.[24] The association gave children opportunities to form small clubs, access to its journal, and religious trinkets, but what made it most popular was offering the chance to name a Chinese child. In most parishes it organized an annual procession and church service, and the high point was always a lottery. All the French children's names were included in the drawing, and the lucky winner became the "godparent" of a Chinese baby and got to choose a baptismal name that would be sent to China.[25] It was easy for the "little Chinese" themselves to become a kind of consumer item. A correspondent to the association's journal described how a group of little girls in a workshop had just joined and paid their subscription when the mistress heard a

[18] *Annales* 24 (1873): 215.
[19] *Annales* 19 (1867): 343.
[20] *Annales* 26 (1875): 137.
[21] *Annales* 23 (1871–1872): 133.
[22] *Annales* 27 (1876): 14.
[23] G.-Eug. Simon, "La famille chinoise," *La nouvelle revue* 21 (1883): 391.
[24] Lisa Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001), 188–199.
[25] *Annales* 1 (1847): 142–143, 436; 2 (1848–1850): 16, 20–23, 172–173.

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sob and one of the girls saying, "I want one! I want one!" When asked what she was referring to, the girl replied, "What I want is a little Chinese like my friends have!"[26]

In 1875, the journalist Francisque Sarcey claimed that

> There is not a mother in our country who does not know of the Holy Childhood; not a little girl who has not given her pennies each week to redeem those unhappy little Chinese whose mothers villainously throw them to the pigs on the day of their birth; and there is not a father whose little child has not asked for the pennies in question with outstretched hand, and who has not shrugged his shoulders and taken them out of his pocket.[27]

This description comes from an article in which Sarcey accused the Jesuits of embezzling the money collected, and satirized the association's claims regarding the power of the Chinese angels as intercessors: "Does God not understand French?" He was backed up by new experts, keen to contest the church's monopoly on knowledge of China, who argued that infanticide was not a serious problem there. Eugène Simon, a former French consul in Ningbo, wrote:

> To believe that before the arrival of Catholic missionaries in China children died like dogs in the streets, and that outside the Catholic apostolic and Roman church there is neither salvation, nor mercy, nor charity, is an error that we are absolutely bound to abandon.[28]

As this suggests, behind the debate over Chinese infanticide lay much larger tensions within French society between religious and secular visions of the nation-state. Claims that Chinese threw newborn babies to wild beasts (which actually originated in late antique criticisms of European parents) were perilous ground on which to fight such a debate.[29]

The Holy Childhood's activities in China reflected all these aspects of its fundraising, but the way they came to affect society was quite unlike what was imagined in France. Bishops in China were required to complete tables showing the number of children they had rescued, and grants from the association, which formed a significant proportion of their expenditure, were dependent on these figures. Priests encouraged Chinese Christians to baptize dying children, telling them that whoever provided the ritual of baptism was sending a child to heaven and would earn merit for this good deed.[30] While the idea of original sin was alien to the Chinese intellectual tradition, the efficacy of ritual formulas, practices to ensure entry into a better afterlife, and the accumulation of merit are all central to Chinese folk religion. It is thus not surprising that the practice of baptizing dying infants was eagerly taken up. The kind of enthusiasm that could be generated is well illustrated by an old man in Sichuan province who set out on a long and dangerous journey to an area afflicted by the Taiping rebellion "to do this good deed and so expiate my faults."[31] In order to increase the numbers of children rescued, bishops often authorized payments for each baptism of a dying child reported to them. When they mentioned these in their reports to Paris, which was not often, they emphasized that the sums involved were

[26] *Annales* 5 (1853): 441.
[27] Francisque Sarcey, "Les petits chinois," *Le XIX^e siècle*, November 9, 1875.
[28] Simon, "La famille chinoise," 390.
[29] For the origins of the accusation, see John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1988), 138–179, 414–415.
[30] *Annales* 5 (1853): 152–158.
[31] *Annales* 18 (1866): 11.

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very small, but in fact they were quite significant for the recipients. A report from southern Shanxi in 1895 explained that the numbers of baptisms had declined because the diocese had reduced the amount paid to the baptizers. Diocesan accounts for 1911 record payments of up to 10,000 copper cash (several months' wages for a laborer) made to someone baptizing in the province's government-run orphanage, where no doubt there were many dying children.[32] With these methods, the numbers of baptisms recorded annually were extraordinarily high. Holy Childhood baptisms in Shanxi province averaged more than 6,000 a year between 1868 and 1888, with a peak of 21,460 in the terrible famine year of 1878.[33]

So how did the Chinese make sense of the baptisms? The families of these children were nearly all poor and unlikely to leave records, but a careful reading of the missionary accounts indicates that baptism was commonly understood either as a remedy or as providing access to a special Christian afterlife. The idea of baptism as a remedy for childhood illnesses made sense in a situation where many of those who administered the rites were women who were specialists in children's medicine, sometimes with specific skills such as acupuncture. In some cases these women baptized secretly, without telling the parents, but in others the baptism itself was used as a remedy. In one north China village, a Christian woman set herself up as a children's doctor. Her method was to wash the child with a sponge and a little water while mysteriously muttering the baptismal formula. She must have had quite a busy practice, for she claimed to have baptized 120 children in a year. The baptismal formula was also sometimes used by elite male doctors who were not themselves Christians.[34]

Baptism was occasionally taken up by non-Christians as a special death ritual for young children. If children died young, their spirits could not be worshipped as ancestors, but spirits who did not receive offerings were doomed to a desperate existence as hungry and wandering ghosts. Morality books threatened mothers who killed their children with the spirits of their dead children seeking revenge. Parents particularly feared that such spirits might return to inhabit the bodies of younger siblings. Missionaries reported that in some parts of the country, parents would take elaborate precautions to prevent a child's spirit from returning. One method was to beat a dying or dead infant or put the baby out in the cold so that it would not want to return. Another was to mark the body before it was abandoned so that it could be recognized if its spirit returned, either by blackening it with soot or ink or by cutting off a finger or an ear. Babies were occasionally found in this condition. (Similar fears and responses can be seen in early modern Europe, where Scottish mothers prosecuted for infanticide were said to have put earth in their dead children's mouths to prevent their ghosts from speaking.)[35]

[32] Nineteenth-century China had a bimetallic currency system denominated in cash (copper) and taels (silver). In Shanxi in 1866, 1 French franc was worth approximately 200 cash. Leon de Kerval, *Le R.P. Hugolin de Doullens: La vie d'un frère mineur missionaire en Chine au XIX^e siècle* (Rome, 1902), 114.

[33] Pontificia Opus Sancta Infantia, Archive, Rome [hereafter POSI], file C432, Louis Moccagatta, September 1878; C437, Mission du Chansi-Méridional État de l'Oeuvre, July 14, 1894–July 14, 1895; "Giornale dal 1° Giugno 1910 al 31 Agosto 1912" (manuscript; Zhongguo tianzhujiao lishi ziliao zhongxin [China Catholic Historical Materials Center], Taiyuan, China). Statistics for Holy Childhood baptisms in Shanxi from 1866 are available in the annual reports contained in POSI C432. The average is pulled up by the huge figure for 1878. In most years, the number of baptisms was around 4,000.

[34] *Annales* 32 (1881): 295–297; 35 (1884): 313–317; 37 (1886): 370.

[35] Palatre, *Infanticide*, 75; *Annales* 20 (1868): 221–222; 23 (1871): 88; 25 (1874): 90; Deborah A.

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Baptism, which sent the dead child to a special Christian heaven, fitted easily into the repertoire of techniques for dealing with ghosts. So, for example, a Christian woman who had been called to visit a very sick baby took out a little bottle of holy water to baptize him. When the child's mother and grandmother realized what the woman was doing, they accused her of trying to make the child's ghost her servant, and drove her out. That night, the grandmother had a dream in which the dying child appeared, threatening terrible vengeance because he had been prevented from getting into paradise. She rushed off to fetch the Christian woman, who arrived just in time to baptize the child before he died. When the child's father found out, he was furious and decided to conduct a divination ritual to see what had happened to the soul: he took the family's big iron wok off its brick stand and examined the marks underneath, finding only a few crosses, from which he deduced that the child had indeed joined the Christians. This grandmother had a child baptized because she thought that the ritual would help the child, not because she herself intended to convert to Christianity. Nor did baptism in any way change the life of children who survived the crisis. They remained with their parents and could be expected to follow their family's beliefs and practices. Far from being the moment of dramatic rescue depicted in the association's fundraising activities, these baptisms were actually deeply embedded in the ideas and practices of Chinese folk religion.[36]

Raising abandoned children was the Holy Childhood Association's other main activity, and the one that absorbed the bulk of its funds, but here again the interaction between the association's institutions and local culture produced results that were far from the images used for fundraising in France. The Holy Childhood's method of caring for foundlings developed in the 1850s and remained substantially unchanged into the 1940s. What was supposed to happen is well illustrated by the story of Han Meigui, who was neatly dressed in the shiny black cotton jacket and trousers of well-to-do old women in north China villages when she was interviewed in 2005. She uses her husband's surname, which is most unusual for a Chinese woman, and this is because she began life as a foundling. After being taken in by the village's Catholic orphanage, she was sent out to a wet nurse until she was about six years old. Then she returned to the orphanage, where she lived until she was married at age eighteen to a farmer who held a position in the village office. Although she never went to school and spoke at length about how hard she had to work as a child in the orphanage, hers is a success story: she has four sons and three daughters and has lived into a prosperous and respected old age.[37]

Most children arrived at Holy Childhood orphanages as infants, usually brought in by their parents, neighbors, or women who had attended the birth. If family members were present, they were required to sign a contract breaking off relations and absolving the orphanage from any responsibility if the child died. The child was then

Symonds, *Weep Not for Me: Women, Ballads, and Infanticide in Early Modern Scotland* (University Park, Md., 1997), 167.

[36] *Annales* 21 (1869): 229–231; 35 (1884): 317.

[37] Interview, Qingyuan County, Shanxi, September 8, 2005. In the summer of 2005, I conducted interviews in the north China village whose orphanage is depicted in Figure 3. I spoke at length with four women in their seventies and eighties who had spent their childhood in the orphanage. For a more generalized account of this system, see Edoald Berden, "A Question about Orphanages," *China Missionary* 2 (1949): 665–666.

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sent out to a wet nurse. As in other foundling homes in China and France, arranging and paying for wet nurses was the most difficult problem faced by the institution. A north China missionary described a deaf old woman whose duty it was to stand at the gate of a village orphanage and spoon-feed the babies who arrived a mixture of ground millet and sugar. Her deafness was an advantage, as it meant that the crying did not tire her. Accounts generally conclude that children who were fed in this way seldom survived, and in 1889 this missionary reported that 34 percent of the children taken into the orphanage he was running in the last nine months had died, and nearly 60 percent of those taken in four years earlier had died. He added that many had been brought to the orphanage through the mountains in winter with hardly any clothing, but in fact an equally serious problem was the failure to pay for wet nurses; the local bishop pointed out that finding a wet nurse for every child who entered the orphanage would have cost far more than the institution's total annual budget.[38]

Some children were adopted by their wet nurses, but the majority were taken back into an orphanage when they were about five years old. Although the overall system of caring for abandoned children did not change significantly between the 1850s and the 1940s, the nature of the orphanages did. The early orphanages were small, informal institutions. A typical one in the 1890s had four orphan girls living with six of the Chinese religious women known as virgins; the missionary commented that the little girls he had brought back from their wet nurses were polite, could talk well, were very good at caring for chicks, and were trying out foot-binding cloths on their feet, which would be bound at Easter. The girls in such institutions did housework and helped with the younger children; apart from the time they spent chanting prayers, their lives were not all that different from those of other village girls their age. Over time, the institutions became larger and more formal. The arrival of large numbers of European nuns in China in the early twentieth century intensified these changes. The growth of religious orders for women in Europe had brought with it an ever-increasing demand for missionary opportunities for women, and they gradually began to take over some of the orphanages. They wanted large, prestigious institutions with fine buildings, and in many cases brought with them their own funding for this purpose. Within these new institutions, they imposed their own system of values, stressing discipline, industry, and cleanliness. Long hours of labor, usually sewing, embroidery, and laundry, were performed in silence. Boys had mostly been adopted out by this stage, and most of the girls had marriages arranged for them by the church around the age of fourteen. Sick or disabled children could expect to spend the rest of their lives in the orphanage.[39]

As was the case with baptism, the operations of Holy Childhood orphanages were shaped as much by the society in which they were located as by the ideas of the French

[38] "Lettera del Padre Ugolino di Doullens M.O. alla R.ma Madre Generale delle Suore Francescane Missionarie di Maria," *Le Missioni Francescane in Palestina ed in altre regioni della terra* 3, no. 11 (1893): 660; Franciscan Order Curia Generalizia, Archive, Rome, Sinae 1870–1872, SK541, Relazione dell'origine progresso e stato presente della Missione dello Xan-si in Cina 1870; POSI C431, Hugolin Villeret, July 17, 1889; C432, Louis Moccagatta, August 1883–July 1884. The total income for Holy Childhood operations in Shanxi diocese was 51,890 francs, the total expenditure 69,199 francs (because the mission was subsidizing the work). The cost of providing wet nurses for all the children admitted would have been 100,000 francs.

[39] Kerval, *Le R.P. Hugolin de Doullens*, 163; *Annales* 15 (1863): 306–307, 319–320; Zhongguo fulihui, *Children's Tears* (Shanghai, 1952), 34.

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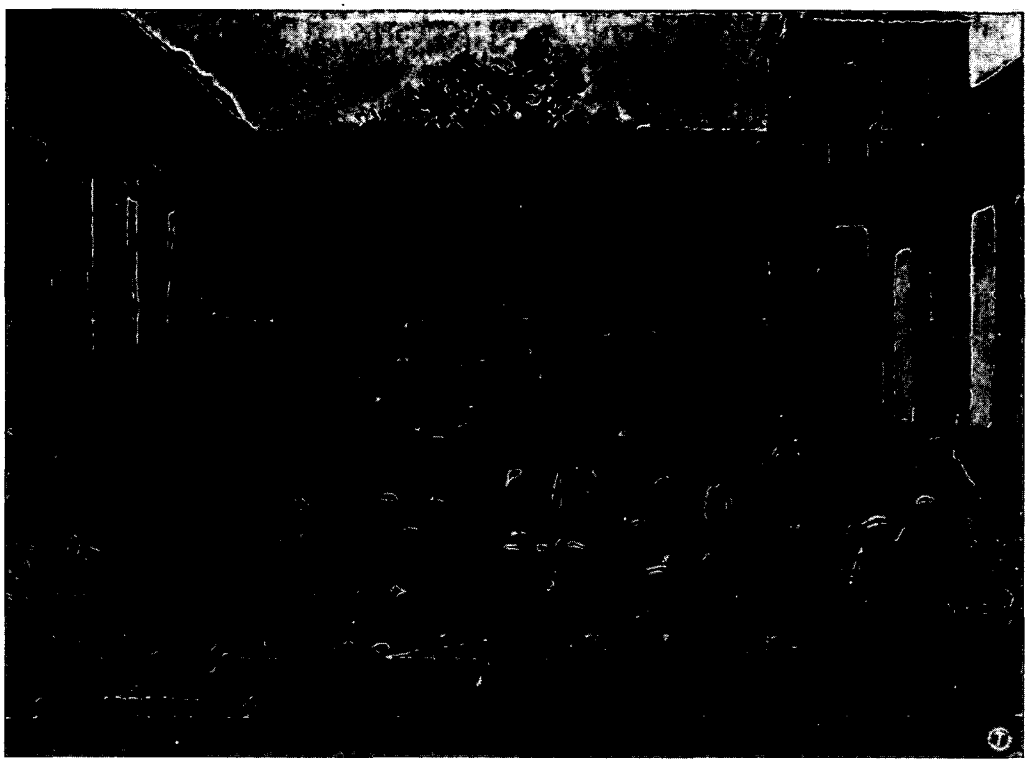


FIGURE 3: A village orphanage run by Chinese virgins in the 1890s. From Giovanni Ricci, *Barbarie e Trionfi: Ossia le vittime illustri del San-si in Cina nella persecuzione del 1900* (Firenze, 1910), 180.

donors. Chinese society had an elaborate market in people, and particularly in children: a father had the right to sell his wife or children, and poor men did so in times of trouble. This was unacceptable to the traditional Chinese elite, for whom the patrilineal family bound with ties of sentiment and blood was a key ideal, and later to modernizers who passed laws against it. Nevertheless, the families of the poor dissolved in times of crisis through sale, desertion, or abandonment, and were built up in times of prosperity through purchase and adoption. In such a situation, it was inevitable that any institution running foundling homes would become involved in the market for children, and this was indeed what happened to the Holy Childhood Association.[40]

On behalf of the association, the bishops, priests, nuns, and virgins who ran orphanages bought children. They were denounced for this practice by both Chinese and European critics and regularly denied the charge. In the aftermath of the Tianjin riots of 1870, the nuns asserted that they had never paid cash for a child, but one of these very nuns, in her account of her arrival in China, had described the purchase of a little girl "whom we bought for heaven for a few cash."[41] In fact, when those

[40] For alternatives to the strict patrilineal family, see Ann Waltner, *Getting an Heir: Adoption and the Construction of Kinship in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu, 1990); Matthew H. Sommer, "Making Sex Work: Polyandry as a Survival Strategy in Qing Dynasty China," in Bryna Goodman and Wendy Larson, eds., *Gender in Motion: Divisions of Labor and Cultural Change in Late Imperial and Modern China* (Lanham, Md., 2005).

[41] *Annales* 15 (1863): 93; *The Tientsin Massacre, Being Documents Published in the* Shanghai Evening

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who ran the orphanages said that they did not buy children, what they seem to have meant was that the sums involved were very small, especially from a European point of view, and that the association did not pay the going rate for marketable children. Occasionally bishops might even authorize such a purchase, as when a missionary running a boys' orphanage received permission from his bishop to buy an eight-month-old boy who had been put up for sale by his opium-smoking father. When the missionary became involved, there were alternative purchasers, bargaining about the price was conducted through an agent, and there was a formal act of sale. Much more common, however, was for Christians who took in unwanted infants to pay out small sums for which they were then reimbursed from Holy Childhood funds. A missionary in Shanxi in 1855 mentions a sum of 100 cash for each child, although an 1866 account from the same diocese gives the much larger figure of one to two taels (approximately 2,000 cash). In 1862, the diocese, which was then supporting about two hundred children, listed in its annual accounts 37,796 cash as money reimbursed to Christians who had paid for children. Sometimes these sums were interpreted as a fee paid to those who brought the children in. So, for example, in 1886, anyone who brought in a child was paid 100 cash and given a meal; the bishop commented that they went away pleased and eager to find more children. This was not surprising, because 100 cash was a good day's wage. People were still bringing children in for money in the 1920s. One of the men who regularly did this in Taiyuan would tell the children that he had brought them in to save their souls, and then he would ask the nuns for his hundred cash.[42]

The effect of the orphanages' buying children was to expand the market for otherwise unsalable children—that is to say, very young infants plus children who were sick or disabled. Able-bodied older children could usually be sold; thus, except in times of famine, when the market collapsed, the vast majority of older children taken in suffered from what the missionaries described as "deformity, sickness, or lack of intelligence."[43] A great many were blind, and these children had often had some kind of accident as a result, as in the case of a boy blind from birth who had fallen onto a pan of boiling water, which left him with burns that did not heal. When his widowed mother remarried, she gave him to some local Christians, who took him to the orphanage. He died there the year after his arrival. There were also girls who had lost their feet to gangrene or frostbite as a result of particularly harsh foot-binding and could no longer walk. The contracts that parents signed often spelled out the disability and why it was a problem: one boy was lame, so he could not work as a hired laborer; another "did not understand enough" to support himself. Some children who entered the orphanage might otherwise have died of neglect: one girl who went blind at the age of ten had been taken by her parents to her fiancé's family, who dared neither to reject nor to kill her, but instead tried to help her die by beating her and

Courier, *from June 16th to Sept. 10th, 1870, with an Introductory Narrative*, 2nd ed. (Shanghai, [1870]), 27.

[42] POSI C431, Gregorio Grassi Mission dello Chan-Si in Cina État de l'Oeuvre, August 1, 1886–July 31, 1887; C432, Shansi Notes pour servir à connaître le sens de la lettre Gabriel [Grioglio] da Moretta du 3 Octobre 1855, and Antonio Feliciani Compte-rendu de Exposés du Xansi, January 1, 1862–January 1, 1863; C433, M. Immaculée, September 9, 1920; C436, Hugolin Villeret, September 27, 1890; *Annales* 18 (1866): 388.

[43] *Annales* 24 (1873): 39.

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not giving her enough to eat. Many children were undoubtedly rescued from horrible situations, but others were taken from their families because the orphanage's willingness to purchase them made this a plausible option for the poor, like the blind three-year-old girl given to an orphanage by an impoverished grandfather to whom she clung and who the nuns could see was obviously very fond of her.[44]

The orphanages also sold children: as brides or adopted sons. In France, the adoption of foundlings was rare, partly because of the belief that children would inherit the characteristics of their immoral parents, and partly because the parents might one day come back for them. In China, where elite commitment to the ideal of patrilineal descent, though much discussed, was less effective in constraining behavior, adoption was common. Contracts giving children out for adoption ensured that disputes would be referred to the parish priest, and the church regularly went to court to prevent non-Christian parents from reclaiming their children. Girls who married out treated the orphanage as their natal home, to which they could appeal if they were in trouble. They wept ritually at their weddings as girls did who were leaving their natal homes, and surviving orphans remember going back to the orphanage for festivals, just as other village women would go to their families at such times. In effect, the intermediary position of the church made the contract of adoption or marriage a more effective transfer of rights over the child than an adoption or marriage directly from the natal family in the area. Moreover, since the Holy Childhood Association only allowed its children to be adopted by or marry into Christian families, the price was also lower than usual.[45]

The result was a level of demand that consistently surprised foreign missionaries. When the diocese of Southern Shanxi was established in 1892, the bishop decided not to run orphanages at all, but to have all children, girls as well as boys, adopted by Christians as early as possible. The diocese found that adoption rates varied with the quality of the harvest: in good years, the local Christians could afford to adopt and did so; in bad years, fewer children were adopted. Surviving contracts from another diocese provide for an orphan boy to inherit an equal share of the family property with any natural sons, which suggests that the clergy could place quite heavy demands on those who wished to adopt. The greatest demand, however, was for girls as brides. In the 1880s, one bishop reported having ten young men asking for each girl, and fathers coming to him in tears begging for the girls as daughters-in-law. His orphanages were even able to marry off the blind and disabled girls. In documents contained in Shanxi's early-twentieth-century diocesan archives, worried parish priests describe young men turning up at the orphanages to demand brides, sometimes with considerable sums of money, and the constant disputes this occasioned. For Chinese Catholics, the ability to obtain adopted sons and brides at a relatively cheap rate was one of the major advantages provided by their religion. Indeed, many men are said to have converted simply to get brides from the orphanage.[46] Mis-

[44] POSI C432, Hugolin [Villeret] de Doullens, February 15, 1888; C433, Chan-si septentrional (soeurs), August 31, 1910; *Annales* 27 (1876): 160; 30 (1879): 381; Geliaogou cunweihui dang'anju, Woman Zhou, 1904/3/26, and Qiao Jingxing, 1907/9/19.

[45] Interview, Qingyuan county, Shanxi, September 8, 2005; Fuchs, *Abandoned Children*, 30–31; POSI C431, [Gregorio] Grassi, July 24, 1887; Geliaogou cunweihui dang'an ju, Gao Renyi, 1909/7/20; *Annales* 18 (1866): 97; 26 (1875): 267–268.

[46] POSI C432, [Louis] Moccagatta, October 1, 1883; C437, Chan-si meridional [Jean] Hofman, 1892;

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sionaries were more or less aware that these transactions in people did not fit with the European Catholic models of the family, with their emphasis on sentiment and domesticity. Hugolin Villeret, who ran a village orphanage in Shanxi in the 1880s and wrote articles for the European mission press in which he laughed at his own inability to play up to the image of the heroic missionary, satirized himself for having become "a merchant in little girls."[47]

As the orphanages became more and more embedded in local society, they also began to function as general welfare organizations for Chinese Catholics, who used them to keep their families together through periods of crisis, depositing children and then coming back later to collect them. Contracts for children entering the orphanage state that they should have no further contact with their families, but in fact many parents came to visit their children. Indeed, during the riots in Tianjin in 1870, some children in Holy Childhood orphanages in other parts of the country simply went home. On other occasions, parents might request that their children be permitted to come home for a few days or even several months to stay with their families. One former orphan remembered her father coming to visit her in the orphanage and was still, in her eighties, in touch with her family.[48] Non-Christian families could sometimes get their children back by converting to Christianity; for example, when Ren Wutao signed his six-year-old son over to the Holy Childhood in 1910, the contract included the words "If his father hereafter converts and is baptized and obeys the Commandments and respects the Lord, then this child can return to him."[49] A register of orphans in one of the central Shanxi orphanages in 1918 included several girls who were actually living there with their mothers. This use of orphanages was common in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Europe, too; in both cases it showed that the organization was being used to assist poor families rather than to rescue children from savage parents.[50]

The Holy Childhood Association operated in a larger social world as well. And it was in this larger world that the fears of the poor interacted with the rising nationalism of elites and ultimately forced the association to end its activities in China. Despite constant hostility to Christian missions, elite opposition to the orphanages was not particularly apparent in the early years of the Holy Childhood's work. Chinese-run foundling homes occasionally copied features of the Catholic orphanages, most notably the revolving wheel through which children could be taken into the home anonymously. Officials also made some donations to Holy Childhood orphanages. During the great north China famine of the 1870s, for example, Zeng Guoquan, the brother of Zeng Guofan, one of China's most famous conservative statesmen,

ibid., Mission du Chansi Méridional État de l'Oeuvre, July 15, 1904–July 14, 1905; ibid., Oeuvre de la Sainte Enfance Année 1917 Mission du Shansi Méridional; Geliaogou cunweihui dang'anju, Gao Renyi, 1909/7/20; Shanxi beijiaoqu dang'an [Archives of the North Shanxi Diocese], 1901–1949, Zhongguo tianzhujiao lishi ziliao zhongxin, Taiyuan, Zhang Baolu, March 6, 1905, and Du Yongqing [February 13, 1905]; William Hinton, *Shenfan* (London, 1983), 531.

[47] Kerval, *Le R.P. Hugolin de Doullens*, 161.

[48] *Annales* 22 (1870): 389; 26 (1875): 267; Shanxi beijiaoqu dang'an, Zhang Baolu, December 20, 1904, and Tian Jingshi, November 12, 1904; Interview, Qingyuan County, Shanxi, September 8, 2005.

[49] Geliaogou cunweihui dang'anju, Ren Wutao, 1910/8/20.

[50] [Register of Orphanage Residents, 1917–1950], Zhongguo tianzhujiao lishi ziliao zhongxin; manuscript missing front pages. Cf. Lydia Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2006).

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gave the equivalent of 2,000 French francs to a Catholic orphanage in Shanxi. Another case occurred in Guizhou, where the province's main foundling home had been rebuilt by the governor in the 1830s but ran out of money in the 1860s as the result of a series of rebellions. When a new governor, Lao Chongguang, was posted to the province with the task of placating its Catholic bishop (one of whose missionaries had been executed by his predecessor), he handed the orphanage over to the bishop along with its sizable landholdings. At his death in 1867, Lao left this joint establishment the huge sum of 8,000 taels. Officials could even accept the high death rates, as did government minister Li Hongzhang when he wrote in a discussion of Catholic orphanages that children were bound to die in any foundling home.[51]

From the start, however, the association's activities had also been the subject of rumors: that the missionaries were kidnapping children, eating them, tearing out their eyes and hearts, or burying them under the foundations of the huge churches they were building. The stories varied only in guesses as to how the missionaries could profit from the children's organs: by making opium, medicines, communion wafers, an unguent for fortune-telling, potions to bewitch people and make them convert, or even chocolate and photographs.[52] These rumors spread among the poor, whose children were the ones threatened, but they were always available to members of the elite who wished to use them for their own political ends. They expanded as the association's operations grew, reaching a peak in 1870, when many anti-Christian texts were published and circulated in response to international political tensions. The result was rioting in the port city of Tianjin, which ended after a mob burst into the Holy Childhood orphanage, killing the foreign nuns and mutilating their bodies.[53] At one level, when we consider the numbers of blind and mentally handicapped children in the orphanages, it is not hard to see why some of the rumors might have made sense, but rumors of children being stolen and their souls or body parts taken have also been current in other times and other countries: Philip Kuhn has described them in eighteenth-century China, and Nancy Scheper-Hughes in late-twentieth-century Brazil.[54] Scheper-Hughes interprets them as a response to the inability of the poor to protect their children in a highly commercialized society. This makes sense as much for nineteenth-century China as for the Brazilian shantytown she describes. A more common response than rioting, however, was the sort of behavior seen in Shanxi in the aftermath of the trouble, when parents did not let their children out for a month, and those who did come out were accompanied by their parents

[51] *Annales* 16 (1864): 93–98; 17 (1865): 8; 20 (1868): 362–367; 27 (1876): 12; POSI C432, Louis Moccagatta, September 1878; He Changling, *Naian zouyi* [Collected Draft Memorials of Naian], 12 *juan* (1918), 4: 33–34; *Guizhou tongshi* [General History of Guizhou], 5 vols. (Beijing, 2002), 3: 287–494; Li Hongzhang, *Li Wenzhong gong quanji* [The Complete Works of Mr. Li Wenzhong], 165 *juan* (1905; repr., Hainan, 1997, under the title *Li Hongzhang quanji*), yishu hangao 20: 34.

[52] *Annales* 11 (1859): 115–116; 15 (1863): 306; 18 (1866): 18; 19 (1867): 232; 23 (1871): 19; Edoardo Manini, *Episodi della Rivoluzione Cinese, 1900* (Parma, 1901), 19; Antonius Maria Fu, "Relatio de ultima persecutione in Sinis," *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* 20 (1901): 176; Barnabas [Nanetti] d'Alsazia, "L'Infanzia in Cina," *Oriente Serafico* 4 (1892): 402; *Jiaowu jiaoan dang*, series 2: 866; series 5: 685.

[53] *Annales* 22 (1870): 362–366; *The Tientsin Massacre*; Chen Fangzhong, "Tianjin jiaoan zai tan" [A Further Investigation of the Tianjin Religious Case], *Furen lishi xuebao* 11 (2000): 133–160.

[54] Philip A. Kuhn, *Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); Nancy Scheper-Hughes, *Death without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 233–242.

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and had yellow paper talismans pinned to their clothes to protect them from sorcery.[55]

After the 1911 revolution that overthrew the Qing dynasty, official and elite attitudes toward Christianity generally became more positive. That year, revolutionaries in Shanxi offered to hand the provincial foundling home over to the church to run. This was partly because of the perceived links between Christianity and modernity and partly because of the charitable activities inspired by the Protestant social gospel movement (which also encouraged Protestants to begin to set up orphanages, although the huge numbers of Catholic orphanages and the history of attacks on them seem to have discouraged Protestant missionaries from ever taking this up on a large scale).[56] Popular fears continued, but in this political atmosphere they did not result in riots or organized protests. However, even as the Holy Childhood appeared to have been accepted in China, its institutions were beginning to look very old-fashioned from a European point of view. By the early twentieth century, as the pasteurization of milk and then the use of baby formula superseded wet-nursing, European institutions for abandoned children finally managed to escape from the constraints that had left so many children dead. This left the association's orphanages in China dangerously exposed, their high death rates now easily interpreted as the consequence of foreign imperialism. Interestingly, the most vocal critics of the Holy Childhood Association in the 1920s and 1930s were the Chinese clergy. Senior Chinese priests were well-educated, and they were well-informed about conditions in Europe; many of them also had strong nationalist feelings. They repeatedly objected to a system that effectively condemned so many children to death on arrival in the orphanages. As one bishop wrote, "No doubt the little innocents have the joy of going to Heaven after their baptism, but nevertheless it is no less sad to see them setting off. And we hesitate sometimes to take them in knowing that they are pledged to a certain death."[57] The correspondence of the new Chinese-run diocese of Xuanhua is full of similar efforts to get the association to appreciate the children's dreadful condition and to obtain cows for milk.[58] The difference between the Chinese bishops' writings and those of the foreign missionaries is striking. Ermenegildo Focaccia, a typical old-fashioned missionary from Italy, was still writing in 1939: "Many of the children have been so neglected and suffered so much before arriving at our doors that it is difficult to save all their lives, but those who die are already children of God by holy baptism and fly up to heaven."[59]

The operations of the Holy Childhood Association in China ended in 1951, when the Chinese Communist Party ran a campaign against missionary orphanages that mixed ideas of nationalism and anti-imperialism with long-standing popular fears: Canadian nuns in Guangzhou were accused, among other things, of tearing out children's eyes. In a mass trial that was broadcast on radio, they were charged with killing

[55] *Annales* 25 (1874): 175.

[56] POSI C433, Eugenio Massi Mission du Chansi Sept. État de l'Oeuvre, August 31, 1911–August 31, 1912; Ryan Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China, 1857–1927* (New Haven, Conn., 2001); Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (London, 1929), 464.

[57] POSI C327, Franciscus Liou, March 22, 1931.

[58] POSI C450, Pierre Tch'eng, September 21, 1934; Pierre Ly, October 6, 1935; and Joseph Tchang, November 3, 1936, August 22, 1938, September 30, 1939.

[59] POSI C493, Hermengildus Focaccia, November 1, 1939.

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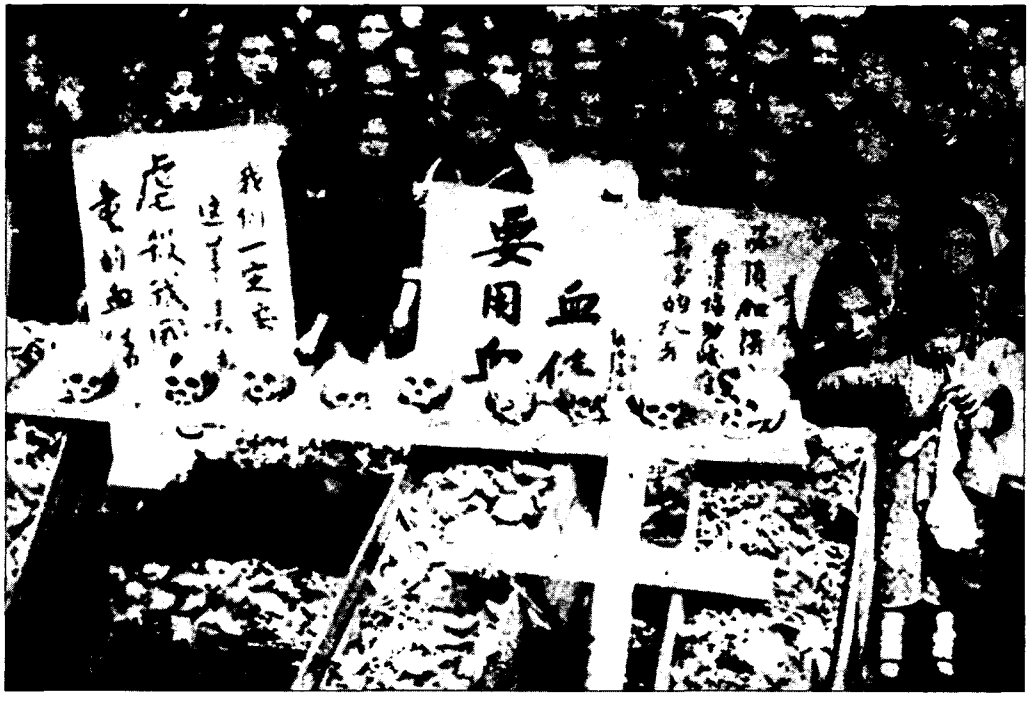


FIGURE 4: Communist-run demonstration against the Wuchang orphanage in 1951. From Zhongguo fulihui, *Children's Tears* (Shanghai,1952), facing 25.

more than two thousand children. The campaign then spread across the country. In Wuchang, eighty thousand people were brought to inspect the children's remains: rows of skulls and coffins full of bones. In the city of Taiyuan, Bishop Luca Capozi and the mother superior, who against all advice had insisted on taking children in throughout the war when there was nothing to feed them, were accused of the infanticide through neglect of 80 percent of the children entering the orphanage there.[60] The formal accusations were framed in explicitly anti-imperialist terms, and when the bishop responded to his interrogators by saying that they had "done whatever we could to prevent these children from being eaten by dogs, and the many deaths could not be attributed to us," his response seems to have come from another world.[61] Many children did die in Holy Childhood orphanages, but accusations of children's eyes being torn out and Capozi's response that he was saving those same children from being eaten by dogs tell us that to understand the activities of the Holy Childhood Association in China only through the framework of imperialism, as the Communist Party did, is scarcely to understand it at all.

The history of the Holy Childhood Association is indicative of the complexity of transnational aid organizations. It is important not only because it was one of the earliest charities of this sort, but also because of the scale of its operations: it was

[60] Su Ruoyi, *Zhongguo jindai jiaonan shiliao (1948–1957)* [Materials on China's Modern Religious Persecution (1948–1957)] (Taibei, 2000), 51-44–45; Zhongguo fulihui, *Children's Tears*, 21–25; Nicola Cerasa, *Breve Storia della Missione di Taiyuan Shansi* (Rome, 1998), 204; *Shanxi ribao* [Shanxi Daily News], July 8, 1951, 1.

[61] Nicola Cerasa, *Gioioso Centenario: Biografia di Mons. Luca Domenico Capozi* (Pofi, 1999), 204.

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immensely successful at collecting vast sums of money and funding orphanages across the globe. Despite the obvious similarities in the problem of child abandonment in China and France, which made the association's operations imaginable and acceptable, its early success was built on a fundraising formula (the idea of rescuing Chinese babies thrown to wild beasts by their savage mothers) that emphasized cultural difference rather than similarity. Moreover, this formula bore almost no relation to reality on the ground in China, so it was inevitable that the Holy Childhood's activities would be quite differently understood there. The result was that instead of introducing to China the sentimental version of the modern bourgeois family from which the association drew its strength in France, missionaries were encouraged by the association's funding to treat children in ways that exacerbated the commercialization of poor families, which reflected local custom but was as unacceptable to Chinese elites as it was to their French counterparts. The result was a globalizing institution that promoted cultural difference rather than encouraged the development of a homogeneous global modernity.

But if the Holy Childhood Association teaches us something about the nature of early transnational institutions, it is also interesting because of the light its history casts on very contemporary problems. The difficulty of attempts to help others in cultures that we imagine to be very different from our own has not gone away, and China is still a land that is easily identified with cultural difference. The 1980s saw the reemergence of widespread child abandonment in China, driven by the introduction of a market economy combined with the government's one-child policy, although both Chinese and Western writers have continued to blame "traditional thinking," making the practice again a national rather than a class characteristic. There have also been dramatic accusations of neglect and abuse in orphanages, sometimes the very same orphanages that the state inherited from the Holy Childhood Association in the 1950s.[62] And since the 1990s, there has been an outflow of children to the West for adoption that strikingly re-creates the Holy Childhood's model of individual connections between donor and the recipient child, but is also highly commercialized. The idea of rescuing children as a building block for transnational charitable organizations is one that continues to be extremely powerful in relation to China today.

[62] Nara Dillon, "New Democracy and the Demise of Chinese Charity in Shanghai," in Jeremy Brown and Paul G. Pickowicz, eds., *Dilemmas of Victory: The Early Years of the People's Republic of China* (Cambridge Mass., 2007), 98.

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Review Essay

On the Edges of History: Reflections on Historical Archaeology

ALAN MAYNE

HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, A DISCIPLINE THAT CHARACTERIZES ITSELF in terms of youthful innovation, is approaching middle age. Those who pioneered the field during the 1960s and 1970s are now professors emeritus. Their students are embedded in the career paths of leading universities. They publish in prestigious journals and imprints, and present keynote addresses at international conferences. Beyond the academy, historical archaeologists have carved out careers in heritage agencies and consultancy businesses. Popular magazines, heritage sites, and museum displays attest to the general community's appetite for the archaeological signatures of our modern world. But to what extent has that appetite been satisfied? And has the consolidation of this new academic field produced the conceptual and methodological synergies that are seemingly embedded in the phrase "historical archaeology"? Has its implied promise of sustained interdisciplinary collaboration to interpret more fully the history of the modern world been realized?

These questions are not raised in order to reflect narrowly upon the relationship of historical archaeology to the discipline of history. We have moved well beyond circular arguments and counterclaims about the supposed secondary status of archaeology as "the handmaiden to history."[1] In recent years, historical archaeology has shed its earlier volatile existence as an uneasy federation of fragmented specialisms and has begun to engage systematically with other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences; it has undertaken a series of important research projects at sites around the world; and—crucially—it has generated a critical mass of significant book-length research publications. It is therefore necessary for historians to adjust their thinking about historical archaeology. No longer can we disregard it as a field of inquiry that engages only with excavation data. No longer can we measure its significance simply in terms of equal partnerships between collaborators across

This essay has benefited from conversations over the years with many researchers, among them Mary Beaudry, Greg Dening, Dan Hicks, Rhys Isaac, Grace Karskens, Susan Lawrence, Tim Murray, Adrian Praetzellis, and Rebecca Yamin. I would especially like to thank Judy King for her detailed comments and suggestions.

[1] Charles E. Orser, Jr., "History of Historical Archaeology," in Orser, ed., *Encyclopedia of Historical Archaeology* (London, 2002), 271. See also Philip Levy, "Always a Handmaiden—Never a Bride: A Historical Archaeologist Explores the Divide between Archaeologists and Historians," *Archaeology*, February 23, 2000, http://www.archaeology.org/online/features/history/index.html (accessed November 28, 2007).

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disciplines, and the integration of archaeological and cognate data into analysis of the recent past. These elements should form the necessary foundation for all credible cross-disciplinary analysis. The key point to reflect upon now in considering these questions is the extent to which historical archaeology is contributing to interpretive innovations that extend and deepen our understanding of the past.

The answer is "not much" if we limit ourselves to the paradigm that is usually identified by historical archaeologists themselves. They claim that historical archaeology offers a clear bridge to a broader terrain of past social life than is possible from the study of documentary sources. It is an unconvincing assertion. However, the answer could become "a lot" if we consider instead the potential of historical archaeologists' study of materiality to emphasize and recalibrate ambiguity as a powerful tool with which to extend cross-disciplinary interpretation of modern history. Relishing and puzzling through the ambiguities of diverse but intersecting data sets and scales of reference has the effect of decentering historical understanding and thereby stimulating analytical innovation. The study of people, objects, places, activities, and events that had seemed to be on the edges of historical significance is helping to reformulate historical understanding by adding agency, complexity, and hence relativist sensitivity to our grasp of the influences and horizons that constituted the social worlds of the past. Historical archaeologists are valuable partners in these exciting studies. They remind us that clues embedded in "material culture are rich indicators of the plays of power" across locales, social systems, the day-to-day, and the *longue durée*.[2]

WHAT IS HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY? Its character is well captured in two comprehensive overviews of the field published in 2006: Martin Hall and Stephen W. Silliman's *Historical Archaeology* and Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry's *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*.[3] Both are multi-authored volumes, with nineteen and twenty-six contributors respectively. Both books decisively quash the criticism—evident during the mid- to late twentieth century—that historical archaeology amounts to little more than descriptive inventory catalogues of the artifacts found at excavation sites. They reveal instead a discipline engaging with multiple forms of evidence and conceptual frameworks in order to analyze a wide range of human activities, times, and places. For some readers, the kaleidoscopic quality of these books will be stimulating, but others may question this diverse field's overall cohesion. *Historical Archaeology*, for example, comprises lively debates and case studies that range across class, gender, colonialism, material culture, space, and ecology. Hall and Silliman relish this diversity, celebrating historical archaeology as "an eclectic discipline, lacking a dominant theoretical consensus." Charles E. Orser, Jr., provided a similar description, but was less sanguine in his conclusions, when he reviewed the field in 1999. He cautioned that "one inescapable fact continues to

[2] Martin Hall, *Archaeology and the Modern World: Colonial Transcripts in South Africa and the Chesapeake* (London, 2000), 71.

[3] Martin Hall and Stephen W. Silliman, eds., *Historical Archaeology* (Malden, Mass., 2006); Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology* (Cambridge, 2006).

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plague this archaeology . . . we still cannot come to a universal agreement about the precise nature and scope of historical archaeology." *The Cambridge Companion* likewise concedes that "the fragmented nature of the practice of much archaeological fieldwork and post-excavation analysis—in which things from particular contexts are studied in isolation from each other by specialists in clay pipes, textiles or ceramics—remains a major challenge for the development of interpretive archaeologies of excavated material culture."[4]

Historical archaeology is a subdiscipline within archaeology. It is distinct from, but overlaps with, other subdisciplines such as prehistory, Egyptology, and classical archaeology. We can generalize from *Historical Archaeology* and *The Cambridge Companion* that the contributors have in common a focused interest in human society from the fifteenth century to the present day. It has often been said that historical archaeology's starting point is the European global diaspora that began with Christopher Columbus in 1492 and triggered a snowballing transformative process that shaped the modern world.[5] This is a compelling but not entirely satisfactory framework. For one thing, its preoccupation is Eurocentric. A strength of these two books is their broader engagement with the occidental Old World, the oriental Old World, and the New World, although attention to non-European cultures in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa is still thin. A second inadequacy of this definition of historical archaeology is, as Hall and Silliman point out, that the field encompasses process rather than simply epoch.[6] But if process is to take precedence over time period, what is the prism through which this is to be captured? Both of these books emphasize that it should be through the study of material culture.

Material culture—what Henry Glassie calls "the tangible yield of human conduct"—is the starting point for historical archaeology. One of the editors of *The Cambridge Companion*, the British archaeologist Dan Hicks, contends that historical archaeology "heralds the birth of material history." His co-editor, the American archaeologist Mary Beaudry, points out that material culture "is ubiquitous in our everyday lives; we are surrounded by it and arguably can do little without it."[7] Hicks and Beaudry are well aware that "In many fields of the arts, humanities, and social sciences, a refocusing upon the material dimensions of social life is taking place." Beaudry, for example, co-edited an earlier collection of essays in which the historian Rhys Isaac, building upon his classic *The Transformation of Virginia*, spelled out the transdisciplinary opportunity that exists through studying material culture "to inquire into the ways past peoples have understood or imagined the environments they have fashioned as habitats for themselves, and into the meanings and desires that

[4] Martin Hall and Stephen W. Silliman, "Introduction: Archaeology of the Modern World," in Hall and Silliman, *Historical Archaeology*, 11; Charles E. Orser, Jr., "Negotiating our 'Familiar Pasts,'" in Sarah Tarlow and Susie West, eds., *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain* (London, 1999), 274; Matthew D. Cochran and Mary C. Beaudry, "Material Culture Studies and Historical Archaeology," in Hicks and Beaudry, *The Cambridge Companion*, 193.

[5] See Charles E. Orser, Jr., *A Historical Archaeology of the Modern World* (New York, 1996); Charles E. Orser, Jr., and Brian M. Fagan, *Historical Archaeology* (New York, 1995); Orser, "History of Historical Archaeology," 270.

[6] Hall and Silliman, "Introduction: Archaeology of the Modern World," 2.

[7] Henry Glassie, *Material Culture* (Bloomington, Ind., 1999), 41; Dan Hicks, "Archaeology Unfolding: Diversity and the Loss of Isolation," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 23, no. 1 (2003): 326; Cochran and Beaudry, "Material Culture Studies and Historical Archaeology," 191.

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FIGURE 1: Excavators at Fort Langley National Historic Park, British Columbia, Canada (1987–1995). Undated photograph by Jack Porter. Courtesy of Cultural Resources Services, Parks Canada, Calgary, Alberta.

they have invested in the artifacts with which they have both transformed and furnished their shaped environments."[8] It follows, as Leora Auslander has pointed out, that by embracing the study of material culture, historians can "change the very nature of the questions we are able to pose and the kind of knowledge we are able to acquire about the past."[9]

Hicks and Beaudry insist that historical archaeologists are best placed to drive such innovation because they begin methodologically with the study of material things, bringing to the analysis of past societies a heightened "awareness of how much of daily life remains undocumented . . . [and] unspoken."[10] Historical archaeology's distinctive approach to material culture analysis, elements of which were well articulated during the late 1980s and 1990s as "critical materialism," usefully explored the objectification of ideology, power, and status in landscapes, domestic architecture, and everyday material culture. Increasingly, historical archaeologists have also realized that the material world not only contains signatures of power but reveals "subtle contestations" between and among groups and individuals.[11] The resultant complexity of contemporary materialist analysis by historical archaeolo-

[8] Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry, "Introduction: The Place of Historical Archaeology," in Hicks and Beaudry, *The Cambridge Companion*, 6; Rhys Isaac, "Imagination and Material Culture: The Enlightenment on a Mid-18th-Century Virginia Plantation," in Anne E. Yentsch and Mary C. Beaudry, eds., *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology* (Boca Raton, Fla., 1992), 401. See Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982).

[9] Leora Auslander, "Beyond Words," *American Historical Review* 110, no. 4 (October 2005): 2.

[10] Hicks and Beaudry, *The Cambridge Companion*, 2–3.

[11] Hall, *Archaeology and the Modern World*, 102. See Hall's discussion of "critical materialism" in chap. 4.

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gists, as they interrogate documentary and oral sources in order to probe the full historical significance of artifact assemblages, is demonstrated in both *The Cambridge Companion* and Hall and Silliman's *Historical Archaeology*.

The synthesizing material culture approach to modern history that characterizes these two books is evident as well in the broader development of historical archaeology since the early twentieth century, and especially after the establishment of professional societies in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Characteristically, the study of things has been bracketed by historical archaeologists with the study of textual evidence. In defining the processes of historical archaeology, it is this combination of tasks that best describes the field. Historical archaeology can therefore usefully be characterized as "text-aided archaeology that uses a combination of archaeological and historical methods, sources, and perspectives to study the recent past."[12] This is a powerful methodological mix, and will interest many historians, although the referencing of historical periods with written cultures does somewhat compromise the post-Columbian focus that most historical archaeologists accept. It logically requires the field to engage also with the ancient Middle East, China, India, Europe, and Central America, and with the Islamic world. Moreover, it highlights a disjunction within historical archaeology between the post-Columbian North American paradigm, on the one hand, and European historical archaeology—which is generally taken to address the entire time period after the fall of the western Roman Empire—on the other.

In the Americas, Africa, and Australia, it has been relatively easy for historical archaeologists to carve out a materialist perspective on the post-1492 history of the modern world. Historical archaeology began in these regions, initially in association with architecture and history, as the study of early European colonial settlement (which usually meant the study of famous European colonizers). During the 1970s and 1980s, James Deetz significantly broadened the agenda of historical archaeology to include not only the spread of European culture since the fifteenth century, but also its impact on indigenous peoples.[13] This advance was surely influenced in part by the American civil rights movement, the assertion of indigenous rights in Australasia, and the struggle for democracy in Africa, all of which encouraged historical archaeologists to probe race, ethnicity, and social identity among subaltern groups during the colonial and postcolonial periods.[14] This emphasis upon the analysis of modern power relations in a still-remembered past leads some scholars to argue that historical archaeology "has a special ability to address issues with which we continue to wrestle today: multiculturalism, changing gender roles, internationalism, racism, class development and maintenance, and mass consumption and consumerism."[15]

In Britain, the interest of historical archaeology in colonialism and postcolonialism offers a useful backdrop to homegrown interest in probing the material evidence

[12] Charles E. Orser, Jr., "Historical Archaeology," in Brian M. Fagan, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Archaeology* (New York, 1996), 279. See also Barbara J. Little, *Text-Aided Archaeology* (Boca Raton, Fla., 1992).

[13] See especially James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York, 1977).

[14] See Adrian Praetzellis and Mary Praetzellis, "More Than 'Just a Place to Start From': Historical Archaeologies of West Oakland," in Praetzellis and Praetzellis, eds., *Putting the "There" There: Historical Archaeologies of West Oakland* (Sonoma, Calif., 2004), 305.

[15] Orser, "Historical Archaeology," 279.

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of Britain's emergence since the late eighteenth century as the world's first urban industrial nation.[16] Indeed, the term "historical archaeology" is sometimes equated in Britain with industrial archaeology (although it can also be paired with post-medieval archaeology in the period 1500 to 1750). It is no accident that in Britain and elsewhere, the development of historical archaeology has occurred in tandem with cultural heritage interpretation and protection. Consultancy work to record the archaeological content of redevelopment sites—"retrieving information before it is lost forever beneath the bulldozer's blade or under the walls of a new housing development"—has provided the bread and butter for many historical archaeologists.[17] The nature of these tasks (working under pressure, and to a tight contract) has been blamed for entrenching a timid empiricist approach at the expense of theorizing and rigorous interpretation.[18] Some of the most important theoretical advances in historical archaeology, however, derive from data collected during consultancy work. Practitioners in public history can learn from these experiences.

The overlapping preoccupations of historical archaeologists with the dynamics of power and inequality in a modernizing world have resulted in a near-consensus over recent years that if historical archaeology is to be regarded as the archaeology of the modern world, the historical process it best describes is global capitalism. The framework for historical archaeology has become mercantilism, industrialism, urbanization, colonialism, and postcolonialism. One of the most sophisticated attempts to synthesize these developments is to be found in Martin Hall's *Archaeology and the Modern World*. Hall uses colonialism as a platform for reinforcing the field's materialist focus, and he identifies another key dimension—the interplay between localism and globalism—so that interpretation is driven by gearing together different scales of analysis. Hall's approach will interest historians who, like Isaac, are developing an ethnographically informed and materially oriented epistemology with which to explore the same historical processes. Hall builds upon Deetz's concept of "small things forgotten" (of which more later), arguing that "historical archaeology has long been concerned with landscapes, houses and the 'small things' of everyday life, and also with the ways in which such material things circulated in the global networks that colonial settlement brought." He uses the materiality of colonialism—comparing the Dutch East India Company (established in 1602) and its colonial creation of Cape Town in 1652, and the London Company (established in 1604 to settle Virginia) and its creation of Jamestown in 1607—as a means of "revealing the complex ways in which localities were created within global systems of distribution."[19]

This use of local case studies in material culture to explore relationships of power and inequality within urban societies, and the broader dynamics of trade and colonialism in the modern world, has become well established in recent historical archaeology. Slums and colonial frontiers provide flashpoints of cross-cultural engagement and cross-textual interpretation that have stimulated innovation in historical

[16] See Jim Symonds and Eleanor Casella, "Historical Archaeology and Industrialisation," in Hicks and Beaudry, *The Cambridge Companion*, 143–167.

[17] Orser, "History of Historical Archaeology," 272.

[18] See Tim Murray, "But That Was Long Ago: Theory in Australian Historical Archaeology," *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 20 (2002): 8–14.

[19] Hall, *Archaeology and the Modern World*, 2, 3.

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archaeology and offer useful reference points for historians. Beaudry's collaborative work on the Boott Cotton Mills at Lowell, Massachusetts, for example, has informed later analysis of everyday life in city neighborhoods that dominant discourses had demonized and marginalized as slums.[20] Christopher R. DeCorse's *An Archaeology of Elmina* is a significant West African example of the colonial intersections that can be made between local and global events. Elmina, in modern Ghana, was established as a Portuguese fort in 1482 and endured for the next four hundred years as a contact point between Africans and Europeans. In a very different but no less effective case study, Patricia E. Rubertone's *Grave Undertakings* uses evidence from a seventeenth-century Narragansett Indian burial ground in order to reflect upon "the histories and identities of the diverse peoples affected by the global processes set in motion by colonialism." Her object is to provide "different angles" upon the history of colonialism. The trick in doing so is to identify convergences between what these different angles offer.[21]

Much of this archaeology of modernity and capitalism (especially as applied in "critical materialism") has been underpinned by Marxist analysis. This has sometimes obscured nuanced interpretation across those "different angles," but it has usefully emphasized ideology and power, and also the importance for academic researchers to play an active role in present-day policy debate about social inclusion and cultural heritage conservation. Randall H. McGuire, co-editor of the influential *Archaeology of Inequality*, argues in *The Cambridge Companion* that archaeologists today have "by and large rejected a 'totalising' notion of Marxism: they instead use class and Marxist analyses as entry points for studies that also consider race, gender, and ethnicity as loci of oppression."[22] McGuire's comment is best illustrated in Mark P. Leone's *The Archaeology of Liberty in an American Capital: Excavations in Annapolis*.[23] McGuire regards Leone's work in Annapolis, Maryland, as one of the most important large-scale and long-running projects in American historical archaeology. Leone's trailblazing 1984 study of the 1760s formal garden of the Annapolis merchant-lawyer and American Revolutionary leader William Paca shaped transatlantic debate on historical archaeology for twenty years, during which time his structuralist approach was criticized for emphasizing fixed form and for overlooking subaltern agency and resistance.[24] *The Archaeology of Liberty* is a rejoinder to these criticisms. On the one hand, Leone is uncompromising and unsurprising. He studies social control through analysis of landscapes, printing, and ceramics. Herein lies the ex-

[20] Stephen A. Mrozowski, Grace H. Ziesing, and Mary C. Beaudry, *Living on the Boott: Historical Archaeology at the Boott Mills Boardinghouses, Lowell, Massachusetts* (Amherst, Mass., 1996). See Alan Mayne and Tim Murray, eds., *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes: Explorations in Slumland* (Cambridge, 2001).

[21] Christopher R. DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina: Africans and Europeans on the Gold Coast, 1400–1900* (Washington, D.C., 2001); Patricia E. Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings: An Archaeology of Roger Williams and the Narragansett Indians* (Washington, D.C., 2001), 189. See also Tim Murray, ed., *The Archaeology of Contact in Settler Societies* (Cambridge, 2004).

[22] Randall H. McGuire and Robert Paynter, eds., *The Archaeology of Inequality* (Oxford, 1991); Randall H. McGuire, "Marxism and Capitalism in Historical Archaeology," in Hicks and Beaudry, *The Cambridge Companion*, 123.

[23] Mark P. Leone, *The Archaeology of Liberty in an American Capital: Excavations in Annapolis* (Berkeley, Calif., 2005). See McGuire's assessment of Leone in McGuire, "Marxism and Capitalism in Historical Archaeology," 131–133.

[24] See Dan Hicks, " 'Places for Thinking' from Annapolis to Bristol: Situations and Symmetries in 'World Historical Archaeologies,' " *World Archaeology* 37, no. 3 (2005): 373–391.

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planation, Leone argues, for why a city that was three-quarters poor and one-third African American tolerated the increasing polarization of wealth without violent protest. Inconsistently, however, Leone omits the free poor from his analysis on the grounds that they are outside the ideological constructions of Annapolis and are hard to detect archaeologically. On the other hand, Leone opens up an exciting new area of analysis by interpreting evidence of African spiritualism as an "alternative world" to European Enlightenment rationalism and capitalist ideology.[25] It is a good example for historians of how past social practices can be teased out by text-aided archaeology.

As Leone's analysis of folklore and ritual demonstrates, historical archaeology (especially in the United States) has also drawn substantially upon anthropology in order to examine the social and cultural processes that have shaped modern capitalism. This now well-established approach is showcased by *The Cambridge Companion*, Hall and Silliman's *Historical Archaeology*, and Hall's *Archaeology and the Modern World*. Hicks contends that historical archaeology has thereby established a strategic role in the social sciences based upon the "ethnographic observation of the active role of objects in social life." He argues that by interpreting past social worlds through the study of objects, the field's strength lies in its ability to produce "historical ethnographies of 'people and their things.'"[26] These are exciting propositions for historians to consider, echoing as they do the innovative interpretive pathways that have been blazed by historians such as Isaac, but drawing from the parallel methodologies of a discipline that is anchored in the study of material culture.

HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGISTS CONTEND THAT THE ELEMENTS that define their field give it a unique position from which to interpret the recent past. Many go further and assert that their discipline exposes fundamental methodological inadequacies on the part of historians that have hitherto limited understanding of the past. Orser has argued that "historical archaeology provided a perfect way in which to study the lives of men and women who had been largely forgotten in history or who had been pushed aside as insignificant by past historical observers." The discipline's new materialism, it seems, can expose "the hidden side of history" by revealing the subaltern lives of oppressed groups such as plantation slaves, indigenous communities, wage workers, and tenement dwellers. According to this line of thinking, historical archaeology, because of its sensitivity to the processes of modernity, its attention to overlooked material evidence from the past, and its recognition—learned from cultural anthropology, material culture analysis, and literary criticism—of the symbolic meanings of artifacts and landscape features, can "provide a more realistic view of the past."[27] These claims are attractive but deeply problematic. And because they are so widely held, it is necessary to pay them careful attention before addressing what seem to

[25] Leone, *The Archaeology of Liberty*, 58–61.

[26] Hicks, "Archaeology Unfolding," 325, 318. See also Mary C. Beaudry, "Introduction: Ethnography in Retrospect," in Mary Ellin D'Agostino, Elizabeth Prine, Eleanor Casella, and Margot Winer, eds., *The Written and the Wrought: Complementary Sources in Historical Anthropology* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 1–16.

[27] Orser, "History of Historical Archaeology," 272.

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be the enduring strengths of historical archaeology and its firmest connecting points with historians for undertaking multidisciplinary analysis of the modern world.

The claims seem reasonable in part. Historical analysis is often said to be too general and too disengaged to grasp the attention and trigger the imagination of readers. It would be absurd, however, to conclude that documentary records as a whole and historical interpretation of them are necessarily divorced from everyday experience in the past. To make this claim would be to ignore micro-history, social history, and public history. It is also legitimately said that there are yawning gaps in historical knowledge of both local events and broader processes. What these criticisms often overlook, however, is that it is precisely the quest to address these shortcomings that has spurred historical innovation. DeCorse makes a valid point when he grounds his study of Elmina in the proposition that for all "the wealth of documentary sources" that survive about the place in archives, museums, and libraries, these sources are ultimately "disappointing."[28] The town's African population left no written records, and European collections give no traction on daily social life. It is reasonable to conclude that a better understanding of Elmina's past can be achieved by interweaving written sources, oral testimony, and archaeological evidence.

But historical archaeologists often overstate their arguments. Kathleen Deagan and José María Cruxent's *Columbus's Outpost among the Taínos*, an account of Columbus's La Isabela settlement, is a case in point. We can readily agree that historians have overlooked and misunderstood this first intentional European colonial venture in the New World; however, alarm bells begin to ring when we read that "only material expressions reveal action and agency on the part of all actors in the past, including those who could not produce written or iconographic accounts." La Isabela was established by Columbus in 1493 on the northern coast of the present-day Dominican Republic. Intended as an important trading settlement, it is the only place in the Americas where Columbus actually lived, but it survived for less than five years. Deagan and Cruxent's otherwise excellent study is marred because they generalize from a legitimate finding—that at La Isabela, "historical scholarship . . . has been largely restricted to the perspectives of the literate Spanish elites who controlled colonial policy and organization"—in order to assert as a universal axiom that "because of the nature of historical sources . . . [the] experiences and perspectives of the majority of people . . . who were . . . caught up in the early colonial arena . . . are not recorded primarily in written accounts but are found instead in the material expressions of local experience, that is, in the archaeological record." Their specific claim that La Isabela's contemporary chroniclers skewed historical understanding by writing about "elite misery" is reasonable. However, the corollary that only historical archaeology can reveal "subaltern endurance" is insupportable.[29]

It has become a truism in historical archaeology to assert that documents and pictures provide only elite perspectives upon the past, whereas archaeology encapsulates the daily lives of entire societies. Archaeological evidence is seemingly inclusive; it extends to "anybody . . . who has ever used a dish, chamberpot, room, privy,

[28] DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina*, 1, 2.

[29] Kathleen Deagan and José María Cruxent, *Columbus's Outpost among the Taínos: Spain and America at La Isabela, 1493–1498* (New Haven, Conn., 2002), 4, 161.

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or medicine-bottle." This enables "the historical archaeologist . . . to . . . provide the raw material for entirely new social histories replacing the old, and often biased, generalizations based on historical sources alone."[30] These are exaggerated claims. This downplaying of "historical" as opposed to "archaeological" evidence suggests a contradiction at the core of the phrase and the discipline of historical archaeology. The theatricality is perhaps understandable in terms of a new field's attempt to define itself through exaggerated juxtaposition and ambit claim. However, innovators in historical archaeology reject these misleading dichotomies. Hall, for example, points out that social history has long interrogated documentary evidence in order to probe the lives of oppressed and marginalized groups.[31] Postcolonial history, gender history, urban history, immigration history, and labor history have all been built upon this quest for the subaltern other.

The fundamental problem with these attempts to position historical archaeology relative to cognate fields is that the conceptual platform upon which conventional historical archaeological method is based is flawed. Historical archaeologists claim that the palpability of material evidence provides a tangible bridge that compacts time by connecting past and present.[32] This thinking dangerously simplifies the relativist challenge that lies at the heart of historical analysis. The problem is encapsulated in the enthusiastic engagement of many historical archaeologists with sites that serve as "time capsules." Such assemblages appear to close the chasm between now and then by offering the immediacy of shared understanding between past and present lives; they enable us to gaze upon things that in another moment in time were handled by people of a different age.

Analysis of colonial frontier outposts such as La Isabela is a good example. The cover illustration for Deagan and Cruxent's book, a conjectural reconstruction of the Columbus house, is reproduced courtesy of *National Geographic* magazine, which was a major sponsor of the project.[33] Shipwrecks (which are also regularly publicized by *National Geographic*) are also characterized as time capsules. Thomas N. Layton's *Gifts from the Celestial Kingdom*, for example, centers upon the wreck of the brig *Frolic* on the California coast in 1850.[34] Layton captures our attention by reconstructing lives and happenings that founder with the brig on the rocks of Point Cabrillo. He struggles, however, to shift gears between the particularities of these happenings and the globalizing effects of mercantilism, which in the *Frolic*'s case is evident in the growing trade between gold-rush San Francisco and China. Layton's difficulties are shared by all historical archaeologists. As analysis of the archaeological evidence begins, the supposed bridge to past worlds fades like the Cheshire

[30] Mark P. Leone, Paul R. Mullins, Marian C. Creveling, Laurence Hurst, Barbara Jackson-Nash, Lynn D. Jones, Hannah Jopling Kaiser, George C. Logan, and Mark S. Warner, "Can an African-American Historical Archaeology Be an Alternative Voice?" in Ian Hodder, Michael Shanks, Alexandra Alexandri, Victor Buchli, John Carman, Jonathan Last, and Gavin Lucas, eds., *Interpreting Archaeology: Finding Meanings in the Past* (London, 1995), 110; Barry Cunliffe, "Afterword: Historical Archaeology in the Wider Discipline," in Hicks and Beaudry, *The Cambridge Companion*, 318.

[31] Hall, *Archaeology and the Modern World*, 19.

[32] See, for example, Anne-Marie Cantwell and Diana diZerega Wall, *Unearthing Gotham: The Archaeology of New York City* (New Haven, Conn., 2001), 8.

[33] Kathleen A. Deagan, "La Isabela: Europe's First Foothold in the New World," *National Geographic* 181, no. 1 (1992): 40–51.

[34] Thomas N. Layton, *Gifts from the Celestial Kingdom: A Shipwrecked Cargo for Gold Rush California* (Stanford, Calif., 2002).

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Cat. Hall cautions his colleagues that the subaltern voices supposedly embedded in the archaeological record are "frustratingly elusive"; they have "left as faint a trace in the material world as they did in the written documentation."[35]

The fallacy at the heart of conventional approaches in historical archaeology is the assumption that material evidence provides a ready link to a familiar and hence easily knowable and recoverable past. This assumption provides the bedrock upon which Charles Orser and Brian Fagan defined the field (albeit with an eye to advertising their field to lay readers rather than to epistemological exactness) in 1995. Claiming that material evidence provides a "continuum" between the recent past and the present, they reasoned that historical archaeology "serves as a mirror into our own lives, and of those of people living only a few generations ago": it is an exploration of ourselves. Paradoxically, this approach was explicitly ruled out by Glassie, the great exponent of material culture studies, when he lampooned historians for fashioning artificial interpretive "constructs . . . which become but mirrors, infinitely reflecting back to us our own worn visages."[36] The archaeologist's bridge is indeed just such a mirror. We can assume no familiarity with the past, no unbroken links of comprehensibility, no hidden reality awaiting discovery.

Michael Shanks and Ian Hodder point out that "The past is not simply under the ground waiting to be discovered," but is irretrievably gone, and that the supposed bridge provided by the "archaeological record" is therefore not an innocent given but a scholarly artifice.[37] Historical archaeologists who disregard this warning do so because they confuse method and concept. Yes, we can agree with Deagan and Cruxent that archaeologists "recover" artifacts by excavation. We can even respect their comment that at La Isabela such evidence provides "the only direct source of information we have about cultural practice and daily life of non-literate participants in the colonial arena."[38] But by accumulating such information, archaeologists do not "recover" the past: they have simply collected fragments in time and space, like flotsam on what the ethnographic historian Greg Dening calls " 'this side of the beach,' my side as an outsider." This information helps to fill gaps in the knowledge field we collect on our side of the beach, but it does not offer immediacy of understanding about lives and processes in the past; it does not transport us to "the 'other side of the beach.' "[39] British archaeologists Sarah Tarlow and Susie West have warned their colleagues against assuming that they know and understand the recent past, and urged them to focus instead upon defamiliarizing themselves from their subjects.[40] Historians such as Dening and Isaac would wholeheartedly agree.

[35] Hall, *Archaeology and the Modern World*, 19.

[36] Orser and Fagan, *Historical Archaeology*, 237, 238; Henry Glassie, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone* (Bloomington, Ind., 1995), 11–12.

[37] Michael Shanks and Ian Hodder, "Processual, Postprocessual and Interpretive Archaeologies," in Hodder et al., *Interpreting Archaeology*, 11–12.

[38] Deagan and Cruxent, *Columbus's Outpost*, 4, 213.

[39] Greg Dening, *Beach Crossings: Voyaging across Times, Cultures and Self* (Melbourne, 2004), 12.

[40] Susie West, "Introduction," in Tarlow and West, *The Familiar Past?*, 1; also Sarah Tarlow, "Strangely Familiar," ibid., 264. Compare with Hicks and Beaudry, "Introduction: The Place of Historical Archaeology," 4.

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HAVING SWEPT ASIDE THE DETRITUS OBSCURING APPRECIATION of historical archaeology, we can identify more readily the exciting conceptual intersections that do exist between historical archaeology and cognate fields. The potential of historical archaeology lies, as *The Cambridge Companion* recognized, in its "location in interdisciplinary environments."[41] Innovation takes place in the quirky borderlands between overlapping disciplines and data sets. The pathways here are very different from those that beckon "easy riders" who attempt to follow the materialist bridge to the past. Significantly, the best studies in historical archaeology, and the most perceptive responses to them from outside the discipline, share an impatience with assertions of such a bridge, and of a qualitative difference between documentary and archaeological sources that would underpin these assertions. Beaudry, for example, emphasizes instead the encouragement to innovative analysis that comes from identifying, tracking, and interweaving the inferences that arise from juxtaposing documents and artifacts.[42] As Laurie A. Wilkie notes in *The Archaeology of Mothering*, which probes the life of an African American midwife and her extended family in the American South after Emancipation, "I have tried to maintain an active tension between the two, using the one source to interrogate, deconstruct, or illuminate the other."[43]

These scholars agree that interpretive innovation is driven by the rigorous effort of crisscrossing the borders of academic disciplines and their favored data sets, and targeting the limits of conventional scales of historical possibility and significance. The strength of *Grave Undertakings*, for example, is that Rubertone combines textual and archaeological evidence with community memory in order to weave a complex history of indigenous cultural survival. The intersections that she identifies have been traced on a broader neighborhood scale from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries by the Cypress Archaeology Project in West Oakland, California. That project, led by Adrian and Mary Praetzellis, focused on more than one hundred household sites in this supposed slum where the archaeological and the documentary evidence coincided, in order "to bring to life a neighborhood, a community and communities of people who lived next door to each other, passed on the street, worked and socialized together." Studies of the "Little Lon" slum precinct in Melbourne, Australia, provide a similar example. Such projects, as the Praetzellises emphasize, are necessarily "intensely collaborative."[44] There are three key points of intersection conceptually in such collaborations. The first of these is ethnographic interest in combining different scales of analysis to reveal process. The second is sensitivity to human agency. The third is engagement with marginalized communities. All three resonate with the approaches adopted by many historians who are unaware of the cross-disciplinary reach of historical archaeology.

The first point of intersection is ethnography. Historical and archaeological eth-

[41] Hicks and Beaudry, "Introduction: The Place of Historical Archaeology," 2.

[42] Mary C. Beaudry, *Findings: The Material Culture of Needlework and Sewing* (New Haven, Conn., 2006), 7.

[43] Laurie A. Wilkie, *The Archaeology of Mothering: An African-American Midwife's Tale* (New York, 2003), xxi.

[44] Praetzellis and Praetzellis, "More Than 'Just a Place to Start From,'" 306, 307. See Alan Mayne, "Big Notes from a Little Street: Historical Research at Melbourne's 'Little Lon,'" *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 10, no. 4 (2006): 311–322.

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nographers (influenced by anthropology and sociology) juxtapose small scales of reference—"mundane" things, "ordinary" people, and "insignificant" events—with wider and more abstract reference points. In doing so, they simultaneously track backward and forward between reference points that are immediate and transparent (the "experience-near") and those that are distant and contested (the "experience-distant").[45] By employing multiple and interlocking scales of analysis in order to unravel, reformulate, and problematize prevailing academic paradigms, these scholars attempt "to find alternatives to 'top-down,' totalizing models of social change." They strive to see "from the native's point of view."[46] They do so by constructing a hermeneutic spiral of interpretation that hypothesizes about the past by following "a question and answer procedure which is rooted in the present," and which continuously "shift[s] . . . between individual lives and wider social contexts, identifying the complexities of particular situations that are invisible in conventional normative models of everyday life."[47]

This approach was pioneered in historical archaeology by Deetz, who argued that "in the seemingly little and insignificant things that accumulate to create a lifetime, the essence of our existence is captured." It was fine-tuned by Anne E. Yentsch, who demonstrated how "the nitty-gritty" of archaeological and documentary research could be combined into "richly detailed ethnographies." It is exemplified by Beaudry's wonderfully nuanced *Findings: The Material Culture of Needlework and Sewing*, which provocatively grounds its analysis upon the equation "Small Finds, Big Histories."[48] She demonstrates that "seemingly simple and commonplace artifacts that everybody readily recognizes and 'knows'—pins, needles, thimbles, and scissors—have complex histories and even more complex and varied social meanings than we might at first think they do."[49]

The most compelling examples of historical archaeology have championed this "multiscalar" ethnographic interest in building interpretation from the small, the local, the particular, and extrapolating to wider historical contexts and processes.[50] Wilkie's *Creating Freedom*, for example, reappraises historical understanding of plantation life in the American South by developing a microanalysis of four African American families on Oakley Plantation in Louisiana from the 1840s to the 1940s. In the social practices of these families, she finds evidence of coping mechanisms that, she argues, were played out throughout southern society. The most extensive body of work to have employed this scaled approach between local and broader contexts is to be found in the historical archaeology of colonialism. A powerful stimulus to this project in the United States was the three-volume multi-author *Colum-*

[45] Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York, 1983), 57.

[46] Lu Ann De Cunzo and Julie H. Ernstein, "Landscapes, Ideology, and Experience in Historical Archaeology," in Hicks and Beaudry, *The Cambridge Companion*, 261; Geertz, *Local Knowledge*, chap. 3.

[47] Ian Hodder, *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1991), 151; Julia A. King, "Household Archaeology, Identities, and Biographies," in Hicks and Beaudry, *The Cambridge Companion*, 312.

[48] Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, 259; Anne E. Yentsch, *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves: A Study in Historical Archaeology* (Cambridge, 1994), xix, xxii; Beaudry, *Findings*, chap. 1.

[49] Beaudry, *Findings*, 137.

[50] See Orser, "Negotiating Our 'Familiar Pasts,'" 280–281.

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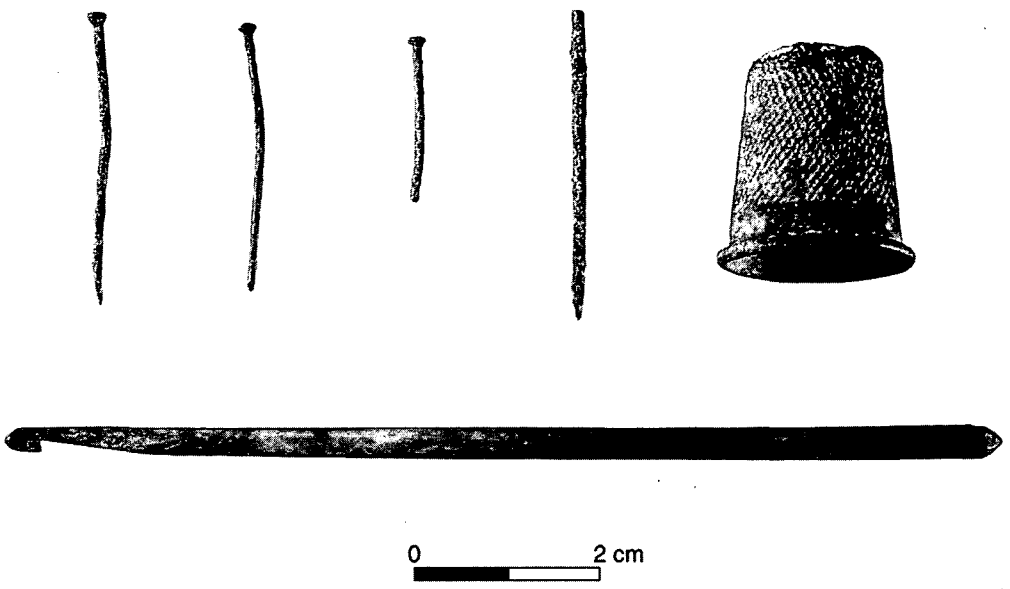


FIGURE 2: Pins, thimble, and crochet hook (ca. 1880), from the 1987–1988 excavations in the "Little Lon" district, Melbourne, Australia. Photograph by Wei Ming. Courtesy of Tim Murray, Archaeology Program, La Trobe University, Melbourne.

bian Consequences, produced by the Society for American Archaeology to mark the 1992 Columbian quincentenary, which adopted "a cubist perspective" in order to "approach . . . the past from multiple directions simultaneously."[51] Contributors to *The Archaeology of Contact in Settler Societies* used case studies in the Americas, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand to demonstrate "the transformative power of the local . . . to . . . subvert discourse framed in terms of the interests and concerns of the centre."[52]

The effectiveness of this approach is highlighted by *Sampling Many Pots*, in which Wilkie teamed with Paul Farnsworth to study a small group of early-nineteenth-century African families at the Clifton Plantation on the island of New Providence in the Bahamas.[53] Their analysis is grounded in material remains from the planter's residence, the slave cabins, and the yards at Clifton Plantation, but it ranges across the African diaspora and—as represented by plantation owner William Wylly—European colonialism. As Barry Cunliffe notes in *The Cambridge Companion* (using the striking example of the wreck of the Tudor warship the *Mary Rose*), material culture analysis "enables us to move across a range of scales from the individual to the global."[54] Thus did Rubertone use evidence from a Narragansett burial ground in order to deconstruct the colonizer Roger Williams's influential *A Key into the Lan-*

[51] Laurie A. Wilkie, *Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African American Identity at Oakley Plantation, Louisiana, 1840–1950* (Baton Rouge, La., 2000); David H. Thomas, "A Retrospective Look at Columbian Consequences," *American Antiquity* 57, no. 4 (1992): 614; and see David H. Thomas, *Columbian Consequences*, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1989, 1990, 1991).

[52] Murray, *The Archaeology of Contact in Settler Societies*, 15.

[53] Laurie A. Wilkie and Paul Farnsworth, *Sampling Many Pots: An Archaeology of Memory and Tradition at a Bahamian Plantation* (Gainesville, Fla., 2005).

[54] Cunliffe, "Afterword: Historical Archaeology in the Wider Discipline," 318.

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guage of America (1643). She argues that ethnographers have thereby "called attention to the existence of different pasts. By substituting multiple, and conflicting, accounts for a single comprehensive one, they have offered views of culture contact and colonialism from different angles."[55]

The thrust of such analysis goes both ways. It is not simply a case of using local examples to illustrate a larger predetermined point. One of the great strengths of *Archaeology and the Modern World* is Hall's ability to navigate "intensely local systems of meaning" in order to unravel "the complex discourses of colonialism."[56] In the 1990s, Matthew Johnson's influential *An Archaeology of Capitalism* also ranged across local and global scales in Britain and the eastern seaboard of North America. Johnson argues that "the fascination and challenge of historical archaeology lies in its *particularity*—a series of concerns that lead us away from world systems and categories and towards a sense of the power of material culture in different local contexts."[57] Johnson is surely correct, but it should be emphasized that the new style of "contextual archaeology" that has developed since the 1980s uses the particularity of its analysis not to sidestep universal themes and influences, but to reassess the categories for identifying them and to experiment with alternatives.[58] Material culture analysis of transatlantic commodity chains—delving into assemblages that range from slave quarters to merchant villas—has revealed a pastiche of unequal social worlds (or as Hicks puts it, "a mass of local contingency") that are nevertheless connected by the global flows of things, people, and ideas.[59]

The essence of these flows is fluidity, volatility, and multiplicity. The greatest contribution of ethnography to historical analysis lies in its sensitivity to the complexities of social interaction, thus "shifting [attention] from a stress on concepts such as structure, equilibrium, function, system to process, indeterminacy, reflexivity—from a 'being' to a 'becoming' vocabulary."[60] Historical archaeology confirms this paradigm. Ethnographic analysis in archaeology as in history focuses upon the processes of continuity and change. At La Isabela, this framework is short-term: the settlement survived for just five years (although Deagan and Cruxent argue that the disappointments of these earliest European settlers "led within one decade to the recasting of Spain's approach to America as an imperial rather than a mercantile one").[61] At Elmina, the time scale is stretched over five hundred years in order to trace the resilience of African belief systems notwithstanding the impacts of European colonialism.

The second intersecting theme between history and archaeology is explicit acknowledgment of human agency, and hence the multiplicities of social experience and social action. This is a necessary consequence of ethnographic method. "Ethnography is interaction," writes Glassie, and thus to study ethnography is to "cel-

[55] Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, 189.

[56] Hall, *Archaeology and the Modern World*, 70, 193.

[57] Matthew Johnson, "Rethinking Historical Archaeology," in Pedro P. A. Funari, Martin Hall, and Sian Jones, eds., *Historical Archaeology: Back from the Edge* (London, 1999), 34–35. See Johnson, *An Archaeology of Capitalism* (Oxford, 1996).

[58] See Adrian Praetzellis and Mary Praetzellis, "The Loma Prieta Earthquake and Its Aftermath," in Praetzellis and Praetzellis, *Putting the "There" There*, 4–5.

[59] Hicks, "Archaeology Unfolding," 324.

[60] Victor Turner, *On the Edge of the Bush: Anthropology as Experience* (Tucson, Ariz., 1985), 152.

[61] Deagan and Cruxent, *Columbus's Outpost*, 4.

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ebrate the individuals stewed into masses by conventional historians."[62] Beaudry helped to pioneer the application of this thinking in archaeology, arguing that attention to things, places, and their enveloping historical contexts "allows human beings an active role in creating meaning and in shaping the world around them; they are seen to interact with their environment rather than simply react to it." She teams with Diana DiPaolo Loren in Hall and Silliman's *Historical Archaeology* and, echoing Victor Turner's concept of "the process of 'becoming,' " they argue that the key to interpreting archaeological evidence is to ask how people "used material culture to construct and reconstruct their identities in an often unstable world."[63] For Hall and Silliman, agency—"the 'absent presence' behind the artifacts"—is "the force driving the process of history."[64] By thus conceptualizing artifacts and landscapes as more than "a passive reflection of the social system," we can instead analyze them as "a contradictory and conflict-ridden medium through which individuals act and are acted upon."[65]

The clearest examples of this approach in recent historical archaeology are to be found in studies of neighborhood disadvantage in modern cities and of the African diaspora. Both study areas highlight the interplay between hegemonic and subaltern knowledge systems. Studies of neighborhood disadvantage are encapsulated by the collection of essays in Alan Mayne and Tim Murray, *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes*, with case studies drawn from the United States, Canada, England, South Africa, and Australia. It is given local depth through projects led by Grace Karskens in Sydney, Australia; Adrian and Mary Praetzellis in West Oakland; Rebecca Yamin in New York City; and Tim Murray in Melbourne.[66] The second group of studies is typified by Wilkie and Farnsworth's *Sampling Many Pots*, which combines the analysis of documents, artifacts, and family memory to reveal not only the strategies of everyday life, but the past mental worlds that drove them. The most evocative of such studies is Leone's interpretation of spirit bundles that were uncovered from African American sites at Annapolis. By comparing this material with evidence from other archaeological sites, drawing upon the memories of former slaves in the 1930s Federal Writers' Project, and delving into studies of West-Central African spirit traditions, Leone described cultural practices to control the spirits of the dead that "helped preserve an African identity and a coherent sense of community" beyond the confines of white American culture.[67]

The third intersecting theme is "hidden voices": the overlooked people, cultures,

[62] Glassie, *Passing the Time*, 14.

[63] Mary C. Beaudry, "Public Aesthetics versus Personal Experience: Worker Health and Well-Being in 19th-Century Lowell, Massachusetts," *Historical Archaeology* 27, no. 2 (1993): 91; Diana DiPaolo Loren and Mary C. Beaudry, "Becoming American: Small Things Remembered," in Hall and Silliman, *Historical Archaeology*, 254.

[64] Hall and Silliman, "Introduction: Archaeology of the Modern World," 9.

[65] Hodder, *Reading the Past*, 7–8; Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments* (Oxford, 1994), 11.

[66] Mayne and Murray, *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes*. See Grace Karskens, *Inside the Rocks: The Archaeology of a Neighbourhood* (Alexandria, NSW, 1999); Praetzellis and Praetzellis, *Putting the "There" There*; Rebecca Yamin, ed., "Becoming New York: The Five Points Neighborhood," *Historical Archaeology*, Special Issue, 35 (2001): 1–135; and the Little Lon special issue of the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 10, no. 4 (2006).

[67] Leone, *The Archaeology of Liberty*, 61; see also chap. 7.

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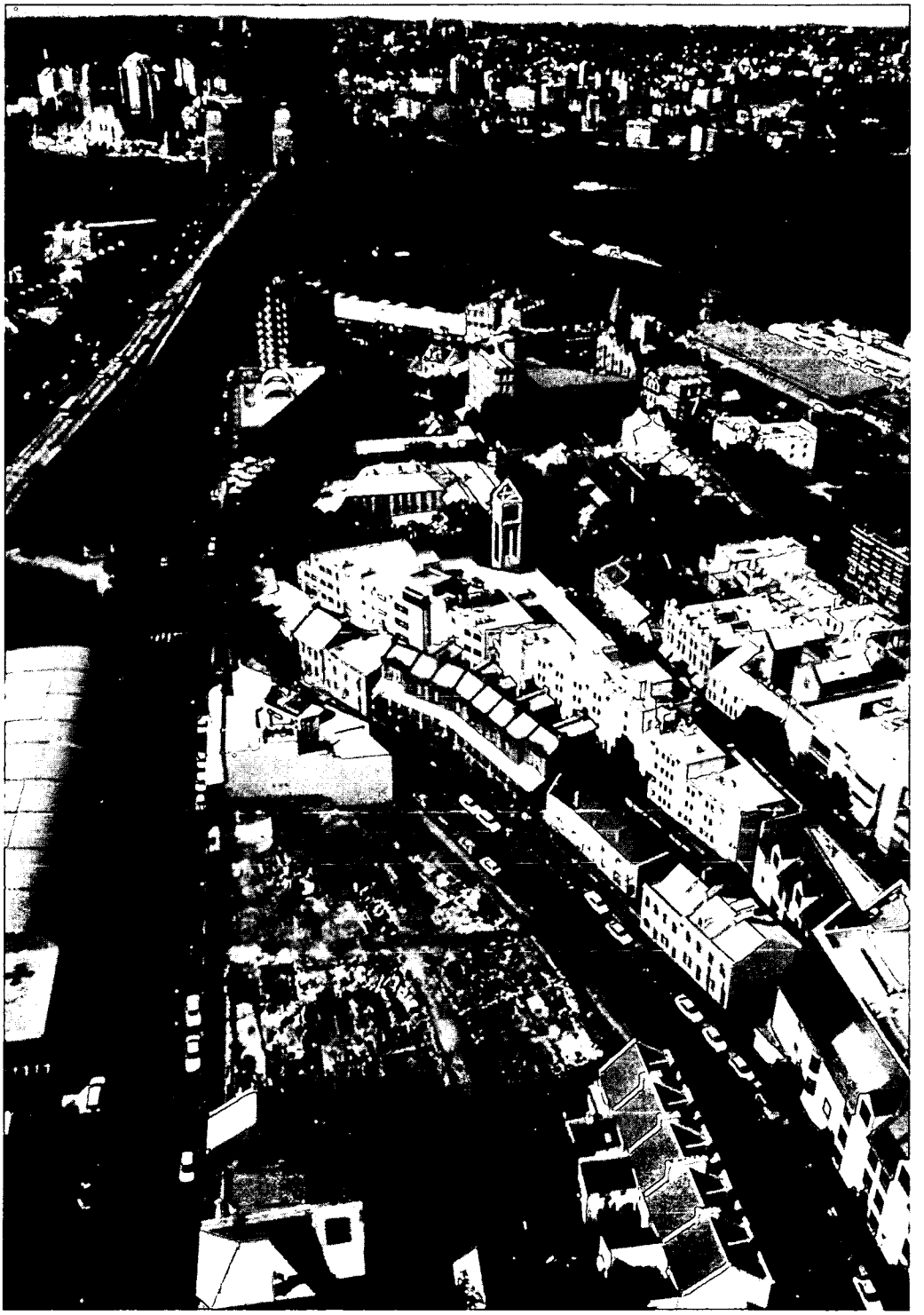


FIGURE 3: The "Big Dig" at Cumberland and Gloucester Streets in "The Rocks" district, Sydney, Australia, 1991. Photograph courtesy of the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority.

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contexts, and happenings on "the margins of conventional history."[68] Wilkie's *Archaeology of Mothering* is a good example. She uses excavation results from Mobile, Alabama, to trace one African American family in the post-Emancipation U.S. South. Her focus is Lucrecia Perryman, who turned to midwifery in order to support her family after her husband's death in 1884. Wilkie's core interest is "African-American women and their position at the intersection of multiple oppressions—racism, sexism, and poverty."[69] Hall identifies a similar intersection in the history of District Six in Cape Town, South Africa. This mixed-race neighborhood was demolished by the apartheid regime, and the land was set aside for white residential development. Hall interlaces analysis of "small things" and human agency to describe the vanished neighborhood and its enduring memories. Through cultural performances, oral histories, and the exhibition displays of the District Six Museum, this marginalized place remains "active, defiant, contradictory and contested."[70] District Six was also studied by the archaeologist Antonia Malan and the historian Elizabeth van Heyningen as one of the case studies in *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes*. The book pinpoints key examples of multidisciplinary projects in which distorting slum stereotypes were set aside—for example, by analyzing the contents of household rubbish pits rather than reformist tracts—in order "to see how people divided themselves up socially—to consider what groups people may have placed *themselves* in, rather than our categorizations of them."[71] Collaborations between historians and archaeologists to probe the misunderstood inner workings of marginalized city communities have energized research on social disadvantage as a key theme in the history of modern cities.

Such collaborations have implications for social justice as well. Many historical archaeologists who study disadvantaged city neighborhoods, African diasporic communities, and indigenous populations deliberately engage with descendant communities in the present. Hall's relationship with District Six and the Praetzellises' relationship with West Oakland are good examples. Murray points out that historical archaeologists in Australia are likewise playing a significant role in assisting Aboriginal communities to gain land justice, and sensitizing all Australians to the social justice agenda of the movement for reconciliation.[72] Such engagement, Orser says, is "one of the key elements of modern-world archaeology, [and] is rooted in the idea that archaeology can provide powerful knowledge for living men and women . . . Self-reflection empowers archaeologists to think about the contemporary contexts of their research and to understand that their interpretations can have an impact on today's historical actors."[73] It is with this concept of social justice rather than with the time capsule that historical archaeologists come nearest to linking past and present.

[68] James Symonds, "Historical Archaeology and the Recent Past," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10, no. 1 (2004): 37.

[69] Wilkie, *The Archaeology of Mothering*, 219.

[70] Hall, *Archaeology and the Modern World*, 176.

[71] Praetzellis and Praetzellis, "More Than 'Just a Place to Start From,'" 316.

[72] See Tim Murray, "In the Footsteps of George Dutton: Developing a Contact Archaeology of Temperate Aboriginal Australia," in Murray, *The Archaeology of Contact in Settler Societies*, 200–225.

[73] Orser, "Negotiating our 'Familiar Pasts,'" 281.

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BY DESCRIBING THESE CONCEPTUAL INTERSECTIONS between historical archaeology and broader historical inquiry, it becomes possible to identify methodological synergies upon which lasting collaborations can be built. The contributions by historical archaeology to these collaborations should be measured, as Carmel Schrire once remarked, not by "what new facts were revealed but rather [by] what new emphases were stressed."[74] Historical archaeology does fill gaps in the inventory of evidence about the past, but more importantly it augments, extends, and problematizes historical interpretation by identifying "entanglements" in our knowledge base that force us to the edges of history's comfort zones.[75] There are no easy answers to be found here. Rather, by taking different types of information and methods of analysis, and grinding them alongside one another, we can harness the "dissonances between material and textual evidence" in order "to reveal lives and practices that have been historically invisible heretofore."[76] Two key methodological synergies can be found along these edges. The first is the recognition of ambiguity and its effective harnessing in order to drive interpretation. The second is the use of storytelling in analysis and communication.

In archaeology as in history, it is the ambiguity of the past and of surviving evidence about the past that triggers innovative analysis. Rejecting the archaeological convention that artifacts have an immediacy that bridges past and present, Hodder suggests that material data "are often more ambiguous than their verbal counterparts."[77] This is their value. It is because material culture is not transparent in its meanings that the effort required to comprehend its "messiness, complexity and partiality" exposes the "equivocality, heterogeneity or multiplicity of the material world" within which past societies operated.[78] Archaeologists too often miss this opportunity to contribute substantially to historical knowledge. They have oversimplified Deetz's message that things come "freighted with both social and symbolic significance," and in claiming to recover significance, they "smooth out . . . contradiction and diversity in the archaeological material," emphasizing what seems to be "normal" and "representative" rather than being alert for the things that jar and puzzle.[79] Yet David Barker and Teresita Majewski point out that at recent projects in modern urban archaeology, the "material culture was in many ways the least understood" of the data to hand. Their puzzlement is refreshing. It echoes that of the cultural historian Robert Darnton, for whom the only thing that "seems clear to everyone who returns from field work [is that] . . . other people are other. They do not think the way we do. And if we want to understand their way of thinking, we should set out with the idea of capturing otherness."[80]

[74] Carmel Schrire, *Digging through Darkness: Chronicles of an Archaeologist* (Charlottesville, Va., 1995), 111.

[75] DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina*, 16.

[76] Patricia Galloway, "Material Culture and Text: Exploring the Spaces Within and Between," in Hall and Silliman, *Historical Archaeology*, 42.

[77] Hodder, *Reading the Past*, 126.

[78] Hicks, "Places for Thinking," 375; Shanks and Hodder, "Processual, Postprocessual and Interpretive Archaeologies," 11.

[79] James Deetz, "Foreword," in Yentsch, *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves*, xix; Hicks, "Places for Thinking," 386; Hall and Silliman, "Introduction: Archaeology of the Modern World," 4.

[80] David Barker and Teresita Majewski, "Ceramic Studies in Historical Archaeology," in Hicks and Beaudry, *The Cambridge Companion*, 206; Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York, 1984), 4. When I put this proposition to a symposium of historical

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Acknowledging ambiguity is not an impediment to analysis; it is a starting point for nuanced analysis because it requires us to set aside our own assumptions and attempt to make sense of things, like Geertz, "from the native's point of view." Darnton puts this point well. He notes that "nothing is easier than to slip into the comfortable assumption that Europeans thought and felt two centuries ago just as we do today—allowing for the wigs and wooden shoes. We constantly need to be shaken out of a false sense of familiarity with the past, to be administered doses of culture shock."[81] Darnton looks to the archives for his doses of culture shock. He is alert "for opacity in texts" because he reasons that "the most promising moment in research can be the most puzzling." These moments reveal that "What was proverbial wisdom to our ancestors is completely opaque to us . . . When we cannot get a proverb, or a joke, or a ritual, or a poem, we know we are on to something. By picking at the document where it is most opaque, we may be able to unravel an alien system of meaning. The thread might even lead into a strange and wonderful world view."[82]

Making sense of material evidence provides similar doses of culture shock. By puzzling through to the meanings and contexts of things that we do not understand, "we reveal situations that do not fit patterns." Shanks and Hodder recognize the interpretive power that this unleashes. Instead of "smoothing over" the meanings of material evidence, they suggest that "we can also attend to that which does not fit, to the rough and irregular, to the texture of things. Everyday life is not neat and tidy . . . [T]here can be no final account of the past—because it is now an equivocal and ruined mess, but also because even when the past was its present it was to a considerable extent incomprehensible. So much has been lost and forgotten of what never was particularly clear. Social living is immersion in equivocality, everyday uncertainty." In both history and archaeology, this chipping away at ambiguity provides the key to unlocking cultural worlds that are different from our own. Geertz aptly calls this process "Found in Translation."[83]

Translating ambiguity is the common ground for historians and historical archaeologists as they read texts and artifacts.[84] Rubertone makes this the cornerstone of *Grave Undertakings*, which begins: "This book is about translation." She explains that "translation poses the dilemma of trying to reconstruct lived events with sources that are incomplete and filled with uncertainties."[85] This was the challenge that spurred Leone on at Annapolis in 1991. An odd assemblage had been revealed by the excavators: a cache of rock crystals, pierced discs of bone, several coins, and some pins. Seemingly "the stuff was trash," but Leone's cross-referencing to folklore, anthropology, and history identified the cache as a spirit bundle that had been used by

archaeologists, I was accused of relativist paralysis. See Tim Murray, ed., *Exploring the Modern City: Recent Approaches to Urban History and Archaeology* (Sydney, 2003).

[81] Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre*, 4. See also Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, 253–254.

[82] Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre*, 262, 4–5.

[83] Cochran and Beaudry, "Material Culture Studies and Historical Archaeology," 203; Shanks and Hodder, "Processual, Postprocessual and Interpretive Archaeologies," 9; Clifford Geertz, "Found in Translation: On the Social History of the Moral Imagination," in Geertz, *Local Knowledge*, 36–54.

[84] Note, however, Barbara Little's caveat that the implied "superiority of the translation (words) over the original source (objects)" subordinates artifacts to texts. Little, *Text-Aided Archaeology*, 217.

[85] Rubertone, *Grave Undertakings*, xi.

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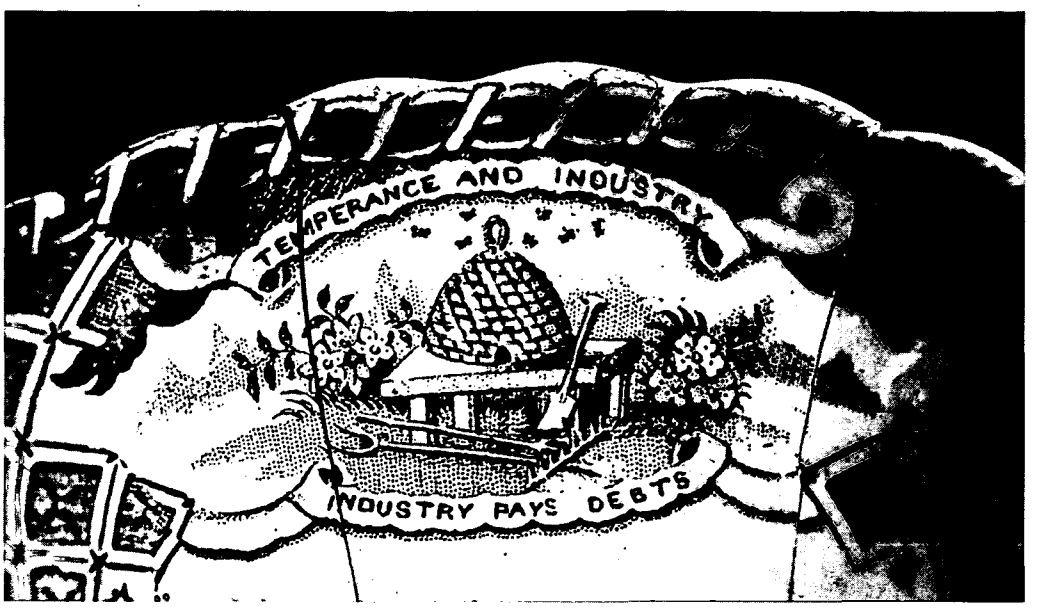


FIGURE 4: Interior border pattern from a Staffordshire brown-printed teacup manufactured by William Adams and Sons (1800–1864), and recovered from the site of a tenement building's cesspool on Lot 6, Block 160, during the 1991 excavations in New York City's "Five Points" district. Photograph courtesy of John Milner Associates, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa.

African slaves in rituals within an enveloping context of European oppression.[86] Leone's translation of ambiguity and marginality into purposeful social action echoes Darnton's achievement in *The Great Cat Massacre*. It also overlaps with the now substantial body of work by historians and archaeologists that unpicks the imagined reality of modern city slums—"an outsider's prism for visualizing people, places, and behaviors in terms of their apparent distance from the supposed essentials of modernizing cities"—from the misunderstood actualities of the disadvantaged neighborhoods to which slum stereotypes were applied.[87] The benefit of these studies is precisely that they *complicate* historical understanding. The integration of archaeological evidence about buildings, sanitation, ceramics, glassware, diet, and personal adornment into our existing historical understanding of "slums" identifies ambiguities and disjunctions in our knowledge base. In responding to these, we reformulate and extend our understanding of the past.

The second methodological synergy is narrative. Generations of historians were taught that social science method had no place for imaginative storytelling. But in historical archaeology even more than in social history, the huge volume of quantitative material available for analysis threatens to overwhelm the ability of conventional academic narrative style to communicate results. Wilkie and Farnsworth rail against "the tradition in academic writing to present dry and sanitized accounts," which alienates general readers and "fails to express the excitement and intellectual

[86] Leone, *The Archaeology of Liberty*, 200.

[87] Alan Mayne, "Tall Tales but True? New York's 'Five Points' Slum," *Journal of Urban History* 33, no. 2 (2007): 321.

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curiosity that drives our field."[88] This difficulty is especially prevalent in urban archaeology when analyzing large-scale sites or attempting synthesis between sites and epochs, as Anne-Marie Cantwell and Diana diZerega Wall point out in *Unearthing Gotham*. Even at the tiny settlement of La Isabela, Deagan and Cruxent decided that their twin responsibilities to provide technical detail and to engage the interest of general readers were "nearly impossible to integrate in a single book," and they responded by writing two.[89] Layton chose a similar strategy for his work on the *Frolic* shipwreck. As he explained, "I could imagine a reader, anticipating a tale of a shipwreck and sunken treasure, pulling a book from the shelf, flipping through pages of scholarly tables, specimen numbers, and measurements, and then snapping it shut in disappointment. I wanted to write a different kind of report, a book that would be accessible to ordinary people who wanted to know about the past."[90]

Layton's solution was to use fictional narrative "to imagine what might have happened." Wilkie did the same, tentatively in *Creating Freedom*, and then as a central organizing principle in *The Archaeology of Mothering*. The tactic of using imaginative writing "to make dry material accessible to non-professionals" has been widely used by historical archaeologists since the 1970s.[91] Deetz, for example, used it to create snapshots of colonial lives and the archaeological discovery of traces from those lives.[92] Since the 1990s, however, some historical archaeologists have gone further and experimented with imaginative writing as a form of open-ended interpretation that invites response and amendment, rather than as an uncomplicated form of one-way communication. Shanks and Hodder note that the explicit use of imaginative writing as a technique in interpretation "implies a blurring of the absolute distinction between factual and fictional writing. The archaeological text becomes a literary form. Fact and the fictive form a continuous field."[93] Text and display simultaneously become performances that spill over from print forms into museum displays, interpretation centers at heritage sites and theme parks, reenactments, and multimedia products.[94]

Yentsch and Schrire demonstrated the power of storytelling as an interpretive tool during the mid-1990s. Explaining her approach in *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves*, Yentsch contended that storytelling was necessary in order to "reach beyond data to men, to women, to humanity in its full and complex array." Schrire

[88] Wilkie and Farnsworth, *Sampling Many Pots*, 102.

[89] Deagan and Cruxent, *Columbus's Outpost*, ix. See Cantwell and Wall, *Unearthing Gotham*.

[90] Layton, *Gifts from the Celestial Kingdom*, 4.

[91] Ibid., 8; Wilkie, *The Archaeology of Mothering*, xxiv.

[92] See Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*; James Deetz, *Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation, 1619–1864* (Charlottesville, Va., 1993).

[93] Shanks and Hodder, "Processual, Postprocessual and Interpretive Archaeologies," 24, 27.

[94] See the discussion of performance in Turner, *On the Edge of the Bush*, pt. 2: "Performance and Experience." A particularly effective historical archaeology museum is Montreal's Pointe-à-Callière; see Pauline Desjardins and Geneviève Duguay, *Pointe-à-Callière: From Ville-Marie to Montreal* (Québec, 1992). The West Oakland archaeological project has delivered a wide range of narrative forms. See Mary Praetzellis, ed., *West Oakland: A Place to Start From* (Sonoma, Calif., 1994); Suzanne Stewart and Mary Praetzellis, eds., *Sights and Sounds: Essays in Celebration of West Oakland* (Sonoma, Calif., 1997); *Privy to the Past*, video recording (Sonoma, Calif., 1999). The Little Lon project in Melbourne has produced a permanent exhibition in the Melbourne Museum campus of Museum Victoria, a documentary film, and a CD-ROM. See Russell Porter, Jo Lane, Jo Bell, and Ann Darrouzett, *Life at Little Lon*, video recording (Melbourne, 1992); Tim Murray and Alan Mayne, *Vanished Communities: Investigating History at "Little Lon,"* CD-ROM (Melbourne, 2002).

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similarly justified her use of imaginative reconstruction in *Digging through Darkness* to explore the interplays between the Dutch East India Company and the Khoikhoi in southern Africa. "Palpable though the documents and artifacts may be," she wrote, "in the end their deeper messages can only be read through acts of imagination."[95] These initiatives were further developed by the Praetzellises, Beaudry, Yamin, and others at a series of symposia under the auspices of the Society for Historical Archaeology.

Yamin's experimentation with first-person vignettes that strive to encapsulate the lived experience of residents in Five Points, New York, is a good example of performance being applied as interpretive method. It is in part a presentation device designed to translate the results of quantitative analysis into comprehensible form. Speaking, for example, through Mary Callaghan, an actual resident of Five Points' Pearl Street from the mid-1850s until the 1870s, Yamin attempts "to weave together the documentary data, the stratigraphic analysis, and the artifact interpretation into narrative vignettes which link the people with the possessions they deposited."[96] Yamin's vignettes also function in a crucial sense as aids to interpretation; they are fashioned as "alternative narratives" to those by Charles Dickens and a host of imitators who created Five Points as New York's archetypal slum. Yamin concedes that her narratives "are no more real than Charles Dickens' . . . but they begin (and end) with the real stuff of everyday life." As she puts it, "telling . . . a story is more than a style of presentation: it becomes a way of knowing." It is, moreover, a way of knowing that can counteract entrenched prejudice and promote social justice. Yamin points out that her "alternative narratives" are based upon research that "is publicly funded, and the stories we tell to the public need to engage their attention."[97]

HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, THEN, OFFERS ANOTHER WAY of knowing the past. Like history, it does so by probing the ambiguities in our understandings of past societies in order to tease out the "experience-near" (the immediacies of human thought and action) within the "experience-distant" (contexts that are distant in time and place from us). Like history, it is attracted to places and happenings where these ambiguities are rife, because here are to be found the boundary zones between the near and the far, the local and the universal. In recent archaeology, this has meant "looking at . . . margins"—for example, colonial frontiers, slave plantations, and city slums—in order to probe the coloring of human action by gender, class, ethnicity, and race.[98] In archaeology as in history, the way forward in attempting to understand

[95] Yentsch, *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves*, 330; Schrire, *Digging through Darkness*, 5.

[96] Rebecca Yamin, ed., *Tales of Five Points: Working-Class Life in Nineteenth-Century New York*, 7 vols. (Washington, D.C., 2002), 1: 91. See Yamin, "Alternative Narratives: Respectability at New York's Five Points," in Mayne and Murray, *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes*, 163–165. See also Yamin, "Lurid Tales and Homely Stories of New York's Notorious Five Points," *Historical Archaeology* 32 (1998): 74–85.

[97] Yamin, "Alternative Narratives," 167; Yamin, *Tales of Five Points*, 1: 13; Rebecca Yamin, "The Tangible Past: Historical Archaeology in Cities," *Journal of Urban History* 33, no. 4 (2007): 641.

[98] Matthew Johnson, "The Tide Reversed: Prospects and Potentials for a Postcolonial Archaeology of Europe," in Hall and Silliman, *Historical Archaeology*, 326.

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FIGURE 5: Excavations on Block 160, Pearl Street, New York City, 1991. Photograph courtesy of John Milner Associates, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa.

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the volatile social processes that shaped the past is to follow Dening's direction and "Set your global positioning system to edginess, in-between."[99]

To study edginess, however, is no guarantee of understanding the past from the viewpoints of "the natives." It has been the mistake of many archaeologists and historians to claim thereby to have uncovered human "agency from the bottom up."[100] But because empathy is not a legitimate analytical method, we cannot interpret the past by claiming to work from the bottom up or from the inside out. As Geertz cautions, "We cannot live other people's lives . . . it is with expressions, representations, objectifications, discourses, performances . . . that we traffic . . . Whatever sense we have of how things stand with someone else's inner life, we gain it through their expressions, not through some magical intrusion into their consciousness."[101] We cannot work from the inside out, but by looking to material culture and relic landscapes as starting points from which to translate those expressions and objectifications (those "entanglements," as DeCorse put it), we can attempt to work from the outside in. As Yamin says of the Five Points archaeology project that debunked Dickensian stereotypes of slumland notoriety, it thus becomes possible to develop "a different perspective, one closer to an insider's view."[102]

Such projects in historical archaeology attempt to translate the objectifications of the past into the knowledge systems of the present day. Their method is the study of material culture. Auslander has already put a compelling case to historians for the inclusion of objects in interpretations of the past, in order "to provide new perspectives on classic questions and to open new domains to historical analysis." She identified a strategic role for historians in leading this undertaking, arguing that whereas "archaeologists often have objects but not texts, . . . historians most often have access to both text and object."[103] However, historical archaeology complicates that distinction. Historical archaeology is the text-aided study of material culture—of "the relationship between 'things' and 'words' "—and it therefore already occupies the theoretical and methodological space that Auslander identified for historians in the analysis of material culture.[104]

By adjusting to this complication, we have an opportunity to develop transdisciplinary collaborations in the twenty-first century that recognize the theoretical and methodological maturity that historical archaeology has developed over the past half-century. Methodologically, historical archaeologists have built up elaborate taxonomies for identifying and contextualizing material things across local and global scales of reference. Theoretically, they have assembled an integrated framework for translating the ambiguities of things that meets the ambitious goals set by Isaac for studying material culture, because it builds so well upon Glassie's pithy formulation of "Material culture [as] culture made material . . . Beginning necessarily with things, but not ending with them, the study of material culture uses objects to approach

[99] Dening, *Beach Crossings*, 346.
[100] Wilkie, *The Archaeology of Mothering*, 219.
[101] Clifford Geertz, "Making Experiences, Authoring Selves," in Victor Turner and E. M. Bruner, eds., *The Anthropology of Experience* (Urbana, Ill., 1986), 373.
[102] Yamin, *Tales of Five Points*, 1: 11.
[103] Auslander, "Beyond Words," 52.
[104] Hall, *Archaeology and the Modern World*, 1.

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human thought and action."[105] In applying this interpretive framework, the "seminal concept" in historical archaeology today has become what Hall sees as the hidden transcripts that interlace material culture and other threads of historical evidence. Borrowing from Michel Foucault and James C. Scott, Hall defines the transcript as "a web of relations that entwine both objects and words. Transcripts are the basic building blocks of . . . historical archaeology, because they are the means of connecting material assemblages (the key subject matter of archaeology) with texts (the key sources with which historians work) . . . [They] help to build a new, transdisciplinary kind of evidence." Studying this "dialectic between material culture and culture itself" constitutes both the main contribution of historical archaeology to broader historical studies, and its invitation to engage with them.[106] This invitation to collaborate in translating the ambiguities of the past will be welcomed by everyone who trawls the edges of history.

[105] Glassie, *Material Culture*, 41. Isaac is quoted above, pp. 95–96.

[106] Hall, *Archaeology and the Modern World*, 16; D'Agostino, Prine, Casella, and Winer, *The Written and the Wrought*, v.

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Featured Reviews

LINDA LEVY PECK. *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 431. $35.00.

MAXINE BERG. *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 373. $45.00.

ROBERT MARKLEY. *The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600–1730*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 324. $85.00.

How many historians have not read a book on the history of consumption in the last year? The number is probably relatively small. A constant flow of scholarly output on the subject can be sorted into categories currently dominating the study of cultural history: debates over luxury; the diffusion of taste; fashion and gender; credit and money; retail shops and department stores; the aesthetics of material culture; and colonial empires, citizenship, and consumption are just a sampling. Not all of these concerns are new to historians working on economic questions. The time-honored standard of living debate, for example, mustered questions directly related to consumption: how much could British people buy during the classic industrial revolution, or what did purchases say about social class? Discussions of a moral economy, a phrase still cited frequently, also spoke directly to the problem of the purchasing power of common consumers. Ripples of these older arguments appear in the works of modern historians, particularly in their treatment of citizenship and consumers' rights. But early modern specialists, navigating pre-Smithean seas, have steered toward other shores: monarchical power and spending habits, along with colonial empires and luxury trade, have inspired an interest in desires rather than rights. Given the manifestly empirical approach favored by most British historians, this focus on elite consumption of luxuries has not been judged problematic. Evidence abounds and lends itself to resplendent, museum-worthy illustrations. The three books under review, two by historians and one by a literary critic, enable us to assess where current studies have taken us.

As Sheryl Kroen argued in "A Political History of the Consumer" (*Historical Journal* 47 [2004]: 715), the history of consumption usually "renarrates the story of the bourgeois revolution from a cultural perspective." Those who have argued with the inevitability of this narrative have found ammunition in the history of credit, debt, and money. Consumers, from the age of courtly consumption to the nineteenth century, demonstrate a seemingly natural desire for greater material comfort and social distinction. Luxury plays an important role in the advance of this narrative in the early modern period, as Linda Levy Peck and Maxine Berg are at pains to point out: trendy opulence stands as the wellspring of desire in a relatively tension-free growth of consumption. Both authors resuscitate Werner Sombart's century-old argument that the demand for fashionable goods by elites acted as the key force behind economic growth in the early modern world. Perhaps Sombart was right, but contemporary interest in this theory has the slight odor of anachronism: underlying it is the assumption that desire for beautiful things and a willingness to buy them (using credit) was natural, then as now. Sombart would have expected elite expenditures to bump up against competing interests: what about ideologies of civic and religious virtue? What were British elites thinking when they donned and displayed their fancy goods? Were they finding new ways to justify plumping up their self-esteem along with their wardrobes? And at what cost to other considerations?

A reliance on Sombart's arguments requires that we suspend an interest in the operation of distinctions heightened by a generation of scholarship on gender, class, and nationhood, in response to assertions of elite power. "Elites" is a many-faceted and, at times, vague term: Berg and Peck wish to capitalize on its pliability

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by emphasizing that luxury articles appealed to aristocrat and non-aristocrat, so that the boundaries between classes became increasingly blurred under the regime of commercial capitalism. Both authors also depend on recent advances in the history of credit (references to works by Craig Muldrew and Margot Finn abound) in order to demonstrate that spending outstripped incomes and even the money supply. (It should be added, however, that the tradesmen's tokens pictured in Peck's volume have little to do with the kind of luxury expenditures documented in her book.) Both authors produce evidence of gift giving among elites, enhancing the perception that many goods were produced, purchased, and circulated on the basis of what was thought to be the taste *du jour*. Endless fantasies and projections thus kept the defining features of status and class in constant flux; consumption made for what common historical parlance calls "constantly shifting boundaries." Can we move from this matrix of instability to firmer analytical ground in our examination of early modern consumption?

As consumers of books on consumption, we can always sit back and enjoy the show. Peck has written a thoroughly engaging study that goes well beyond establishing the Stuart era as the precursor to an eighteenth-century revolution in spending. Her book in fact offers a history of taste in a post-Renaissance northern outpost struggling to achieve notice. We cannot help but share the surprise of Peter Paul Rubens upon visiting England in 1629: "I find none of the crudeness which one might expect from a place so remote from Italian elegance" (p. 163). Nearly everyone got into the act of polishing their appearance, laying down "Turkey rugs," and buying the latest glass, tapestry, or porcelain. Even King James I, portrayed in generations of history books as a boorish Scot, knew enough to jettison the royal set of silver, embossed with Tudor roses, in order to have a nicer set made up with his own insignia (p. 38). The constant hunger of the English eye for sumptuous novelty runs through Peck's account of the Royal Exchange and the more ephemeral New Exchange (demolished in 1737), where shops offered the latest wares from Europe, Asia, and Africa. Yet English authors like Ben Jonson, mentioned briefly by Peck, registered unease with the corrosive effects of too much spending, which challenged fundamental principles of the social order. As Jean-Christophe Agnew argued some years ago, this was precisely the century when market ideology permeated every aspect of English life (*Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550–1750* [1986]). Though Peck chooses not to discuss in detail the violation of social and religious ethics by luxury spending, a certain amount of contemporary discomfort can be read between the lines of her account.

Yet all squeamishness in the face of Roman splendor appears to have vanished during the halcyon days of the Stuart court. English Protestants of the upper ranks set about making their homes as posh as possible, adding Italianate possessions to their burgeoning collections of valuables. In regular defiance of prescriptive literature, the rich rushed to Rome to view art and architecture and absorb Mediterranean styles and manners. Peck returns to this point more than once, and it is worth further discussion: although the Stuarts were religiously incorrect in their inclinations, their openness to opulence and its attendant aesthetic developments had a significant impact on English taste and consumption. Even when London political life became tempestuous, wealthy Englishmen and women were looking, "shopping," and buying. As one language tutor felicitously named Benvenuto Italiano averred in a little travel booklet of practice dialogues, "I would we might [go to the court] there rather to see new fashions than hear news" (p. 112). Many royalists apparently followed the advice—to their peril, at least for a while.

Peck's chapter on the Civil War years opens a window on the world that English radicals hoped, obviously in vain, to turn upside down. Evidence of luxury consumption, estate development in London, and even shop rental at the New Exchange continued; high rates of taxation did not deter this kind of activity. Although trade was down and at least some sectors of the population shunned luxury as vice, home decorating and lavish display flourished behind closed doors. Royalists lined up to have their portraits painted in military dress, while the more cerebrally inclined seized the opportunity to enjoy an extended Grand Tour on the Continent in the 1640s and 1650s. We hear of the careers of John Evelyn and William Petty, who, in different ways, furthered their own interests in exile. Once back in England, entrepreneurial gentlemen leapt into new schemes for improving agriculture and water transport, dreamt up (or copied down) while roaming Catholic countries. (Flanders proved particularly useful in this regard.) Peck includes many good examples of changes in the built environment that occurred as a result of diligent study abroad during the war years.

Peck's definition of luxury, though a bit elastic when applied to articles as disparate as funerary sculpture and scientific instruments, ultimately delivers a satisfyingly full picture of English elites in this critical century. Berg's book meshes well with Peck's projections forward to an eighteenth century in which the craving for luxuries only increased: Berg's narrative charts the triumphant steps of English entrepreneurs and industrialists, who cleverly translated upper-echelon articles of consumption into reasonably priced (for the middling classes) imitations. Imitation, in fact, was "fundamental" to the dissemination of an "ever-changeable body of material goods" for England and America. Many of these knock-offs originated in "exotic and oriental" wares bearing the marks of aristocratic taste: Chinese lacquered ware, exquisitely detailed porcelain, silks and satins, along with Indian chintzes "became the defining commodities of a chinoiserie style which dominated much of European material culture over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" (pp. 45, 55). Berg's chapter on goods from the East provides an interesting account of the linkages between eighteenth-century Asia and Britain in the production

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of exports for the British market. The English, Berg argues, possessed a certain genius for figuring out new and cheaper ways of making goods found in China, India, and Japan. Contemporary insight comes inevitably from Daniel Defoe, cited by Peck and elaborated on by Berg: "It is a kind of proverb attending to the character of Englishmen, that they are better to improve than to invent, better to advance upon the designs and plans which other people have laid down, than to form schemes and designs of their own" (p. 359).

Perhaps no English manufacturer mastered the art of capitalizing on the designs of others as well as Josiah Wedgwood. In a generous second part of the book, "How It Was Made," Berg uncovers the factory scion's involvement in "materials, mixes, and recipes" for various ceramics, including his costly attempts at making native porcelain. Much detailed information abounds here: a list of artists commissioned for patterns, including Joseph Wright and William Blake; wages paid to decorators employed by independent china dealers; weekly wages of craftsmen, women, and others engaged in pottery manufacture. Wedgwood's ventures punctuate this account and never cease to amaze by their persistence. Having copied Turkish designs, he attempted (unsuccessfully) to sell his wares back to the Turks. With the aid of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's letters describing Turkish taste, he adjusted his designs and tried again (p. 143). Berg supplies an equal amount of information on the metal trades and their astonishing array of desirable items: table silverware, candlesticks, buttons, buckles, watch chains, jewelry, keys, and other "toys." She masterfully combines considerable archival research with a synthesis of generations of work on local industries, patents, and design journals.

Berg's final section, "A Nation of Shoppers," links middle-class values of civility and gentility to fashion and taste. Civility, in this instance, refers to "conduct, taste, aesthetics, and deportment" (p. 205). Carefully chosen possessions of a wide band of consumers depended on a lively forum of display in shops and homes. Consciousness of sensory enjoyments freely percolated through a broad substrate of British society. Berg shows how people educated their eyes through almost everything they did: provisioning their households, visiting friends, shopping for fun, gift giving, and gazing at artfully designed trade cards. Shopping is reconceived according to a redefinition of commercial space as civic space: here is where British citizens acquire the accoutrements of Britishness. The latter part of the book documents the diffusion of British goods throughout North American colonies, charting the contagion of transatlantic attachment to the material fruits of an industrious and ingenious mother country. Berg has read (and supervised and sponsored) innumerable studies on every topic.

Robert Markley's book is a bellwether of future approaches to some of these developments and a chastening reminder that literary critics are writing history that historians cannot afford to ignore. In a brilliant opening chapter, he challenges previous treatments of the period for their timid adherence to Eurocentric narratives, "the intellectual DNA of our economic, social, political, scientific, and technological history" (p. 8). Synthesizing the revisionist work of Kenneth Pomeranz, André Gunder Frank, Jack A. Goldstone, Frank Perlin, and Geoffrey Gunn, Markley airlifts the reader out of conventional histories of the clever rational calculus that built British exceptionalism. His arguments are too complex to summarize briefly, but a few points can be made here. Utilizing the work of Frank, he lays out a case for the emergence of China "as the economic engine of the early modern world—the most populous, wealthiest, and among the most technologically sophisticated nations before 1800" (p. 11). More innovative is Markley's use of historical ecology as a way of linking the demographic crisis in England between 1500 and 1650, when the population more than doubled, to developments in English trade and economic life. Contemporary voices, mired in ideologies of the time, cannot be utilized for their "factual" accounts of economic activity of the seventeenth century, particularly not now, when, with the advantage of hindsight, we can comprehend the long-term implications of English policies. The importation of timber and sugar (the latter produced by slave labor on remote plantations) made possible a system of trade, profit, and material culture that historians of consumption have viewed from the beneficiaries' perspective. Markley wants to bring "higher standards of interdisciplinary accountability to bear on the literary culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" by exposing truths hidden within England's narratives about itself (p. 17). His argument, plainly, is that trade with the Far East offered "a means to transcend the theological identification of sin and scarcity and to displace anxieties" about the conflicts, difficulties, and wider implications of seventeenth-century commercial activity. We need to investigate fully the fact that "[o]nly a decade before the Battle of Plessy, the East Indies remain[ed] a far more appealing goal than India" (p. 270).

Markley, too, is interested in civility in the seventeenth century, though for purposes different from those of Peck or Berg. In an early chapter, he demonstrates how civility acted as a psychological glue that held together an important fiction for Europeans: "that like-minded gentlemen, of whatever background, will see eye-to-eye on the fundamental values that underline the economics of class and gender privilege" (p. 105). Jan Nieuhoff and Evret Ysbrants Ides, European emissaries to Beijing, attempted to initiate trade with the first Qing emperor and later published tracts that were widely circulated in several languages. Markley identifies these diplomatic efforts as deeply self-deceptive. In their texts, Nieuhoff and Ides tried to "override linguistic, religious, and cultural differences, to convince themselves that a mutual understanding of economic, social, and military interests exist[ed] between European merchants and Chinese and Manchu authorities." The hope of reaping economic gain from their missions underwrote everything the emissaries re-

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counted about their visits. But these moments of imagined alliance were fleeting indeed. Real-life competition for dominion in the Far East undermined any lasting sense of amicable commerce.

Markley's approach consistently exposes what many historians, even those who take into account empires across oceans and ocean-defined regions, often choose to ignore. For example, the English experienced intense envy and desire upon discovery of the material wonders of the Far East, and those feelings gave rise to self-deception not unlike that demonstrated by Nieuhoff and Ides. In these formative early years, contact with China sparked fantasies of limitless wealth, which fed into literary imagination and, ultimately, principles of political economy. With the tools of literary criticism, Markley uncovers elisions and denials of a glaring truth: the capabilities of production and design in the East demonstrated to the English their own inferiority in trade and manufacture. Markley locates copious evidence in travel accounts and early tracts on trade. However drunk with desire, English traders were also struck by a profound sense of insecurity when faced with alien material culture and technological sophistication. They were forced to scramble to find commodities that the Japanese would buy in exchange for silver, and many English goods sat unsold in warehouses. Given the fresh vantage point provided by Markley's early chapters, we can see certain English self-congratulatory texts in entirely new light.

Markley's reading of John Dryden's *Amboyna*, set against the background of Anglo-Dutch rivalry in Southeast Asia, reveals how victimized the English felt in their attempt to truly master mercantile struggles in the East Indies. The play was produced in 1673, during the Third Dutch War, and was based on an account of the torture and execution of English merchants by the Dutch. Markley offers a series of accounts of the same incident that illuminate the comparative weakness of the East India Company against the state-funded, politically powerful VOC. Dryden's treatment of the Dutch as "seven little rascally provinces, no bigger in all than a shire in England" (p. 165) highlights significant tensions between the two powers. In its use of contemporary slander, the play also speaks of aspirations: "[O]ur merchants live like nobleman [*sic*]," an English merchant sneers to a Dutch trader; "your gentlemen, if you have any, live like boors. You traffic for all the rarities of the world, and dare use none of them yourselves so, that, in effect, you are the mill-horses of mankind, that labour only for the wretched provender you eat" (p. 166).

Dryden's trader uttered prophetic lines, no doubt without knowing it. While the Dutch could boast that food expenditures (for plenty of protein as well as bread) took up only thirty percent of the average budget during their Golden Age, the English were looking ahead to a different kind of average diet, one in which sugar would supply an increasing complement of calories to a diminished amount of protein. Common provender was not high on the list of aspirations for the English, as Peck and Berg have made abundantly clear. Taken together, these three books suggest a revision of our view of the English solution to the crises of the seventeenth century. It may be that merchants and entrepreneurs figured out ways to offer luxury goods at lower prices and put plenty of people to work. But their idea of abundance operated according to particular rules of the market that, in light of these studies, seem less enlightened than ever. The love affair with self-aggrandizement through possessions would continue through the following centuries of economic advance, when differences in wealth and power would increase at the expense of competing social visions. In the face of so much luxury, one cannot help but think of the rude proverb: money is like muck; it's no good until it's spread.

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DAVID BLACKBOURN. *The Conquest of Nature: Water, Landscape, and the Making of Modern Germany*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2006. Pp. xii, 466. $29.95.

In 1720, the famous Nuremberg mapmaker Johann Baptist Homann engraved *Hydrographia Germaniae qua geographiae Naturalis*, a map from which it becomes apparent that wild, furious rivers cut through almost every corner of the German lands. In an elegant title cartouche nestled in the lower left corner of the map, we see nymphs and gods harnessing the water for their pleasure, reminding us that no matter how wild the streams, there have long been efforts to divert them. Nearly three hundred years later, it is hard to imagine Germany as a land of wild rivers, so tamed and full of political and cultural resonance are the Rhine and the Danube, the Main and the Oder. How Germany got from there to here, from a land of rivers and swamps to a country of carefully managed waterways: this is the subject of David Blackbourn's beautifully written, magisterial work.

Blackbourn is well-known for his polemical, eye-opening *Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (co-authored in 1984 with Geoff Eley), as well as for *Marpingen* (1994), his panoramic evocation of a local Marian apparition in Bismarckian Germany, and for a perceptive, succinct history of Germany's long nineteenth century. For Blackbourn, the book under review represents new terrain, a scholarly field opened by the

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pathbreaking work of American environmental historians. The pioneers of this field, including William Cronon, Richard White, and Donald Worster, emphasized not merely changing attitudes toward nature but also changes in nature itself. This second methodological stricture is crucial, and taking it up sets Blackbourn's book apart from a work like Simon Schama's *Landscape and Memory* (1995), which charts shifts in the imagination but not in the actual landscape. Along with the best of environmental historians, Blackbourn insists that not all topographies are imaginary, not all maps mental. There is, to cite (as Blackbourn does) Gertrude Stein, a "*there* there" (p. 16). Marshes, rivers, lakes, moors, coastlines, and deltas are natural enough, but the efforts and interventions of man have transformed them. We thus learn a great deal about plans to drain the marsh, straighten the rivers, and dam the streams; we are introduced to the planners and technicians behind the changes, and to what they actually wrought. And we are told what Germans thought of it all.

Blackbourn argues that the dichotomy between pristine nature and human intervention is false, and that from circa 1750 to 1970, a wide consensus held that man ought to bend, tame, shape, and otherwise dominate and conquer nature. This consensus no longer stands, but in its place an equally untenable counternarrative has emerged, seeing any human interventions in nature as problematic. Blackbourn tries to balance both positions. German interventions in the natural world meant not only loss but also, often enough, genuine improvement. Blackbourn asks us to recall, for example, that reclaiming land from the Oder Swamp meant the end of malaria, and that the straightening out of the Rhine, which entailed a decline in flooding, eased the living conditions and ameliorated the health hazards of those who tilled the land around it. The story of dams follows a similar narrative. In other countries, not least the United States, dams have left a dismaying record of collapse and catastrophic environmental impact. Germany, however, proved remarkable for the care with which dams were built and the fact that, save for when bombed in war, no modern dam ever failed. At the same time, Blackbourn chronicles decline in species diversity: the salmon that once spawned in Germany's great rivers, for example, or the bears, lynx, and wolves that had already disappeared by the end of the eighteenth century. He also describes the demise of human communities, like the panhandlers who until the second half of the nineteenth century combed the waters for "Rhine gold." Blackbourn is at his best evoking these natural and human communities, getting, as he puts it, down to the mud of what really happened. He even goes deeper, showing us the underwater towns whose submerged bell towers, the subject of countless legends, are themselves emblems of loss. For Blackbourn, then, there is always credit and debit, and the ledger is not easily balanced. "A desire to show readers the contradictions of Germany's passage to modernity gives this book its underlying rhythm," he writes, "its point and counterpoint" (p. 13).

If the story of contradiction gives the book point and counterpoint, style gives it special momentum. Blackbourn is among the finest writers of European history today, and this book shows why. Here writing is not merely smooth, the tamed flow of the Rhine, but surprises with its rhythms and alterations—the mark, too seldom commented upon in academic journals, of conscious and sustained writerly work. Its technical subject notwithstanding, the book has the feel of literature, and Blackbourn reinforces this effect by constantly weaving fiction into the narrative. Some of the literature he employs comes as no surprise. Who could think of the attempt to change the face of the land without thinking of Goethe's *Faust*, or write of the Oder Swamp without the guidance of Theodore Fontane's *Wanderings in the Mark Brandenburg*. Yet Blackbourn also takes us through the novels of Karl Immermann and Wilhelm Raabe, the problematic *heimat* poetry of Agnes Miegel, and the heroic verse of Franz Poppe. Not all of this is great literature; some is not even very good, and some shocks by its naïveté. Still, Blackbourn incorporates literature so that one has the sense of constant shuttling between the realm of the imagination and the realm of the concrete, between fantasy and the dam. The book's organization supports this sense; roughly chronological, the chapters follow the great projects, which typify the age and are associated with specific places and waters.

Blackbourn begins with Frederick the Great's attempt to dam, dike, and straighten the messy meanderings of the Oder. Pursued by a monarch imbued with ideas of order and agricultural reform, Frederick's reclamation and colonization schemes were geometrical and machine-like in conception, but irregular, convulsive, and frenzied in implementation. A result of the hazards of war and the impatience of Frederick, the difficulties of colonization also derived from the recalcitrance of nature. Blackbourn sounds this latter theme throughout the book but avoids moralizing about it. "When we write about the human impact on the natural world, we should recognize that we are dealing with the interaction of two dynamic systems" (p. 74). From the swamps of the East, he turns to the Rhine that flowed, more irregularly than we can today imagine, up and down Germany's western borders. Here Blackbourn treads terrain more familiar to historians, whether the Romantic discovery of the Rhine or the story of Johann Gottfried Tulla, who tamed the wild river. Blackbourn places Tulla in the company of a host of planners and engineers who have redesigned German waterways, and emphasizes the deleterious effect of Tulla's initial straightening, carried out after the Napoleonic reordering of South Germany. Blackbourn also suggests that corrections subsequent to Tulla damaged the Rhine even more. Highly adaptable species of fish, like the carp and perch, replaced salmon, sturgeon, and trout; cranes and heron died off or moved elsewhere; and as wetlands became farmlands, species up and down the food chain, from the otter to the mayfly, perished. It is

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true that people were saved from flooding, but the price was precipitous decline in biodiversity.

The two subsequent chapters take us through the golden age of engineering mastery and the wonderland of technology, especially as pertains to dam building. The century from 1840 to 1940 saw the acme of scientific optimism and the creation of a cultural consensus that made it difficult to question the sagacity of large-scale projects, whether draining the moors of East Friesland or digging the canals that made German waterways navigable. In these chapters as well, Blackbourn shows us loss as well as gain, sketching, for example, the harshness of life in the old moor-burning colonies of Oldenburg and Friesland, and telling us that in Germany the steamboat held its own against the railway for much of the nineteenth century. We are also introduced to unheralded engineers, like Otto Intze, the grand master of German dams. Smaller and safer than elsewhere, German dams reshaped the environment but only sometimes proved an aesthetic offense. Consequently, opposition to dam building projects remained sporadic and local, and not until the 1980s did protest bring a project to halt.

No book on German history, even if its subject is water, can avoid the Third Reich, and Blackbourn addresses the topic by asking whether there existed a "perverse connection between genocide and ecological sensitivity" (p. 279). The question, while it may seem beside the point to some, has considerable resonance in Germany, as political polemicists have sometimes painted "the Greens" brown, emphasizing the continuity implied by the second part of the dyad blood and soil. Blackbourn sets aside these polemics and pursues the relation between conquering nature and conquering others. He had touched on the problem in earlier chapters, underscoring how war proved an important enabling factor in earlier reclamation projects and in Tulla's straightening of the Rhine, but here he addresses the issue straight on. Germans, Blackbourn argues, had made their ability to conquer nature part of an identity that they then juxtaposed to the swampy disheveled nature of the east, and the supposedly innate inabilities of Slavic peoples to order and rule the land and water around them. He focuses on the Pripet Marshes, and the projects to drain them for German settlement. Articulated in 1941 by Nazi planners, the project would have involved legions of slave laborers, Jewish and non-Jewish, and like the more famous Madagascar Plan it was meant to replace, the scheme to reclaim the Pripet Marshes represented an alternative to physical destruction in extermination centers. No doubt, thousands upon thousands would have died in the Pripet Marshes too. Blackbourn, however, emphasizes a different aspect: the way in which the two kinds of conquering—over nature and over other peoples—coexisted in the Nazi imagination.

It is against this background that the author sketches, rather quickly, the postwar history of German water and environmental consciousness. That consciousness took a turn in West Germany, circa 1970, but in East Germany, history did not even bend. The result was an environmental disaster of the first order, symbolized by stunning levels of toxic emissions, poisoned rivers, and groundwater, like that in industrial Bitterfeld, whose "pH level of acidity measured at .9, placing it somewhere between battery acid and vinegar" (p. 339). Blackbourn desists, however, from joining the fundamentalists among the German Greens, who inveterately oppose human intervention in the environment. There is no pristine environment in Germany, no environment never already touched. Changes in the land and in the waters have progressed too far. More importantly, human intervention has always had contradictory results, and some of the results have been positive. "There is space enough for food production and nesting storks" (p. 363), Blackbourn insists. But it requires human effort, which is now possible because Germans no longer accept uncritically the idea that "nature should be shackled" (p. 363) and no longer combine the conquering of nature with the conquering of others.

Blackbourn's book is a work of great originality and mastery. It is not only the most important work of German environmental history to date; it can also rub book bindings with the masterworks of American environmental history, which taught us all how to see "changes in the land" as genuine history.

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MARY P. RYAN. *Mysteries of Sex: Tracing Women and Men through American History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. 432. $37.50.

Although Mary P. Ryan notes at the outset that she selected her title for the sake of accuracy rather than titillation, I nonetheless found myself removing the dust jacket as I read her book while riding the New York City subway. Neither a textbook nor a straight chronological history, this work offers a rich and comprehensive history of gender in the United States from the sixteenth century to the present. Written from a feminist perspective, in an engaging personal voice, Ryan balances (by her own admission) anger and optimism.

In 1975, Ryan published *Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present*, one of the first single-volume works that resulted from the creation of women's history as a field of study. In the decades that

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followed, other pioneering scholars followed suit, and the early works of this canon can now be read also as primary sources: documents that illuminate the recognition of women's lives and gendered analysis as serious subjects of inquiry.

Just as she did a generation ago, Ryan (whose most recent monographs have focused on nineteenth-century urban history) again sets out "to bring the accumulated scholarship into focus with the intellectual and political needs of the present" (p. 7). Ryan originally intended her new book as an updated version of *Womanhood in America* (to be entitled *Gender in America*), but along the way she chose to ask different kinds of questions. "Just how two polarized categories of being have been derived from all the infinite variations in human populations," she writes, "is the overarching and forever unsolved mystery in the history of women and men" (p. 3). At each historical moment, Ryan posits three "axes along which gender operates and the sexes divide" (p. 13). These are gender asymmetry, relations of the sexes, and gender hierarchy. Different readers will likely find different implicit arguments in the book as a whole; the one I took away most strongly is that despite the remarkable durability of gender asymmetries, relations, and hierarchies, we can nonetheless trace enormous changes in the history of women, men, and gender across five centuries. More specifically, Ryan makes a compelling (if, again, implicit) case that women's participation in the paid labor force acted as a great catalyst of change in the United States.

Among the book's many great strengths is Ryan's attentiveness to advances and declines, both sequential and simultaneous. There are no easy progressions here, but rather constant nuance and qualification, including qualifications to the qualifications. "Still," "yet," "however," "nonetheless": words like these are the marks of a scholar with no use for streamlining or simplification. On the topic of public politics, for example, Ryan follows up a celebratory story of Progressive-era gains with a sobering discussion of the exclusions of Jim Crow and the nativist sentiments of white women leaders. Likewise, on the topic of 1970s feminism, the radicalism of the movement is tempered by the small numbers of American women active in feminism, tempered in turn by widespread support for the movement's goals.

The book's organization is (again, by Ryan's own admission) unconventional. Part one spans four centuries (1500 to 1900) in three chapters, opening with the varied gender arrangements found in pre-Columbian native cultures (focusing on the east) and offering a hypothesis of "separate but egalitarian" systems operating on "reciprocity or complementarity" (p. 35). Ryan's unwillingness to erase complexity is apparent early on, in her description of "a bedrock of male authority" in native America that was "never all-encompassing" (pp. 38, 39). Ryan then turns to encounters between American natives and the patriarchal Spanish, French, and English colonizers who "made their way through North America, trampling on Indian meanings of male and female" (p. 43).

From there, Ryan traces the invention of the northern ideology of domesticity (with the slightly overworked metaphor of baking an apple pie), looking back to sixteenth-century Europe and extending to the protracted intensification of domestic feminism; both women and men are actors in this process, and Ryan is mindful of categories of class and race. A separate chapter on gender and sexuality in the South treats slavery, the Civil War, emancipation, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow, including the complicities of gender in racial hierarchies.

Part two, comprised of a single, pivotal chapter, covers the public realm and political citizenship (encompassing suffrage, office-holding, and public activism), beginning with the American Revolution and moving through the antebellum decades, Progressivism, and the New Deal, taking on such matters as discrimination inherent in New Deal legislation and class prejudices within elite African American communities.

Part three spans the twentieth century, opening with the transformations that brought large numbers of women into the paid labor force before, during, and after World War II, looking at the lives of the working classes, the middle classes, and self-styled bohemians, including native-born whites, African Americans, and immigrants. Another chapter explores loosening definitions of male and female in light of second-wave feminism, and the increasing visibility of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered people from the 1960s onward. The book's final chapter treats immigration across the twentieth century, demonstrating the myriad ways in which this human flow "disrupted the meaning and altered the practice of gender within the United States" (p. 294), covering travelers from southern and eastern Europe, East Asia, Southeast Asia, and Central and South America. Ryan's refusal to envision any gender arrangements as timeless and unchanging runs from beginning to end; if twenty-first-century households remain in flux, so too did families in pre-Columbian America.

Through this ambitious and absorbing sweep of history, Ryan weaves the thread of her title: the "mysteries of sex." Despite the tremendous amount of scholarship produced over the past three decades, Ryan asserts, she found "the phenomenon called gender more perplexing and mysterious than ever" (p. 7). Accordingly, she consistently invokes variations on this theme. To give just one example, which echoes a great many others: "The immigrants who arrived in the United States after 1965 compounded the mystery of sex" (p. 294). Throughout her pages, Ryan similarly invokes the words "mysteries" and "mysterious."

Occasionally Ryan uses the word "mystification" instead, as when she writes of the "mystification in feminine domesticity" during the nineteenth century (p. 63), and I frankly found this to be a more satisfying term, since "mysteries" elicits a sense of the inexplicable, which carries troublesome connotations for historians of sexuality. As Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson wrote in their pioneering anthology, *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*

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(1983), "There is no escaping it: sex as refuge, or sex as sacrament, or sex as wild, natural, dark, and instinctual expression—all these are *ideas* about sex." Ryan initially defines "sex" as "the elaborate process of differentiating women and men" (p. 3), though a few pages later she notes that "sex" is really the "biological classification of 'male' and 'female,'" whereas "gender" better conveys "the social and cultural process that distinguishes 'men' from 'women' in any historical moment" (p. 10). But because Ryan uses the word "sex" in the phrasing of her title and the repeated invocation of her theme, the historical implications are unsettling.

The problem with the adjective "mysterious" is that, like the characterization of sex as wild or instinctual, it obscures the very workings of history, whether those workings hinder or foster change. In short, the resort to "mysteries" obfuscates the consequences of ideas and actions on the part of those who wield power, and those who resist or yield to power. The theme, "mysteries of sex," thus oddly undermines the heft of the book's content, precisely because Ryan so convincingly charts the workings of historical forces to advance her narrative; these workings are complex and contradictory, yes, but always sound and superbly supported. Even where causality is uncertain, Ryan offers sharp analysis. On the topic of patriarchal developments within native cultures, for example, Ryan writes "This outcome was not inevitable, and its causes are neither clear nor simple" (p. 59). Those are courageous and valuable kinds of conclusions to impart to our students, and much more historically sound than the amorphous idea of "mysteries." More than anything else, Ryan's book is about—and succeeds beautifully in illuminating—the ways in which complicated manifestations of power can obscure potent prescriptions of femininity and masculinity across time.

Ryan's title and theme, then, can fruitfully serve as starting points for classroom discussion, and her book offers other possibilities, too, for reflecting on language in the writing of history. As a scholar of race and racial classification, I know how difficult it is to craft historical narratives that live up to historians' convictions about social constructions. But scholars of race at least can invoke phrases like "people of European descent" and "people of African descent," whereas there is no parallel for scholars of gender who hope to disrupt the rigid and binary classifications of male and female. At one point, Ryan astutely asks, "Why not speak of one, three, none, or an infinite number of genders?" (p. 11). That is a wonderful question, but Ryan also fully understands that historical actors have overwhelmingly employed the labels "male" and "female" and that there is no ready alternative to this language. (The complexities of language are also apparent in another oft-invoked, but minimally defined, term: "postmodern." What does it really mean, after all, to call workplaces, workers, feminists, or mothers "postmodern"?)

The book also offers rich opportunities to reflect upon the vexed issue of inclusion and exclusion in the endeavor of synthesis. Because Ryan explicitly did not write a textbook, she does not investigate gender "in all its variations by region, religion, age, class, race, ethnicity, and so forth" (p. 7). But because the book is largely a chronological narrative, there remains the challenge of how to organize content within and across each demarcated span of time. The first chapter takes American natives briefly into the nineteenth century, but Indians do not reappear until near the end of the book, creating the effect that they existed only in the colonial era and have been revived in the present day. In the book's last chapter, Ryan notes that Asians arrived in the United States before the Civil War, but Asians and Asian Americans do not make a sustained appearance prior to the discussion of twentieth-century immigration; and whereas the chapter on immigration mentions the women's liberation movement in Asian American communities, Asians are omitted from the book's main discussion of 1970s feminism. To give another example of how difficult it is to organize a synthetic text, Ryan mentions Latina lesbians in her chapter on immigration but not in the book's main discussion of gay and lesbian history. In turn, a "brief glance back through the history of homosexuality" (p. 268) comes within the chapter on gay rights, which means that the history of same-sex intimacy is not integrated into the major chronology of American history, except for brief mentions of the *berdache* in Native American cultures and female intimacy in late nineteenth-century settlement houses.

My point is not, however, that Ryan should have organized her book differently. Rather, another great strength of Ryan's narrative is its coherence and readability. The point, then, is that this book prompts us to reflect upon how difficult it is to write coherent and readable narratives that encompass so many different histories. In the end, Ryan's unconventional organization of her content is an act of genuine creativity that can serve as well to foster important discussions about the writing of narrative history and synthesis.

Other welcome aspects are the book's relevance to present-day lives and Ryan's willingness to take her study into the present and future. Ryan's chapter on the historical development of domesticity, for example, will prove invaluable for twenty-first century debates (within and beyond the classroom) about combining motherhood with work outside the home. As to the future, Ryan is not optimistic, but she does find some solace in the fact that "the restructuring of gender in our time has made the divide of sex less polarized and less salient than in any time in history" (p. 17).

If you have been meaning to incorporate gender more thoroughly into an undergraduate survey course, this book will be an excellent resource. If you want to discuss gender in U.S. history—and especially the writing of gendered history—with advanced students, put it on your senior seminar or graduate syllabus. Finally, anyone wishing to know more about any particular topic can follow Ryan's footnotes to her phenomenal line-up of secondary sources in the nearly fifty-page bibliography (which also includes a number of primary

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sources, ranging from Harriet Jacobs's slave narrative and the writings of Jane Addams, to the fiction of Anzia Yezierska and Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique*). From the book's very title, then, to its very last pages, Ryan presents her readers with a most generous abundance of information, ideas, and inquiries to reflect upon, impart to our students, incorporate into our scholarship, and argue about.

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JAY WINTER. *Dreams of Peace and Freedom: Utopian Moments in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 261. $28.00.

ELIZABETH BORGWARDT. *A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 437. $35.00.

Human-caused, violent death has been a distinguishing mark of the twentieth century. By one commonly accepted estimate, the death toll in this century's wars totals around 180,000,000 people. Those dead constitute a large nation unto themselves, as the Scottish writer Gil Elliot pointed out in his haunting work, *The Twentieth Century Book of the Dead* (1972). Add to that number the people who perished in such other lethal enterprises as the Soviet gulags, famines, and forced relocations and similar doings in China, together with victims of ethnic cleansing and sectarian strife. Probably the total for all such human-caused deaths in the twentieth century approaches 300,000,000 people—roughly equivalent to the population of the United States.

People who survived and witnessed that century's killing reacted in different ways. Many gave way, predictably, to despair, apocalyptic thinking, or cynicism and hard-boiled realism. Others responded, however, in just the opposite way. Another distinguishing mark of the twentieth century has been the flowering of hopeful visions and projects to rid the world of violence and inhumanity. Even in the face of the worst atrocities and slaughter, men and women of good will persisted in efforts to make the world peaceful, just, and safe, and those efforts did not always come to naught, as witnessed by the persistent concern, agitation, and sometimes action on "human rights." Such persons of hope and their attempts and accomplishments form the subject of these two readable, thought-provoking, and quite different books.

Jay Winter's concise, sprightly book treats six episodes of what he calls "minor utopias" between 1900 and 1992. He adopts the term "minor utopia" because he wishes to distinguish these projects from the totalitarian and social engineering temptations inherent in such grand utopias as communism and fascism. Winter's choice of minor utopias is somewhat surprising. His only obvious, perhaps inescapable, choice is the second one, Woodrow Wilson and the League of Nations in 1919. The others are international expositions in Paris in 1900 and 1937, the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, liberationist struggles in 1968, and moves toward "global citizenship" in 1992. The human rights declaration and the events of 1968 may also seem obvious choices, but Winter gives both of them original, insightful twists. "I have always written history by teaching it" (p. x), he notes at the outset, and it is a signal strength of this book that it reads like a series of lectures that whet an appetite to know more about both the particular subjects and their larger contexts.

International expositions in the first part of the century often aimed at promoting visions of common humanity as well as showing off scientific and technological advances. In 1900, the Paris exposition featured the grand photographic collection of the French businessman Albert Kahn, who believed that his work would help to render war obsolete. Others held similar views. Capitalists reveled in that era's "globalization" and new technology (the word "television" was coined at this exposition), while socialists such as Jean Jaurès pinned their hopes on working-class solidarity overcoming national divisions and preventing war. Winter's story of 1919 encompasses not only Wilson but also the aspirations toward "self-determination" in Africa and Asia, which are treated in Erez Manela's excellent new book, *The Wilsonian Moment: International Origins of Anti-Colonial Nationalism* (2007). Winter tells the familiar tale of democratic aspirations thwarted by imperialist designs, and he faults Wilson for the limitations of his vision. Unlike other critics, however, he acknowledges that Wilson had a different vision of peacemaking, one that elevated new structures and processes over specific claims and issues. Given the handicaps that the League of Nations suffered from the start, that alternative never received much of a trial.

Winter acknowledges early in the book that his chapters "tell very different stories, but violence casts a shadow over each of them" (p. 8). Perhaps the most interesting and certainly the most violence-shadowed of them is his story of the 1937 Paris exposition. Enlightenment, figuratively and literally, was its theme, and it commissioned a huge triumphalist painting by Raoul Dufy, *The Spirit of Electricity*. But the exposition's greatest and most famous painting was exhibited in the pa-

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vilion of the doomed Spanish Republic: Pablo Picasso's *Guernica*. As Winter notes, "The lightbulb at the heart of *Guernica* illuminates horror. It is a dark sun" (p. 85). The chapter on the human rights declaration features not Eleanor Roosevelt but René Cassin, a wounded veteran of World War I, interwar disarmament activist, and aide to Charles de Gaulle. Cassin meant the human rights project to restore his nation's international standing as the bearer of the message of the French Revolution. The chapter on 1968 devotes less attention to the uprisings in Paris and Berlin and more to the intellectual background of liberation theology in Latin America and the influence in Germany of Dietrich Bonhoeffer's theology and of exposés of the Holocaust. The chapter on 1992 treats a variety of expressions of "global citizenship," including women's rights, the environment, and international trials of violators of human rights. Winter pays special attention to the work of the Swiss businessman, Stéphane Schmidheiny and his self-financed $300 million Avina Foundation.

This book would be rewarding if it simply told these stories of minor utopias and their persistence in the face of so much horror. But Winter has a larger aspiration. He asserts that he is writing an alternative to "two widely shared styles of historical thinking. The first may be termed catastrophic thinking; the second, superior history, history written by someone self-consciously shrewder and with fewer illusions than the people under study" (p. 205). In the stories of these and other people he sees an "alternative history inscribed against the grain of the century of total war" (p. 209). This is a fascinating thought, and Winter would be the first to acknowledge that he has made only a few well-aimed stabs at establishing such a history. Elizabeth Borgwardt's book offers another effort toward the same end, and together they offer a fair test of this alternative history of the twentieth century.

Before taking up that book, I think it is necessary to register one strong protest about Winter's volume. As Alice in Wonderland thought, "What is the use of a book without pictures and conversation?" This book has plenty of conversation. In fact, it is a conversation between Winter and his reader, which is what makes it so much like a set of fine lectures. But, except for a dust jacket photograph of the 1900 exposition, it has no pictures. This is a serious defect, not just a lack of decoration. Winter is an accomplished cultural historian who has long relied on visual as well as literary evidence. The importance in this book of such objects as Kahn's photographs and Dufy's and Picasso's paintings demands illustrations at hand. Likewise, the physical layout of the two expositions and the appearance of the various pavilions need to be seen as well as described. Finally, Winter repeatedly enlarges the cast of "usual suspects" by including such people as Kahn, Cassin, and Schmidheiny, together with Latin American theologians; it would be helpful to learn what these people look like. Future editionswill be remiss if they do not include illustrations.

Borgwardt's book is a wide-ranging, well-grounded account of the greatest success story of a minor utopia of the twentieth century: the establishment of new international institutions and practices at the end of World War II. The book opens with a nicely wrought description of the meeting at Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, and their joint declaration of the Atlantic Charter. One of the guiding principles of Roosevelt and his advisors was a determination to learn lessons from and avoid the mistakes of World War I. The book's first chapter is entitled "The Ghost of Woodrow Wilson," and in the Atlantic Charter, which was this war's equivalent to the Fourteen Points, Roosevelt deliberately omitted any mention of an international peacekeeping organization. Of course, Wilson's Fourteen Points had come months after the United States entered World War I, while the Atlantic Charter came months before the United States entered World War II. Once the country was in this war, projects for new international bodies took off quickly. The most famous of these would be the United Nations, but work began even earlier on agencies to deal with international economics: the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This represented a new turn in efforts to promote peace and order in the world, and on the American side, Borgwardt argues, it reflected the influence of the New Deal in previously trying to cope with the Depression at home. Indeed, the overall argument of the book is that during World War II Roosevelt and the people around him did not abandon the New Deal but sought to extend it abroad.

The book's opening at Placentia Bay sets down its organizing theme, which is to conduct a tour of the sites of major meetings that established new methods and institutions in international relations. The next scene is Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, where the dueling personalities of John Maynard Keynes and Harry Dexter White oversaw the establishment of the World Bank and the IMF. Keynes commented that the newly reopened Mount Washington Inn was "being built around us, whilst we sit on our appointed perches" (p. 114). This also marked the first foray into including members of Congress and the opposition party in policymaking. The paragon of a new bipartisanship who emerges is not Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan but Senator Charles Tobey of New Hampshire. Another scene is the estate at the top of the hill in Georgetown, Dumbarton Oaks, where much of the United Nations charter was hammered out. In what one staffer called "devilish hot" (p. 142) rooms, technicians worked on details of the organization while Edward Stettinius laid on his charm in keeping the conference together. It was Stettinius who, in reaction to the miserable accommodations at Yalta, picked San Francisco as the place to hold the final meeting to launch the United Nations. Borgwardt also includes a postwar scene, the Palace of Justice at Nuremberg, where Nazi leaders were tried for crimes against humanity: an example, she maintains, of new international thinking and redefinitions of sovereignty.

This is a first-rate work of history. Borgwardt has

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done extensive research in both Britain and the United States, and her bibliography and references to published materials are staggering. One of the book's major strengths is its reach. Subjects that are usually and properly treated separately—such as wartime summitry between FDR and Churchill, Bretton Woods, the creation of the United Nations, and American wartime ideology—are considered as parts of a whole, thereby yielding fresh perspectives and insights. Borgwardt also has a background in international law, and she includes a number of disquisitions on previous thought about sovereignty and the application of moral norms to relations among states. These disquisitions sometimes struck me as distracting, and I was not convinced by her argument that the end of World War II marked a "Grotian moment [after the seventeenth century theorist Hugo Grotius]—a concentrated era when dramatic events catalyzed pre-existing ideas" (p. 149). Zhou Enlai's comment that it was too early to tell how the French Revolution turned out seems to apply here. Interestingly, Winter would also like to think that a new, more humane international consciousness is emerging, but he is properly cautious about predicting the withering away of the state.

The book's major interpretative breakthroughs seem to me to be twofold. First, Borgwardt addresses the perennial question of why FDR succeeded where Wilson failed—or, as she phrases it, "why American multilateralism gained cultural traction after World War II, not after World War I" (p. 76). She finds the standard answer—that Americans were not ready earlier—insufficient. Instead, she maintains that the combined experiences of the Depression, the New Deal, and World War II instilled a new consciousness about international interdependency, economic security, and ethnic and racial outlooks among people high and low. This may sound a bit like putting old wine in a new bottle, but it is not. Borgwardt makes fascinating use of survey research studies and a particularly probing investigation of veterans from Rutgers University's class of 1942. These bring into sharp relief how profoundly ways of thinking had changed, and they implicitly paint a picture of contrast with attitudes a quarter of a century earlier. The other interpretative breakthrough is to begin to restore an appreciation of what Borgwardt calls "the heady multilateralist *Zeitgeist* of 1945" (p. 250), which was more than a "naïve aberration" (p. 251) to be speedily swept aside by grim reality in the form of the Cold War. That protracted conflict and an obsessive search for its beginnings have too long distorted the history of this period.

With its research, insights, and scope, Borgwardt's book offers a fine case study for Winter's alternative history of the twentieth century. If anything should stand out in contrast to a litany of catastrophes and a smarter-than-they-were dismissal, this rich account of the achievements of some of the greatest minor utopians of the century is just such a work. Others before Borgwardt have emphasized how World War II offered a "second chance" to get international peace right and how making it up to Wilson reverberated through both official and popular thinking. But does this add up to establishing Winter's alternative history? Perhaps so, perhaps not. The feats of this time have meaning in themselves, and there would be a lot more to the second half of the twentieth century than the Cold War. Yet contrary evidence is also strong. For all his sincere anticolonialism, Roosevelt thought in terms of "Four Policemen"—a great power directorate to maintain order in the world—and such thinking harked back to the refined imperialism of his distant kinsman rather than to Wilson's internationalism. Moreover, a new "realist" critique started to emerge during the war and would flourish soon afterward through such spokespersons as George F. Kennan, Walter Lippmann, and Hans Morgenthau. Much of international order would rest on the nuclear "balance of terror" and establishment of military alliances. Too early to tell applies here, too, but it is refreshing and vital to consider this alternative history of a death-filled century.

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MARK MOYAR. *Triumph Forsaken: The Vietnam War, 1954–1965*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xxvi, 512. $32.00.

Making sense of the American war in Vietnam has a deep, and deeply fractious, history. Since the war came to a close in April 1975, thousands of scholarly books and articles—not to mention more popular accounts in memoirs, fiction, film, and on television—have explored the meanings and lessons of America's failed war. The interpretations and arguments they have offered about the American presence in Vietnam have varied widely, but some of the sharpest contestations have centered over two questions: should the United States have intervened in Vietnam in the first place? And once it did, was the American war in Vietnam winnable? For many the urgency of these questions has taken on new resonance with the ongoing American war in Iraq. But are these the most generative questions to be asking about the American war in Vietnam, or in Iraq?

Many if not most historians of U.S. foreign relations have been sharply critical of U.S. intervention in Vietnam, claiming the larger dynamics of the Cold War

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blinded policy makers to Vietnamese realities. George C. Herring argued as early as 1979, in what remains one of the single most important accounts of the American war, that "The United States intervened to block the apparent march of a Soviet-dominated communism across Asia, enlarged its commitment to halt a presumably expansionist China, and eventually made Vietnam a test of its determination to uphold world order" (*America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950–1975*). For Herring and many of the historians who shared his critique of American intervention in Vietnam, the Cold War prevented U.S. policy makers from apprehending powerful local forces of decolonizing revolutionary nationalism that were driving developments in Vietnam. In this misguided and tragic intervention, they argued, communism was not so much the point as was the popular legitimacy most Vietnamese accorded to Ho Chi Minh's North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front (NLF) in its struggle to achieve postcolonial independence. By contrast, South Vietnam was a creature and puppet of the United States doomed to defeat.

Over the past fifteen years a group of younger scholars has broadened, thickened, and sometimes questioned this Cold War framework. Their work has focused on domestic politics, political culture, and the personality of decision makers in the American context as well as the roles of Vietnamese, European, Soviet, Chinese, and other regional actors and transnational forces in the making of the Vietnam wars. But many of these authors, myself included, believe that the American intervention was a grave mistake. As Fredrik Logevall noted in a widely and rightly acclaimed example of this newer work, "That the decision for war was the wrong decision is today taken as axiomatic by a large majority of observers and scholars . . . who see U.S. intervention as, at best, a failure and a mistake, at worst a crime" (*Choosing War: The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam* [1999]).

A majority of observers and scholars perhaps. But not all. A more exculpatory narrative of American intervention in Vietnam has fiercely challenged those who see the war as a mistake. Given popular expression by Ronald Reagan in a speech before the 1980 Veterans of Foreign Wars convention in Chicago when he called Vietnam "a noble cause," self-styled "revisionists"—among them Vietnam generation military figures and hawkish diplomats as well as some journalists, political scientists and historians—argued that Vietnam was a necessary war. Mirroring the claims of the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations during the war itself, they assert the wars in Vietnam were far from a civil or revolutionary conflict but instead acts of aggression by North Vietnam, ones fully supported by the international communist world. In this view, South Vietnam was a viable alternative to the communist North and U.S. support for it against the forces of North Vietnam, the NLF, and their allies in Moscow and Beijing was vital to the larger Cold War struggle to contain international communism. Echoing the domino theory that colored official views in the 1950s and 1960s, they suggest the failure to intervene would not only have brought communism to South Vietnam but to much of the rest of Southeast Asia as well.

Getting into Vietnam was not the problem, according to many revisionists; it was what the United States did when it got there. This necessary war was also winnable in more conventional military terms if civilians in Washington and Saigon, along with the media and the antiwar movement, had not undermined the tactics and strategies that could have brought an American victory. In its strongest iteration, some noble war proponents claim despite these obstacles that the United States in fact did win the war after 1975, pointing to the absence of falling dominoes in Southeast Asia, the Vietnamese move to a market economy in the late 1980s, and the collapse of the Soviet Union. As the failures of the ongoing Iraq war have once again unleashed the ghosts of Vietnam into national political debate, revisionist accounts of American policy in Vietnam have become increasingly visible and are often employed to underscore arguments that military solutions to the chaos engulfing Iraq can work.

The main lines of the revisionist case on the American war in Vietnam shape Mark Moyar's book. "It was a wise war fought under foolish constraints" (p. 416), Moyar contends, arguing that Cold War pressures necessitated U.S. intervention, civilian officials and the media misjudged the enemy, and viable options for winning the war were never fully pursued. But if these arguments are to an extent familiar, this ambitious study of U.S. policy from 1950 to 1965 situates them in a sprawling account of both the American and Vietnamese dimensions of the war.

Moyar's fearless inclination to attack almost all of the conventional wisdom on the Vietnam war has its utility. His willingness, for instance, to dislodge such media figures as David Halberstam and Neil Sheehan from their canonical pedestals, although at moments unnecessarily mean-spirited, is a welcome one. As Moyar suggests, their assessments of the South Vietnamese political and military situation in the early to mid-1960s were sometimes flawed but nonetheless remain more influential than they probably should in the Vietnam literature. This argument emerges most persuasively in Moyar's chapter on the battle of Ap Bac in January 1963, which also formed a critical part of Sheehan's prize-winning *A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam* (1988). In Sheehan's account, the battle becomes emblematic of the hopeless incompetence and cowardice of the South Vietnamese army. Moyar's more nuanced telling emphasizes mistakes by American advisors and South Vietnamese officers, the bravery of individual South Vietnamese soldiers, and the military prowess of the NLF, which together better capture the complexities of the situation on the ground in this period. In general the book is at its best on military matters, with Moyar drawing at many points on Viet-

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namese and American primary sources to discuss strategy and tactics on both sides.

But Moyar wants to push his iconoclastic reassessments much further, and as he does so his arguments become significantly less persuasive. For Moyar, the problem with the American press corps in Saigon was considerably more serious than a few incidents of sloppy reporting. He accords their writings a towering influence over official opinion and casts these reporters, Halberstam in particular, as central villains in Washington's failure to recognize how the war could be won. Few shades of grey color Moyar's villains-and-heroes approach to history. Along with the media, he argues that Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, almost all of their civilian advisors in Washington, and the American diplomatic personnel in Saigon might have understood the larger Cold War crisis facing the United States in Vietnam but completely failed to grasp how to wage war successfully in the Vietnamese context. Only a few intelligence operatives and military men in Washington and Saigon and some members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—who, Moyar argues, recognized both the need for an anticommunist strongman to rule South Vietnam and the strategic value of Laos and big-unit warfare to defeat the Vietnamese communists—tended to get it right.

To support these claims Moyar offers an account of Vietnamese history at considerable variance from the current historiography. Vietnamese historians have long moved away from a view of the political upheavals and revolutionary wars of the twentieth century as rooted almost entirely in the imperial and Sino-Vietnamese sensibilities of past. They have increasingly foregrounded the complex and contingent local, regional, and transnational forces that reshaped Vietnam under French colonial rule and in its aftermath, whether it be the emergence of radical anticolonial movements like Vietnamese communism, the construction of political community in northern and southern Vietnam after 1945 or the shifting dimensions of social, spiritual, and cultural life in cities and the countryside. Very little of this scholarship makes its way into Moyar's account of Vietnamese society. For him, the salient features of Vietnamese life are a timeless "vanity and cruelty" (p. 2) and a history of "intrigue and bloodletting" (p. 6). Given these attributes, he claims that "from the beginning of their history, the Vietnamese people were always inclined to support whatever political faction appeared strongest . . . because theirs was a culture that revered authority" (p. 6).

This reductionist and racialist lens opens the way for Moyar to make his case for a fundamental reassessment of Ngo Dinh Diem, the first leader of South Vietnam who ruled the country from 1954 to 1963. In much of the existing scholarship on the war, Diem and his U.S.-supported regime are severely criticized for their authoritarianism and ham-handed approach to the multiple challenges faced, from the southern communist insurgency and the growing opposition of the urban middle class and southern Buddhists. Although some recent scholarship has called for a more nuanced if still critical analysis of Diem's regime, Moyar unrelentingly offers a one-dimensional hagiography of Diem. With the exception of Ho Chi Minh, he argues, Diem was the only figure on the Vietnamese political stage who fully understood how to address the challenges of the postcolonial era. He quickly dismisses what he derisively refers to as Saigon's ineffectual "tea drinking" political classes and views the massive Buddhist protests of the mid-1960s as little more than vehicles for the communist insurgency. By contrast Diem emerges a sage and charismatic nationalist leader devoted to building a strong noncommunist Vietnamese state: "he was the immune system of South Vietnam, keeping factionalism at bay as antibodies ward off infection" (p. 279).

If Diem was also a ruthless authoritarian dictator, and Moyar believes he was, those attributes were well suited to what Moyar sees as the traditional Vietnamese view that rulers must rule strongly and the people will follow. Only Ho, he suggests, operated in a similarly effective authoritarian vein, which Moyar believes accounts for what he admits to be the considerable success of the Vietnamese communists. Although Diem is often scored in the existing literature as a puppet of the Americans, Moyar argues the real puppet was Ho, whose "single minded and unswerving devotion to . . . the imposition of the communist government on Vietnam and the rest of world" meant that he followed Moscow and Beijing "with a submissiveness that Diem would never display in his dealings with the Americans" (p. 4).

Few historians of the war would contest that the Vietnamese communists turned to intimidation, torture, and assassination as often as the Diem regime did in the early years of the American war. But they would find surprising much of Moyar's characterization of the regimes led by Diem and Ho. In fact his own evidence cuts against notions of Diem's prowess and Ho's submissiveness. Instead it supports existing interpretations that point to the inability of Diem's military to meet the increasingly effective communist challenge in the early 1960s and to tensions between Hanoi and its supporters in the Soviet Union and Mao's China. Moyar also wishes away far too quickly the very real challenges the South Vietnamese middle class and the Buddhist protests posed to the Diem government when he insists on their control by external provocateurs. Nor is he willing to accord any credence to the demonstrated success of the Vietnamese communists in drawing upon the rhetoric of patriotism and nationalism to win urban and peasant support in the south.

The flawed context through which Moyar approaches Vietnamese history and politics severely undermines the central arguments that make up his revisionist account of U.S. policy. All of the American villains in his narrative, whether officials in Washington or Saigon, are portrayed as misguided figures whose insistence that success in Vietnam relied on remaking South Vietnam in America's image and opposition to Diem lost the chance to win the war. Moyar's American heroes

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purportedly share his shrewder assessment of Vietnamese politics. But 1960s South Vietnam was no more a little America than it was an imagined simulacrum of ninth-century Vietnamese dynastic politics. Whether Moyar cares to acknowledge it or not, urban and rural South Vietnam had a politics, one which scholars are only beginning to unpack, that while often unruly and chaotic compared to the north nonetheless had a powerful impact on the direction of the American war.

Moyar's problematic and troubling account of the Vietnamese political scene also undermines confidence in his extended brief for the efficacy of the domino theory, one that elides the complexities of the postcolonial moment in Vietnam and much of the decolonizing world. He insists that the U.S. official inclination to intervene in Vietnam to prevent the rise of communist states in other parts of Southeast Asia was an accurate assessment of regional politics in the mid-1960s. Not only does he exaggerate the communist threat, but absent from Moyar's discussion, especially in regard to what he perceives as the central domino of Indonesia, is an acknowledgment of the place of postcolonial state making and its contestations in local and regional developments. Moreover, he fails to appreciate how fissures within the international communist world, not just between the Soviets and Chinese but also among communist parties in the region, undermined the premise of an international communist monolith at the heart of the domino theory.

At its best historical revisionism can provoke us to reconsider how we think about the past. The contours of revisionist claims about American intervention in Vietnam, however, feel remarkably cramped. More than thirty years after the Vietnam wars came to an end, one wonders whether the necessary or winnable questions that have for so long framed the debate over U.S. intervention in Vietnam—and the increasingly polemical responses to them—still have the power to instruct. What goes missing for revisionists like Moyar is an appreciation of the profound ways in which the United States was just as implicated as Vietnamese actors in the local and global forces of imperialism and decolonization throughout the twentieth century.

The continuing failure to recognize that the United States, despite its global power, does not stand apart from the states and peoples with which it interacts may explain why the necessary and the winnable have continued to set the terms of the debate on Vietnam, and now do the same for Iraq. To move deeper in requires a more capacious historical imagination in which Vietnam, like Iraq, is a place, not an American war. When we get there, the Vietnam wars may finally have become history.

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RAMÓN SALDÍVAR. *The Borderlands of Culture: Américo Paredes and the Transnational Imaginary*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 525. Cloth $89.95, paper $24.95.

In the concluding chapter to his most widely read work, *"With His Pistol in His Hand": A Border Ballad and Its Hero* (1958), Américo Paredes (1915–1999) de-essentialized the culture on which his pioneering, interdisciplinary book focused. His "Last Word" about the *corrido*—as it developed in the Lower Rio Grande Valley in the decades between the United States' annexation of Texas and its colonization of the Philippines—noted that although its "traditions and musical patterns are Castilian," its "social and physical conditions . . . were more like those of [medieval] Scotland" (p. 243), where border ballads also had expressed "resistance against outside encroachment" (p. 244). This comparative move—connecting sociocultures divided by idiom, space, and time—was politically courageous as well as intellectually provocative.

Ramón Saldívar's own interdisciplinary tour de force de-essentializes Paredes's approach to the U.S.-Mexico borderlands, demonstrating its global formation and implications as it moves the reader well beyond *"With His Pistol in His Hand."* Yet, even as the midcentury masterwork receives Saldívar's least direct attention, it shadows every page of his book, which focuses on Paredes's earlier intellectual development. "As definitive as Paredes's work from the 1950s forward has been in establishing a foundation for border knowledge," Saldívar explains, "an understanding of Paredes's Depression-, World War II- and cold war-era writings sharpens into clear focus the profound nature of his transnational vision and its social aesthetic" (p. 58).

But the book decidedly is not simply "Becoming Américo Paredes." Its analysis is transhistorical as much as historical, as synchronic (foregrounding Paredes's contemporary presence) as diachronic (merely tracing the evolution of his ideas). Saldívar appropriately situates Paredes among some of the most influential transdisciplinary approaches to subaltern culture not only *across* borders but *as* borders, such as Paul Gilroy's *Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993) and Walter Mignolo's *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (2000). In turn, Saldívar's work takes its place among such studies as foundational to the current generation's ongoing transnational turn.

Reminiscent of Paredes's study of Gregorio Cortez's *corrido*, Saldívar's compellingly unusual book appropri-

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ately unfolds *Rashomon*-like: as memories. Following an important introduction that lucidly positions this complex study, the rest of its first part is comprised of two complementary chapters: Saldívar's telling of Paredes's life story, "The Memory Is All That Matters," precedes Paredes's own late-life telling of his early-life story, "Life in the Borderlands," in a fascinating transcription of interviews Saldívar undertook with Paredes in the mid-1990s (including retrospections generated during a trip that the two former University of Texas colleagues together made to the south Texas homeland of the elder scholar's youth). The book's much longer second part biographically revisits this autobiographical material as it critically engages Paredes's understudied pre-*"With His Pistol in His Hand"* writings. Some, such as the important novel *George Washington Gómez* (written in the 1930s), were not published till the 1990s; others, especially Paredes's journalism from occupied Japan for the U.S. military's *Stars and Stripes* and Mexico City's *El Universal*, Saldívar's original research uncovers.

Saldívar shows how Paredes's personal engagements with mass media—radio as well as newspapers (study of the latter was central to *"With His Pistol in His Hand"*)—were fundamental to his ideas about culture and borders, what the academy, following Mary Louise Pratt, now ubiquitously calls "contact zones." And after reading Saldívar's book, it is impossible to imagine Paredes's first book having *not* addressed music. In Saldívar's interviews, Paredes broadcasts his lifelong involvement with popular song, nurtured in his lived experience of the U.S.-Mexican border as a sonic frontier in the 1930s when he had a cross-border career as musician and radio host; in the latter case, he patterned his program on the persona and music produced in Mexico City by (Greater) Mexico's greatest composer-crooner Agustín Lara, whose records and radio shows Paredes and his mother devoutly consumed across the U.S.-Mexican border throughout the Great Depression (pp. 92, 127–128).

Paredes's cross-border family was central to his own transnationality. His frequent south-of-the-border visits (his older brother lived in Matamoros) shaped his proto-multicultural critique of U.S. politics and scholarship. "I thought of myself as a *mexicano* who happened to be living in Texas," he explains (p. 125). The insights Paredes provides about his intertwined intellectual and social formation rigorously elide official nationalisms, whether his sympathetic-but-not-unquestioning relationship to *lo chicano* or his sharper skepticism of the hyperpatriotism ceaselessly promoted by postrevolutionary Mexico's authoritarian state-party (the lifespan of which was almost exactly coterminous with that of Paredes). With regard to Mexico City's twentieth-century rulers, Paredes told Saldívar that "I wasn't exactly taken by what I saw of Mexican nationalism" (p. 91). And he questioned what he considered the sometimes uninformed Chicano embrace of *lo mexicano*. While he generally favored the nationalist instincts of foundational Chicano intellectuals, whom the self-described "proto-Chicano" modestly claimed as intellectual progeny (pp. 134–136), Paredes's own inchoate multiculturalism moved beyond thinking "in terms of Anglos versus *mexicanos* everywhere in Greater Mexico" to see "that cultural conflict has many layers. There was also the Mexican on both sides of the border against the . . . assimilated Mexican; those from this side of the border against those from the other side; and both of those against the central Mexican people" (p. 141).

As it nimbly establishes Paredes's centrality to twentieth-century U.S. intellectual history, Saldívar's analysis misses some opportunities to relate Paredes's thinking to that of notable contemporaries. For example, its discussion of Paredes's "checkerboard of consciousness" tags it as a "borderlands version of Du Boisean double consciousness" (p. 164) without adequately contrasting the concepts or the historical circumstances they reproduced: the differences between territorial dispossession and diasporic alienation in fomenting these distinct subaltern transnationalities. Also, this relationship could be usefully probed to compare the respective impacts of World War I and the Mexican Revolution on African American and Mexican American intellectuals. That Saldívar's examination of Paredes suggests, even if it does not pursue, such work underscores more its stimulatingly evocative analysis than its historical limitations.

Saldívar offers several meaningful heuristic excursions. Chapter four, for example, is a fascinating reading of Paredes's subversively bilingual poetic reordering of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's (and Norman Rockwell's) Four Freedoms. And chapter five usefully charts the ideological shores between which Paredes ultimately swam; it elegantly juxtaposes Liberal and Marxist Popular Front–era thinking about Mexican American progress, expressed respectively in the work of integrationist scholar George I. Sánchez and Communist organizer Emma Tanayuca. Subsequent chapters, ordered chronologically to conform with the creation of particular texts, offer historicized readings of Paredes's various works, culminating in chapter eleven's consideration of his novel about the corruption of political ideals in postrevolutionary Mexico, *The Shadow* (1998), first written when the author was a graduate student in the 1950s but not published until his final years.

Part two's watershed chapter, however, is its penultimate one. "Occupation-Era Writings"' analysis of Paredes's uncollected journalism is central to the book's contribution to both intellectual and cultural histories. It convincingly insists that Paredes's "transformative experiences in Asia" placed his "own identification with his border society into productive critical tension and produced a critical way of thinking" (p. 435), one that decisively altered his subsequent scholarship. In 1940s Japan and China (where Paredes worked for the Red Cross during its red revolution), empire and social conflict played out in ways different from but inevitably comparable to the history generated

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by U.S. control of Texas since the 1840s. Paredes's work in occupied Japan, where he "witnessed the emergence of the United States as a global power" (p. 391), globalized his American transnationality, which had been first forged in occupied Greater Mexico. Importantly, Paredes's service on U.S. empire's new frontier in occupied Japan also occupied the temporal borderland in which U.S. foreign policy's logic metamorphosed from (the Four Freedoms') antifascism into (the Truman Doctrine's) anticommunism. As Saldívar summarizes, "In seeking to document the unwritten history of the south Texas borderlands, Paredes brings his experience of cold war geopolitics, Asian cultural and racial conflict, the contradictions of American democracy, and the heterogeneously dialogical nature of border culture to the task" (p. 59). This new global imaginary guided Paredes's completion of his undergraduate studies and doctoral work (in English) at the University of Texas, from where he would later profoundly shape border studies during his long and illustrious academic career in Austin. Noted but less examined is how Paredes's military service in Asia, where he was viewed as an "American," complicated his own national subjectivity and, therefore, his work and life.

To say that this book could as reasonably be retitled "Becoming Ramón Saldívar" as it could "Becoming Américo Paredes" is to underline its author's admirably self-aware involvement with his book's subjects. Its close examination of Paredes's diverse experiences and literary production—between Mexico and the United States, Asia and the Americas—confirms their impact not only on Saldívar (himself a foundational figure in transnational American studies) but on the entire scholarly terrain of borderlands culture and politics. In doing so, Saldívar's book implicitly pays homage to Paredes's oeuvre, which, whether shelved as fiction, poetry, or prose, anthropology, literature, or folklore, demonstrates that all good writing (especially scholarly writing) should (and could) be creative writing.

Too, Saldívar's volume demonstrates that all good cultural studies are border studies. This is nowhere more apparent than in an epilogic encounter in Japan, where the author presented his project-in-progress in 2003. In the country so central to Paredes's intellectual formation, Saldívar confronted challenging questions from a "young professor" about the limits, even solipsism, of this then-developing study's scope (p. 434). All that precedes Saldívar's epilogue offers a convincing response to the questions posed in Japan. The work is anything but narrow. It honors its subject by transcending it, by demonstrating the relevance (really necessity) of Paredes's transnational Greater Mexico for the transdisciplinary study of all borders, all cultures, globally.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

CHRISTIAN J. EMDEN. *Walter Benjamins Archäologie der Moderne: Kulturwissenschaft um 1930*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink. 2006. Pp. 184. €24.90.

In the preface to this book, Christian J. Emden remarks that his monograph could have been entitled "Walter Benjamin for Historians." More specifically, Emden's study investigates the extent to which Benjamin's "archaeological figures of thinking" offer insights for the historical cultural sciences (*historische Kulturwissenschaften*). The question this study provokes is whether what Emden calls Benjamin's "archaeology of modernity" is just a metaphor or an actual methodology capable of providing direction to the cultural sciences today.

The book consists of an introduction and four major sections. In the introduction, Emden puts forward the claim that Benjamin's "archaeological figures of thought" cannot be reduced to either a "poetics of history" or "critical theory of history" in the tradition of the Frankfurt School. Instead, Benjamin's "archaeology of modernity" offers us a stand-alone "model for an orientation of the cultural sciences towards historical material" (p. 10). Emden also directs our attention to neglected correspondences between Benjamin's "archaeology of modernity" and debates in the historical cultural sciences around the turn of the twentieth century. In short, his strategy is to recast Benjamin as a unique theoretician of modern culture, whose archaeological mode of thinking is distinct from or even in competition with the Frankfurt School and postmodern literary theory, and at the same time to draw him closer to the tradition of the historical cultural sciences *à la* Heinrich Rickert, from which he has been excluded.

In the first section, "Historical Late Periods: From Baroque to Modernity," Emden reconstructs Benjamin's fascination with the Baroque as a prehistory of the modern. "Baroque" is not taken here as a cultural epoch so much as a figure of thought for the critique of historical knowledge. For Benjamin, the Baroque reflects a historical consciousness obsessed by the logic of decay and its symbolic representation in ancient ruins. Emden traces how Benjamin's conception of the Baroque was influenced through its rehabilitation by art and cultural historians, such as Heinrich Wölfflin and Alois Riegls, beginning in the 1880s. In the 1920s, Benjamin—like no other—drew consequences from the growing interest in the Baroque and the collapse of classical German culture for the historical analysis of modernity. A unique sensitivity to inconspicuous detail, the transient nature of things, and the simultaneity of non-simultaneous historical material in the present emerged in his writings, along with a growing affinity for the aesthetics of disintegration and a rejection of grand narratives of progressive cultural development.

The heading of Emden's second section—"Layers of Time: An Archaeology of Modernity?"—closes with a question mark and all its associated hesitations. And rightly so. As other scholars have pointed out, Benjamin hardly used the term "archaeology" and in his entire *oeuvre* only wrote a short text "*Ausgraben und Erinnern*" ("Excavating and Remembering"), in which he explicitly takes up archaeological terminology. Whether this short text constitutes a "program of cultural scientific thinking guided by archaeology," as Emden asserts, is questionable (p. 78). Nevertheless, Emden highlights well how Benjamin's focus on the non-simultaneous layers of history in the present, the materiality of culture and spatial configurations, and his passion for collecting modelled on the Baroque curiosity for discarded fragments of history, reflect a mode of thinking oriented along the archaeological model. Especially in *The Arcades Project*, Benjamin presents a history of the nineteenth century, in which through a montage-like recording of the small and allegedly insignificant we are to glimpse the total happening of history.

In the introduction, Emden maintains that Benjamin's "archaeology of modernity" can be interpreted as an archaeology of the "social imaginary," a term imported from the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor. In the third section, Emden takes up the idea of the social imaginary in application to Benjamin's conception of the "readability" (*Lesbarkeit*) of things and images. In contrast to Michel Foucault, the stress of Benjamin's "archaeology" lies not in discourse but above all in images (*Bilder*) prone to myth. This can be seen not only in Benjamin's focus on the visual culture of capitalism, in which by means of advertisement and photography the cityscape becomes an optic stage for the social imaginary; moreover, it is found in Benjamin's

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interest in the symbolic rhetoric of the fascist state, where images are employed to establish and sustain relations of domination.

In this section, however, analysis of the social imaginary remains on the surface of historical experience. Emden introduces terms such as "strategies of the imaginary," "stabilization of political and cultural identity through the stabilization of the imaginary of an epoch," "technification of the imaginary," "logic of the imaginary," and "disciplining of seeing," which fall flat. They neither capture Benjamin's critical assessment of the growing importance of images over rational discourse for the mobilization of the masses in the culture of capitalism and logic of fascist domination, nor do they have grounding in the material conditions of the Weimar Republic and its aftermath in Nazi Germany. Indeed, Emden seems at times to recognize the limits of his own endeavor, when for instance he writes: "Benjamin's Archaeology of Modernity is certainly a difficult enterprise. Perhaps he even sketches an ideal of the cultural sciences, which can hardly be put into practice" (p. 117).

In the final major section, "Myth and Modernity," Emden seeks to establish more firmly Benjamin's project as a unique theoretical enterprise for the study of modern culture that is not only distinct from but can even compete with the "critical theory" of the Frankfurt School. Here, Emden describes Benjamin's "archaeology of modernity" more specifically as a "political program of demythologicalization" (p. 172). Of course, the idea of the study of modern culture as a critique of myth invokes not only Roland Barthes but also Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, from whom Emden seeks to distance Benjamin. In order to facilitate Benjamin's ascent, Emden thus feels compelled to dispense with the philosophical critique of modern culture in Horkheimer and Adorno's *Dialectics of Enlightenment* by identifying it as a "conspiracy theory" (*Verschwörungstheorie*) of capitalist culture, in which the captains of industry hatch hidden plans for totalitarian control over the masses. This is hardly satisfying.

In short, Emden tends to overplay Benjamin's correspondences to the historical cultural sciences and to underplay Benjamin's commitment to the critical theory of the Frankfurt School. This is not without consequence. On the one hand, Emden tends to blunt Benjamin's criticisms of the "*historische Kulturwissenschaften*." On the other hand, in distancing Benjamin from the Frankfurt School, Emden is inclined to undervalue the extent to which Benjamin's "archaeology of modernity" involves a Marxist oriented, materialistic critique of the cultural logic of capitalism in nineteenth and twentieth-century Europe. Despite this, Emden's detailed study insightfully shows how Benjamin's "archaeological figures of thought" are more than just a metaphor about ways of thinking in the cultural sciences. The rejection of grand narratives of universal cultural development in exchange for the logic of the transient in history, passion for collection and archives, attention to inconspicuous detail, excavation of the layers of historical reality in the present, willful montage-like constructions of historical material, seminal role of images, artefacts, and even *Abfall* (junk), and critique of myth all make the archaeological a promising approach to the historical cultural sciences today.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

Shaye J. D. Cohen. *Why Aren't Jewish Women Circumcised? Gender and Covenant in Judaism*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 317. $39.95.

As Shaye J. D. Cohen observes at the beginning of this erudite study, approximately one half of contemporary Jews are not circumcised. Lest the reader be shocked at this apparent decline in the traditional initiation of male infants into Judaism, Cohen hastens to note that one half of all Jews are females. Cohen's book is a historical inquiry into what this means for women's status as Jews and in Judaism. Is circumcision the essential distinguishing sign of Jewishness? And if it is, why has traditional Judaism never instituted a parallel covenantal welcoming ceremony for Jewish females?

In the nine chapters of this book, Cohen explores Jewish responses, from late antiquity to the early twenty-first century, to these and related questions. His survey of Jewish legal and philosophical writings reveals that the answers have varied depending on time and place. However, Cohen makes clear that for most of Jewish history circumcision has been closely linked with male fertility and has played a definitive role in establishing Jewish identity. Although Judaism acknowledged women's essential roles in enabling male activities and nurturing new generations, Jewish tradition constructed Jewish women as both other and lesser than men. Male Jews have also generally believed that Jewish women were not eligible for full participation in communal worship and study and were secondary in legal and social standing to men. But Cohen is vehement that women's physical differences and purportedly inferior qualities did not exclude them from the Jewish community. Women were part of the covenant because, like all Jews of every generation, past and future, they experienced the divine revelation at Sinai.

Cohen suggests that Jews did not explicitly address why Jewish females were not circumcised—that is, not specifically distinguished as Jews—until the Middle Ages. In this era, Jews were compelled to respond to Christian attacks on Judaism, including critiques of Jewish women's subordinate roles. Many Christian polemicists equated circumcision with baptism, as analogous rituals that imparted religious identity, and they emphasized that in Christianity both men and women are baptized. But are circumcision and baptism equivalent? In the central chapters of his book, Cohen focuses on medieval Jewish responses to this claim.

As early as the twelfth century, some Jews answered

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the Christian equation of baptism and circumcision by arguing that Jewish women's observance of the ritual purity regulations pertaining to menstruation and/or childbirth constituted their distinguishing performance of Jewishness. Abba Mari Anatoli, in thirteenth-century Naples, took another approach: he wrote that only Jewish males are circumcised because men are commanded to rule over women (Genesis 2:18). Since circumcision subdues a man's desires and moderates his conduct, he is able to teach his wife and lead her according to his example. Similarly, a certain Menachem, who responded to Christian polemics in thirteenth-century northern France, suggested that Jewish females are exempt from circumcision since their husbands or fathers bear the burden for them. A woman expresses her Jewishness through her subordination to a male family member; his circumcision suffices for himself and his female dependents. In accordance with this formulation, a man's Jewishness will always be superior to a woman's.

For Cohen, the medieval philosopher Moses Maimonides (d. 1204) offered the most meaningful and influential response. Maimonides argued that since Jewish females are also Jews, and since many Gentiles are also circumcised, it is obvious that circumcision is not equivalent to baptism as the essential component of initiation into Judaism. Rather, Maimonides, who explained circumcision as a divinely ordained means to reduce male lust, stressed that membership in the community of Israel is based in proper belief. Following Maimonides's lead, Yom-Tov Lippman Mülhausen wrote in his 1421 manual of anti-Christian polemic, *Sefer HaNizzahon* (Book of Victory), that circumcision is only one among hundreds of obligations and prohibitions incumbent on Jews; some are directed at men and some are only pertinent to women. Judaism's authenticity, then, is not dependent on circumcision but "on the heart" (p. 185).

Yet, while appropriate beliefs and the fulfillment of commandments may be the rational constituents of Jewish identity, Jews continue the ritual circumcision of their male infants. Cohen reports that twenty-first century Judaism is already facing increasing challenges to this practice. These include Jewish demands to eliminate male circumcision on the grounds of gender equity; growing attacks from the larger culture against both female and routine neonatal male circumcision as forms of mutilation; and ongoing debates over whether circumcision offers sufficient hygienic and health advantages to justify the practice. While Cohen refutes some of these objections in his concluding chapter, he is inconclusive as to why circumcision should be preserved in an egalitarian Judaism of the future. His valuable book eloquently delineates how Jews of previous centuries explained why Jewish females are not circumcised. The arguments that will find meaningful resonance in the decades to come are yet to be articulated.

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BRANNON WHEELER. *Mecca and Eden: Ritual, Relics, and Territory in Islam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 333. Cloth $62.00, paper $25.00.

This book offers a well-documented and imaginative discussion of certain social and religious phenomena selected for their relevance to a number of interrelated themes: objects imbued with religious significance and the narratives surrounding their discovery; definitions and interpretations of certain ritual practices; ways in which such treatments of ritual connote the contrast between a primordial utopia (Eden) and the genesis of human culture in the world, culminating in Islam (Mecca); and the role of the state in acquiring and preserving "relics" and managing sacred sites. Brannon Wheeler combines close readings of Islamic legal, exegetical, and other texts pertaining to relics, rituals, and territory with methods and insights drawn from the anthropological and comparative study of religion.

The book consists of four chapters, an introduction, and a conclusion, supplemented by abundant notes and a comprehensive bibliography. In most instances, Wheeler offers a descriptive presentation of his topic, an exploration of the associations surrounding its constituent elements in a range of historically related sources, and references to broader comparative data, of which he makes effective use in his interpretations. One of the principal theoretical points of reference for Wheeler is the century-old work of W. Robertson Smith, whose analyses of "holy" places and objects as social conventions he develops further by demonstrating relationships among relics, rituals, sacred space, and the maintenance of the social order, and by depicting the ways in which narrative treatments of such objects, actions, and locations evoke the transition from an idealized past to an imperfect present. Not least among Wheeler's achievements is his extension of the use of Islamic and particularly Arabian materials as sources for the understanding of religious phenomena in general, a perspective relatively neglected among recent generations of scholars.

Chapter one treats accounts concerning the discovery of the treasure of the Kaʿbah. After comparing these accounts with materials drawn from ancient Near Eastern, Jewish and Samaritan, late antique, and Islamic sources, Wheeler argues that they should be understood as part of a larger narrative concerning the place of Muhammad in prophetic history since Adam's expulsion from Eden. Chapter two explores legal definitions of certain obligatory rituals, and includes a detailed discussion of the criteria for the requirement of ritual purification. Bringing these legal perspectives into conjunction with exegetical and other sources that address the origins of civilizations, Wheeler asserts that legal theorists interpret obligatory rituals in ways that allude to the contrast between the present world and Eden, where rituals were unnecessary or impossible. Chapter three discusses the collection and dispersal of the Prophet Muhammad's hair, nails, clothing, and footprints, as well as textual remains in the form of ha-

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dith reports, alongside accounts of the relics of other prophets. Here too, the author shows how such prophetic remains are associated with the origins of human culture. Wheeler also explores the religious and political significance of such phenomena in later Muslim societies as attested by their collection, transport, preservation, and display, and the enhanced legitimacy that could accrue to Muslim rulers who provided patronage for them, sometimes by accommodating them in buildings, such as mosques and madrasas, associated with the Prophet's teachings. Chapter four addresses the long tombs (up to 175 yards) associated with the earliest prophets mentioned in the Qur'an (Adam, Seth, Idris, Noah, Hud, Salih), as well as the similarly elongated tombs attributed to Muslims who died in the initial conquest of Sind. The early prophets, whose immense height, in Wheeler's interpretation, represents the former stature of humanity, are depicted as important figures in the development of human civilization, and are thus again associated with the loss of Eden.

Wheeler concludes that relics, and the structures in which they are preserved, constitute physical reminders of the irremediable loss of Eden, and bring to mind the subsequent need for a religious and social order as well as the human agencies that sustain such orders. In these developments, he perceives a "civilizational view" of humanity's ineluctably compromised condition, an attitude that he contrasts with the radical reactions of "escapist" movements (which seek to overcome the loss, at least temporarily, through the cultivation of secret knowledge and techniques) on the one hand and "apocalyptic" (or "fundamentalist") ones (which seek to repair the rupture in the world through activism) on the other.

Wheeler's argument rests on careful analysis of a variety of textual and material sources as well as ample comparative data, drawn sometimes from ancient Near Eastern, Hellenistic, and late antique traditions, all of which illuminate the larger cultural context within which the early Islamic materials are situated, and sometimes from traditions where historical connections are remote or nonexistent, such as Daoist and Buddhist materials, Iroquois concepts, and modern European and American phenomena. Many of these examples effectively illustrate that the Islamic phenomena, far from being exceptional, may be readily situated in the context of religious manifestations in general. Some readers may question the applicability of certain comparisons, but in many cases the deployment of such varied and often arresting analogies enlivens the text and illuminates the subject of this most interesting book.

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JORGE CAÑIZARES-ESGUERRA. *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550–1700.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 327. $24.95.

In this bold and polemical work, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra batters and cracks the historiographical walls that barricade the Puritan north and set it apart from the Iberian south. Puritans become Conquistadors and Conquistadors become Puritans, "the West" and "the Rest" is dissolved, "the Atlantic" rises to a global warming, and the flower gardens of the nation are flooded beyond repair.

All of this is, so to speak, the work of the devil (bodies are dismembered and cooked in a broad-rimmed cauldron). Or rather, it is the critical fruit of the author's unpacking of a shared colonial discourse of demonology. It was this demonic discourse, he argues, that united Puritans, Virginians, Mexicans, and Peruvians in the colonialist opus of conjuring and building "in the wilderness" or "in the desert" those flowering "gardens" and "plantations" that we now call "America." But the Christian (s)word and plow of conquest that once united "the American mind" now (in its updated form, that is) divides us: imperial or "Western" discourses in the U.S. have safe-deposited "Latin America" in that folkloric and dystopic box that used to be called "the Third World" but which is now more likely to be classified by our enlightened university registrars as "non-Western" or "multicultural" (or, if you are as quaintly backward as the State of Florida, "International").

This book promotes a kind of expansive critical thinking increasingly rare in serious, scholarly histories. There is no doubt a small price to pay (in pesos?) for the rich rewards (in dollars?) of such rhetorical expansiveness. At any exchange rate, and like the migrant who leaves the south in search of a better north, the author would have us turn our eyes not to the price but to the prize, and so it is only fitting and just that we should do so first.

The scholarly terrain traversed by the book consists of two, related domains of inquiry and historical practice: "demonology" and "spiritual gardening." Chapter two develops a connective (as opposed to comparative) reading of "the Satanic Epic" in its Iberian, Elizabethan, and Puritan variations. The tropes in John Milton's *Paradise Lost* are revealed to be of Iberian origin; Mexico's national icon, Our Lady of Guadalupe, is the derivative equivalent of the providential discourse of "national election" that invented Queen Elizabeth; the Protestant "Black Legend" is the work of Iberian friars. Chapter three subjects these epic narratives of conquest and providential "national election" to a structural reading of "a shared demonological discourse." Iberian Catholic crosses are the equivalent of Puritan Bibles: both are aimed at "rooting out" the Devil from his New World "fortifications"; Mexico's Aztecs are the inverted mirror image of the Israelites; the Anglo-American historiographical concept of "typology" is revealed to have its equivalent in the Latin Americanist's colonial Iberian "baroque." Chapter four is an inquiry into the tight relationship between demonology and Christian concepts of Nature. William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* is the scene of "preternatural battles . . . between angels and demons for control of Nature" (p. 123); postlapsarian monsters and snakes people the

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landscape, setting the scene for holy men and women to engage them in heroic battle; north and south, the false and emasculating paradise of Satan (the New World) must be destroyed so that it may be saved. Chapter five develops an analysis of the foundational colonial trope of "spiritual gardening." Saintly flowers such as Saint Rose of Lima and the Lily of Quito (Mariana de Jesus) sprout from the fertile gardens won from Satan and become the patron saints of colonial Creole polities; like the Roman Catholic Church and Iberian courtyards, Puritan "plantations" and even "The Great Seal of Connecticut" are enclosed and well-tended "gardens" designed to keep out "the weeds," whoever they may be. These four core chapters of historical analysis are augmented by a parallel text within the text that reads or decodes many illuminating images from the period, from Theodore de Bry's *Americae* to the frontispieces of conventual literature. Finally, the four chapters are bookended (introduction and conclusion) by more polemical interventions in contemporary scholarly gardens.

The book trespasses not only in the enclosed and well-tended gardens of communities of scholars, however; it also responds to the good (gringo) doctor's question, once posed to the author's Ecuadorian (and Korean War veteran) father: "Are you primitive there? Do you have cars? Buildings? Highways? TVs?" (p. xii). There is, too, a riposte to what passes at Harvard as the scholarly equivalent of the doctor's question: Samuel Huntington's *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity* (2004) (p. 34). The political stakes of Huntington's question are today rather high, but the doctor's question points to deeper, cultural prejudices, and these are the telling and true terrain of this book.

As luminous and pathbreaking as the book is, traversing this terrain does, as I noted above, exact a small price. Speaking to the doctor and to diverse communities of scholars and editors places certain linguistic or rhetorical demands on the author; against his better judgment, perhaps, anachronisms are allowed to do their quotidian dirty work, and real contrasts between scholarly communities (for example, the Anglo-Americanist tendency to emplot the history of the north as a story of "success" versus the Latin Americanist topos of "failure") are, in some cases, exaggerated for effect. For example, the author rightfully criticizes the continued use by "Atlantic" historians of national categories, but he then consistently speaks of "the Spanish Empire" and "the British Empire" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when, many historians would argue, no such "national" empires existed. He calls for a "pan-American Atlantic history of ideas" at a moment when the notion of "the history of ideas" has largely been discredited and displaced both in Anglo and Latin America by "the new intellectual history" or "conceptual history." He argues that, in some contrast to British Americanist historians, Latin Americanist historians "have been turning inward" but offers only one somewhat dated example, whereas many more could be produced to argue the opposite. Cañizares-Esguerra concludes his book with a call for "a middle course . . . that finds stories of both misery and redemption throughout the Western Hemisphere" (p. 233), but surely "misery and redemption" are old Renanian tropes that we could do without.

These are small and perhaps only distracting matters when compared to the political and cultural stakes that the book takes on with verve, deep scholarship, and imagination. Doctors and students everywhere will be challenged and enlightened by its pages, and for a wide community of scholars Atlantic history will never be the same.

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STANLEY J. STEIN and BARBARA H. STEIN. *Apogee of Empire: Spain and New Spain in the Age of Charles III, 1759–1789*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 464. $52.00.

In this book, Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein conclude a scholarly project of more than three decades dealing with economic reform in the Spanish Empire. They used a dependency framework in *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America* (1970) to explain the colonial period. In *Silver, Trade, and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe* (2000), they covered the Habsburg centuries and the first half of the Bourbon period. That book focused on the empire's emphasis on silver and gold production and how Spain's monopolistic commercial system served the short-term interests of the state and of certain Hispanic elites but also made the empire dependent on foreign manufacturers, merchants, and bankers.

The first third of the book under review deals with Charles III's reign up to the Esquilache Riots of 1766. During this phase Charles and his ministers attempted authentic reform in Spain. They considered it, however, "renovation," "revival," and "restoration" (p. 26) rather than reform and believed they were returning the empire to a golden age of prosperity and power. They tackled three main problems: the merchant guild (*consulado*) of Cádiz's monopoly over colonial trade and expansion of colonial mining; the challenge of developing the peripheral Spanish provinces and the non-mining colonies; and the determination of Spain's European competitors, especially Britain and France, to profit from the empire. It was one thing, of course, to recognize these problems, but any solution required the crown to challenge elites who profited from the status quo. The king's point man in the reform program was Italian-born Leopoldo di Gregorio, marquis of Esquilache. His policies, including liberalization of colonial trade to permit the participation of other Spanish ports besides Cádiz, threatened the traditional privileged groups. They responded by overthrowing Esquilache's government in the Madrid riots of March 1766. Charles III had to flee Madrid. For the Steins, this ended the attempt at authentic developmental reform in Spain it-

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self, a debatable assertion given the disentailment of lands studied by Richard Herr.

The rest of the book examines Bourbon attempts to reform the colonies, especially the effect of the new policies on Mexico, the Bourbons' wealthiest and most important American possession. The authors are less interested in the details of what transpired in Mexico, however, than they are in the metropolitan policy debates, the political maneuvers and the international pressures that affected New Spain. Lurking behind everything were the British, poised to seize Mexico as they had taken Havana in 1762. But Spain's French allies also presented problems. Because France's economy depended on the sale of goods to Spanish merchants for re-export to the Americas, the French opposed efforts to stimulate manufacturing in Spain. After Charles helped France liberate the Anglo-American colonies, the United States emerged as another commercial threat to Spanish America. Pressure from the Cádiz and Mexico City merchant guilds prevented the crown from including Mexico in the 1765 and 1778 reforms freeing intra-imperial trade. And such liberalization could not resolve the real commercial dilemma: lacking its own industrial base, Spain had to import manufactures from its rivals and then re-export them to the Americas, losing much of the profit. When the crown finally opened New Spain to "free" trade in 1789, merchants in Mexico City and Cádiz still managed to preserve much of their monopoly. By then it was too late for real reform. The Spanish economic and political elite had already abandoned the goal of industrializing Spain. Charles III and his colonial minister, José de Gálvez, were dead. Charles IV lacked his father's drive. And the French Revolution touched off twenty-five years of turmoil, resulting in the independence of most Spanish colonies.

The book makes effective use of a broad array of Spanish and Mexican archival materials, especially the major policy statements by royal ministers and eighteenth-century Spanish political economists. Historians have used many of these materials previously. The Steins' research in the secondary literature largely ended in the 1980s. They ignore a number of relevant recent studies, such as those of Herbert Klein on imperial revenues and Richard Garner on the Mexican economy. The Steins indicate, for example, that the "remarkable surge in silver production, and consequently government income, launching New Spain's greatest silver age" (p. 234) began in the late 1760s, but Garner has shown the Mexican silver boom began decades earlier. Although the reforms assisted it, the surge predated them.

None of this should detract, however, from the contributions made by the book. Part monograph and part synthesis, it offers in impressive detail and even greater insight a rich interpretation of imperial reform during the reign of Charles III. Without explicitly addressing Atlantic Studies literature, the Steins show how the Atlantic world functioned. They also make comprehensible the true nature of imperial commerce, which the traditional merchant elites worked assiduously to obfuscate. Their book will reward any reader interested in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world and the Bourbon reforms.

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JOSÉ M. PORTILLO VALDÉS. *Crisis Atlántica: Autonomía e independencia en la crisis de la monarquía hispana*. Madrid: Fundación Carolina. 2006. Pp. 318.

In 1783, at the conclusion of the struggle of Britain's American colonies for independence, Spain's overseas empire—centered very largely on the Americas (or Indies)—was still the largest in the world, and with major reforms being implemented from Madrid to ensure more effective defense, it seemed destined to endure. Yet within little more than a generation Madrid's dominion had collapsed and a number of new nation-states had emerged in North, Central, and South America. In Europe, modern or contemporary Spain was born from the wreck of empire. This astonishing transformation was less the result of long-term decline, or Spanish inaptitude for empire, than of contingency—above all the forced abdication of King Ferdinand VII in favor of Napoleon Bonaparte's brother, Joseph, and the dilemma that this created for the former Bourbon monarch's erstwhile subjects. Throughout Spain and Spanish America, local juntas emerged claiming to defend the sovereignty of their legitimate monarch. The imminent bicentenary of these events—and of the achievement of independence by the successor states of Spanish America—will inevitably give rise to much celebration but also, one hopes, to critical thinking about just what was involved in these developments, not least because an impressive body of recent work has opened up some exciting and fruitful new perspectives on them. José M. Portillo Valdés is one of the contributors to this field. In the book under review, a work rich in new insights and approaches, Portillo Valdés insists that we should not regard the breakup of Spanish America as inevitable: all sorts of alternative conclusions were possible. But there is more. Rather than viewing the traumatic events that began in 1808 as constituting an exclusively Spanish American or Spanish affair, he sees them as a Hispanic or Atlantic crisis, one involving the entire Spanish Atlantic community. Portillo Valdés is also emphatic that Spanish American independence did not mean the decline of imperial Spain, because the Spain of 1808 was not an empire. In fact, although the Bourbon reforms were driven by a "colonial" or "imperial" peninsular agenda, those reforms were not entirely successful, and the Hispanic Atlantic remained a composite monarchy in 1808. This did not of course mean that the creole elites of Spanish America did not resent peninsular attitudes and control, or that they did not exploit the situation created in and after 1808 to secure greater space for themselves within this Hispanic political community. But, Portillo Valdés emphasizes, this was a world of shared attitudes and responses, exemplified by the creation of juntas in both Spain and

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the Americas; and he argues, whatever some individual creoles wanted from the start and whatever the final outcome, autonomy within that community—not complete independence (or emancipation) from it—was what most sought. It would seem that Spaniards shared this view: the first "Spanish" constitution, prepared in 1812 by the Cortes of Cadiz, included the forthright opening statement that "The Spanish nation is the collection of Spaniards in both hemispheres." So what went wrong? Why did this newly proclaimed political community fragment? Unfortunately, the constitution of 1812 was the work of institutions in Spain—successively, the Central Junta, the Regency, and ultimately the Cortes itself—which lacked legitimacy in the Americas. The Cortes seemed content with a level of representation from the Americas that was less truly representative than that for Spain itself. (In part this reflected established peninsular attitudes regarding the inferiority of America.) By 1814, when Ferdinand VII was restored and both Cortes and constitution overthrown with the restoration of absolutism, the damage had been done, and Ferdinand's attempt to reimpose Bourbon rule in Spanish America by force only confirmed the breach.

In exploring the transformation of Spanish America, and of the political culture of the Hispanic Atlantic community, Portillo Valdés also opens up some of the key concepts of the nineteenth-century state, including sovereignty, nationality, citizenship, and liberalism. The initial fragmentation of authority in and after 1808 in some respects hindered—at least in the short term—the creation of nation states founded on the sovereignty of the people (rather than that of peoples). Similarly, early liberalism in both Spain and Spanish America was curiously tolerant of inequality and privilege, much more than might have been expected. This was particularly marked in the treatment of the majority nonwhite populations. In yet another distinctive aspect of his approach, Portillo Valdés argues that the Basque country offered a model of what the American territories sought within the Hispanic polity (and that ultimately the Spanish liberal state might accommodate). Not everybody will agree with all aspects of Portillo Valdés's analysis. Nonetheless, he has offered some interesting insights on the creation of modern or contemporary Spain and Spanish America, on the notions of nationhood and statehood, and on the character of early liberalism. In view of the recent upsurge of interest in a largely Anglo-Saxon Atlantic, it is also salutary to be reminded that there was a large and long-lived (and enduring) Spanish or Hispanic Atlantic, whose experience can inform our understanding of some of the larger themes of nineteenth and twentieth-century European and global history.

CHRISTOPHER STORRS
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W. R. WARD. *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History, 1670–1789*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. vi, 220. $80.00.

In this book, church historian W. R. Ward addresses an issue connected to some of his earlier works, especially *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (1992): can we speak of a coherent "evangelical movement" encompassing the major religious revivals of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Europe and North America, and if so, what were its defining features? This "global intellectual history" seeks to outline such features, as well as shed light on the origins, major representatives, and breakup of this spiritual wave, depicted as a major force for intellectual change in the West. These are ambitious goals. Ward proposes to achieve them partly by showing how various evangelical leaders conceived their own work in relation to a larger movement.

The introduction presents six themes, an "evangelical hexagon," as the basis for a common identity: attraction to mysticism, emphasis on small-group experience, deferral of the Last Things "to the middle distance," an experimental approach to conversion, hostility to systematic theology, and a vitalist understanding of nature. The story begins in Lutheran Germany with Johann Arndt (d. 1621) and the fervent efforts to realize the Christian life that marked the origins of Pietism. The developing "thought-world of early evangelicalism" was a churning brew that included Biblicism, Paracelsianism, Cabbalism, and apocalypticism. Such currents converged powerfully in Jacob Böhme, who helped inspire radical dissenters of all sorts. Ward argues that mainstream Pietism—which he generally equates with evangelicalism—began with those who sought a similar spiritual vitality, but within the embrace of the orthodox churches.

This was the challenge facing Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705), initiator of the evangelical movement "in the Anglo-Saxon sense of the word" (p. 23). Pursuing a religious renewal that allowed for small-group meetings and thus implicitly reduced clerical control, Spener continually steered around divisive enthusiasms, yet he did diverge from orthodoxy by placing the Last Judgment far enough off to allow a "hope of better times." Promoting a moral activism that would become characteristic of evangelicalism, he downplayed the magical aspects of Arndtian mysticism. But the mystical impulses of the age defied direction; a separate chapter surveys them in such diverse figures as August Hermann Francke, Gottfried Arnold, Pierre Poiret, Antoinette Bourignon, Gerhard Tersteegen, and the radical Jansenists. Ward suggests that while virtually all early evangelicals experimented with mystical theology, this aspect of their identity came early into question.

Among the German and Dutch Reformed, strong clerical control put a brake on movements for revival, yet as pressures for orthodoxy and uniformity gradually eased, genuine strains of Reformed Pietism developed. In Britain and America, Puritanism showed common features with Pietism, and its leaders moved toward a new view of conversion. But here too a clerically enforced orthodoxy largely prevailed until "the heavy hand of the Reformed ministry" lightened; only then could a true Awakening occur. Later chapters discuss

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major eighteenth-century revival leaders. Count Nikolaus von Zinzendorf "tested the boundaries of evangelical accommodation to the limit" (p. 99), yet he qualifies as an evangelical. So of course does John Wesley, who was led to an ambitious program of conversion by German millenarian hopes, but who contributed to the disintegration of the "original evangelical mix" by repudiating apocalyptic speculation. Jonathan Edwards exemplifies continuing ministerial authority among the Reformed, yet as a revivalist he fits Ward's pattern.

If such leaders shared a sense of common cause, however, that sense grew increasingly tenuous. Ward argues that the "disintegration of the old evangelicalism" was largely complete by the late eighteenth century. F. C. Oetinger tried to develop an eclectic systematization of evangelical thought; the irony was that "system" was inherently inimical to evangelicals. Emanuel Swedenborg, Ludwig Lavater, and J. H. Jung-Stilling all inflated certain elements of the "evangelical mix" at the expense of others. The final death-blows included the apocalyptic shocks of the French Revolution. By the time of the Second Great Awakening, the evangelical heritage had permanently splintered.

Ward's prodigious learning is evident on every page. He shows a feel for early modern religious culture that can come only from a lifetime of sensitive reading. But he writes as if for a handful of fellow specialists. His chapters are almost devoid of signposts, the main themes often frustratingly obscure. Moreover, his wandering treatment does not show clearly how each figure saw his own role in a broader movement, perhaps because the case for a single coherent movement remains questionable. Much of Ward's discussion reveals basic differences among major figures; the "hexagon" is difficult to trace. We see many signs of disintegration, few of genuine integration. Arguments for a sense of "mutual charity" in the earlier decades are weak support for a clearly delimited international front, not to mention a "global" one. Scholars have had difficulties enough in trying to define Pietism; the effort to compass an even broader evangelicalism courts major conceptual problems. Still, Ward manages to draw many connections in a thought-provoking way; advanced students of early modern religion can benefit greatly from his insights and erudition.

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Stephanie E. Smallwood. *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. 273. $29.95.

Ever since the rise of the campaign two centuries ago against the trafficking of Africans across the Atlantic, the experience of the enslaved in the middle passage from Africa to the Americas has been a central element in investigations of the slave trade. It figured in the extensive parliamentary enquiries and dictated the nature of British interventions in the slave trade before the latter was outlawed to British subjects in 1807. The middle passage has since become a metaphor for the sheer brutality and inhumanity of the slave trade. It is this theme that preoccupies Stephanie E. Smallwood's study, the title of which is intended to distinguish the experiences of enslaved Africans forced to cross the ocean from those born as slaves in the Americas. Estimates of the scale of the Atlantic slave trade suggest that at least 12.5 million Africans became "saltwater" slaves. Countless others might have become so were it not for the fact that they died before boarding ship at the African coast. Even if we disregard the latter, the Atlantic slave trade was the largest oceanic forced migration in, and by any standard one of the bloodiest stains on, human history. Seen in this context, the potential significance of Smallwood's book can hardly be understated.

Recent studies of the middle passage have largely focused on the mortality of the enslaved. In doing so, they have been primarily quantitative in nature and have underlined the extraordinarily harsh treatment and death rates experienced by captive Africans en route to American slavery. While not ignoring such methods and their findings, Smallwood largely eschews quantification of the slave trade, preferring instead more narrative, qualitative approaches to study of the middle passage and its consequences for its victims. Her principal source of evidence is the archive of the English Royal African Company, which received a royal charter in 1672 and, formally at least, monopolized the English slave trade through 1698. The company records are a rich source of evidence about the operation of the early English slave trade in particular and the Atlantic slave trade more generally. Its archive, Smallwood reminds us, offers two types of evidence pertinent to her subject. One is ledgers and accounts, embodying detailed information about the purchase and sale of enslaved people and their mortality. The other is the private and other correspondence between agents in the field and London officials, which, it is claimed, reveals the mentality and behavior of those who ran the slave trade. It is upon the latter source that Smallwood principally draws, believing it to provide insights into the dichotomy between "the traders' will to commodify people and the captives' will to remain fully recognizable as human subjects" (p. 6). Her narrative traces how, in consequence of the actions of Royal African Company officials and their slave-supplying African partners, African captives were transformed through war and other forms of violence into saleable merchandise in their home continent; transported, often in shackles, in the most brutal and disease-inducing conditions imaginable; and ultimately resold as labor units to new owners in the Americas. Analysis of each of these elements typically revolves around records of specific events or voyage accounts considered to be illustrative of the processes at work. The overall impression is one of relentless dehumanization, whereby Africans were stripped of kinship ties, dignity, and a sense of self-worth, and the survivors of the middle passage were left to try to create "kinship and community out of the disaggregated units remain-

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ing after the market's dispersal of its human wares" (p. 183).

Smallwood's book is eloquently written but, nevertheless, remains a grim reminder of the human costs of the Atlantic slave trade and a powerful commentary on the market forces that helped to nurture it. Tellingly, for Smallwood, it left "saltwater" slaves, as dehumanized victims of a constant stream of one-way departures from Africa, without the possibility of "narrative closure" (p. 206). This may have been the case, and it may have had implications for how enslaved Africans and their descendants rebuilt their lives in the diaspora. But in her almost unrelenting depiction of the trade's dehumanizing impact, Smallwood does perhaps understate, in her own words, "the captives' will" to fight back and to assert their humanity. A number of instances of slave suicide and rebellion are cited in the book, but the issue of slave resistance, in whatever form it took, deserves more attention than it receives here. Shipboard rebellions, for example, were far from uncommon and, importantly in the context of Smallwood's book, were often associated by contemporaries with the ethnic groups of slaves that figure so prominently in her study. Equally valuable are the contemporary testimonies and narratives of enslaved Africans, which, with one exception, are largely overlooked by Smallwood. Such testimonies raise important issues of interpretation. Yet, while commonly underscoring the inhumanity of the slave trade, they also remind their readers of the determination of the enslaved to assert their humanity and build new lives in the face of seemingly insuperable odds. Smallwood is surely right to highlight the brutality and trauma identified with the Atlantic slave trade, but the negativity associated with her narrative perhaps needs to be balanced to some degree with an acknowledgment that, despite the very worst that the enslavers could do to destroy it, the spirit of African captives ultimately remained unquenchable.

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Alvin O. Thompson. *Flight to Freedom: African Runaways and Maroons in the Americas*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 381. $40.00.

As people of African descent in the Americas search for a usable past, it is little surprise that they stop on the figure of the maroon as an ideal type to celebrate African American resistance to enslavement. The attraction of marronage for contemporary historiography is that the maroon can be seen in heroic terms, as a person who not only refused to accept enslavement but who also advanced a vision of society different from and often opposed to that which was advanced by slaveholders or enslaved persons. For historians looking for discourses about the place of people of African descent in the western hemisphere that escape the strictures of having to talk about black culture within the restricting confines of slavery (African American culture as emerging within slavery or as a response to slavery), marronage is a very attractive proposition. The maroon did not only defy white ideas about the proper place of Africans in America but also forged a life for himself (relatively few maroons were women) that may have been hard but which was undeniably independent. Unsurprisingly, scholars have found such people attractive counterpoints to enslaved people. The literature on marronage has consequently been increasing rapidly.

Alvin O. Thompson's synthetic work on marronage is an invaluable guide to this burgeoning literature. He seems to have read everything written about maroons in a variety of European empires in the Americas and distills what he has read wisely into a compelling narrative, based around maroons as lovers of freedom and defenders of freedom, if only for themselves rather than for black people in general. He sees remarkable similarities in the experiences of maroons over both time and space. Thompson, in comprehensive chapters on the comparative history of marronage and on how maroons organized themselves politically and economically, suggests that the common African background of maroons and their common desire for freedom make maroons truly pan-American figures whose histories merge rather than diverge. In this respect, Thompson counters a literature on marronage that insists on the specificity of separate maroon communities. He favors an approach that stresses similarities based on an inner logic derived from similar experiences that transcended spatial and linguistic barriers. That logic originated not only in the necessity for maroons to isolate themselves from European domination but also from the centrality of slavery as the condition against which maroons continually measured their commitment to freedom. The pan-American approach Thompson takes to marronage supports such an interpretation. Thompson's major contribution is to provide means whereby different maroon communities can be contrasted and, most importantly, compared. The writing is fluent and succinct; the judgments are sound and generally defensible; and the wideness of Thompson's perspective is commendable. Thompson's book is a signal achievement that scholars of both marronage and slavery will find very useful.

Where Thompson is less convincing is in his determination to see maroons entirely within a framework of resistance to enslavement. This framework gives too much agency to slaveholders as the people determining social structures. One might try and interpret marronage outside of the prism of slavery; maroons were surely more than just former enslaved people, as Thompson terms them. They created, as a host of writers canvassed by Thompson suggest, viable societies that established rules and modes of behavior that developed independently of slavery. Thompson's focus on resistance as the sole lens through which marronage can be examined limits maroon cultural creativity.

Placing maroons primarily within the context of resistance also masks what seems to be the largest problem in a study that counterposes repeatedly enslave-

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ment and marronage as opposite conditions. Enslaved persons did not find marronage as attractive an option as we would like them to do. To be maroon was to live a hard life because maroons existed in most cases in difficult physical environments at the edges of European settlement. Thompson assigns a considerable role to maroons in breaking down the plantation system but he overstates his case. Few enslaved persons became maroons, and maroon communities remained, in the majority of cases, rather small in size and possibly in influence. Moreover, while slave owners were forced in several areas to acknowledge the reality of maroon power, the resistance that maroons showed to European power was not manifest in challenges to the plantation system. The challenges that did occur came from enslaved people rather than maroons. Moreover, the plantation system mostly survived and flourished, no matter how much resistance was shown toward it by people of African descent.

Where Thompson is especially convincing is in giving readers a sense both of maroons as groups and also as individuals. His maroons are resolute in defending their bodies and their freedom against powerful adversaries to whom the very existence of independent black people was an affront to racial pride. It is a stirring and well-told story. A history of marronage provides one part of a usable past in which Africans shape the character of freedom in the Americas. Thompson's synthesis advances that usable past considerably.

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SEAN X. GOUDIE. *Creole America: The West Indies and the Formation of Literature and Culture in the New Republic*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. 275. $55.00.

Sean X. Goudie makes an important contribution to a burgeoning body of scholarship dedicated to repositioning narratives of the development of the early United States in a wider circum-Atlantic context. With the demise of an exceptionalism that insisted upon the uniqueness of the American case, scholars have been productively mining the ways in which the economic, racial, political, and social dynamics of that world shaped the early United States. Whereas exceptionalism presented a narrative in which American culture was almost entirely self-generated, this new work emphasizes the way exogenous forces influenced, even determined, the future direction of the young republic. In the case of Goudie's study, the continuing dominance of European imperial economies in the Atlantic world, and especially Great Britain in the West Indies, formed the crucial context for U.S. debates over American identity and the shape of the new republic's imperial policies. The revolution, rather than signaling the arrival (at last) of a distinct and fully formed American identity, instigates a crisis of identity that forces these former British colonials to consider who and what they wish to be. Goudie's ambitious study focuses on the deep ambivalence revolutionary Americans felt about the future of the republic and their identities in the wake of their formal separation from the British Empire.

The determinant historical event for Goudie's book is the unsuccessful attempt by American diplomats to secure permission from any of Europe's imperial powers, but especially Great Britain, to trade directly with their colonial territories in the Americas. That failure, Goudie suggests, not only insured the United States' continued commercial dependence upon Great Britain, but also motivated the newly independent U.S. Americans to demonize their analogues in the British West Indies. The book's central premise is that during the revolution and the early republic American statesmen and writers cast the West Indies as a shadow figure for the United States. Goudie then traces the way this triangular relationship among the United States, Great Britain, and its colonial possessions in the West Indies, with its complex play of colonialisms, racial politics, commercial interests, and cultural narratives, molded the politics and literature of the early republic.

Goudie's analysis of American anxieties about the West Indies overtly challenges the theories scholars have used to describe those relations. In place of colonialism and postcolonialism, Goudie promotes a new term for the dynamic of American involvement in the economic and cultural sphere of the Atlantic world that he calls paracolonialism. Goudie advocates this new theorization of paracolonialism because he believes it repositions the relationship between U.S. and European colonialisms, a relationship that has been distorted by the implicit chronology and binary structure of pre- and postcolonial theoretical conceptualizations. Instead, paracolonialism allows us to see how "the United States is both colonialist and not colonialist" (p. 12). Throughout the book paracolonialism is paired with a second key theoretical formulation, "the creole complex," which describes the challenging cultural and economic conditions within which U.S. Americans conceived of their new identity. Although Americans understood themselves to be creoles, the concept of the creole had become problematic. On the one hand it had been tainted by European arguments about new world degeneracy and, on the other, creole also described West Indian planters and settlers from whom Americans wanted to distance themselves for racial and other reasons. Goudie strategically places the creole complex at the center of American intellectual and cultural production in the early republic.

Goudie traces the interplay between paracolonialism (which essentially comes to describe his account of the political economy of the circum-Atlantic world) and the creole complex as it manifests itself in a series of major political and cultural figures. The first half of the book focuses on Benjamin Franklin and Alexander Hamilton, treated principally as statesmen who both attempted to negotiate the terms of U.S. relations with the British West Indies. At the same time, each sought to formulate his own model of creole American identity

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in dialogue with West Indian models. The second half of the book focuses on three writers of *belles-lettres*: the poet Philip Freneau, the playwright J. Robinson, and the novelist Charles Brockden Brown. Through a careful analysis of these men's writings Goudie traces the varied ways in which narratives of West Indian decadence and degeneracy shaped early debates about the future of the American empire and the conceptualization of a new American identity. If his theoretical terms, especially paracolonialism, at times become cumbersome to his argument (rather than facilitating it), Goudie's central observation about the vexed dynamics created by the strange disequilibrium between the United States' political independence and its economic dependence in the 1780s and 1790s, and the role the West Indies come to play in the American imagination, makes for provocative reading.

EDWARD LARKIN
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DAVID LAMBERT and ALAN LESTER, editors. *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 376. $99.00.

The new imperial history has become one strand in what one might label the "transnational turn" of the last decade. This volume, "about some of the ways that individual people made the British empire and some of the ways that the empire made them" (p. 1), is one of an increasing number of edited collections focused on transnational lives. Such work has emerged out of a historiography that seeks ways to destabilize categories of metropole and colony, to draw cross-colonial connections, to challenge assumptions about regional particularity, and to focus on the interpersonal and information networks that bound imperial systems together. In the search for methodological solutions to the challenges posed by transnational history, biography has loomed large. Individual lives often slip across the boundaries imposed by nationally focused stories in useful and suggestive ways.

All but one of the twelve subjects of this book spent considerable periods of time at particular imperial localities, but they also moved from one to another. They were more temporary sojourners than were settlers, but they intersected more profoundly with local conditions than did travelers. The "imperial careering" that the book deals with is a descriptor deliberately chosen to evoke "volition, agency and self-advancement" as well as "accident, chance encounter" and factors beyond an individual's control (p. 21). The majority of the subjects of the book found their careers in empire in the most literal sense. They include two missionaries, four colonial governors, and two governor's wives. Others are more difficult to categorize, such as the poet Charles Murray, the mercenary Gregor MacGregor, or the nurse and entrepreneur Mary Seacole. Even those whose status is apparently easily defined are revealed in these chapters as complex border crossers, as men and women whose ideas and identities were in constant renegotiation with their changing contexts. The final chapter of the volume, by Catherine Hall, demonstrates how imperial careering might take place without ever leaving Britain. Her study of the writings of Harriet Martineau, writings that interpreted both empire and political economy for a popular British readership, reveals that personal geography is not confined to literal movement across space.

Editors David Lambert and Alan Lester's introduction provides a useful background to ways of dealing with space in imperial historiography. They trace the shift from the more "traditional" techniques of, for example, P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins or Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, to the new imperial history influenced by postcolonial approaches that emerged in the 1990s. Of particular importance to the approaches followed in this book has been an increasing emphasis not only on the internal fractures of the colonial project but also on the (often contested) networks that bound it together. In these formulations categories of core and periphery are questioned, rather than assumed. Lambert and Lester point out that imperial networks were provisional and contingent, shifting according to changing personal association or geographic locale. Rather than the road or rail network, therefore, Lambert and Lester choose the kaleidoscope as their metaphorical explanation of how imperial networks operated. Drawing on the theories of geographer Doreen Massey, they argue that the networks forged by personal lives connect imperial spaces in ways that highlight how places are "not so much bounded entities, but rather specific juxtapositions or constellations of multiple trajectories" (p. 13). What interests the contributors to this volume is the way that subjectivities are wrought by dwelling in particular places, and the connections that exist between subjectivity and the imagination of place.

One of the key advantages of the approach followed in this book is that it helps to lay bare and explain some of the inherent contradictions in both individual lives and colonial policies. The contributors demonstrate how these interacted with distinct localities and how individuals changed over time, both in response to engagement with place and through particular networks. Many of the individuals discussed in this book found themselves caught up in broad, and sometimes conflicting, colonial projects and interest groups, be they settler, governmental, or indigenous. Lambert and Lester argue that one of the key advantages of focusing on particular controversies and difficulties faced by individual colonial subjects is that it "helps to mediate between overly generalized, 'global' models of empire and narrowly particularist, 'local' studies" so that the oft-cited "tensions of empire" come into precise focus (p. 30). Shining light on particular lives allows some important and sometimes surprising interventions in existing literatures and historical debates to be made. Thus Laurence Brown's account of governor Arthur Gordon's tenure in Trinidad, Mauritius, and Fiji allows him to mesh elite and subaltern migration in ways that are sel-

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dom attempted, and thus to place both imperial policy and indentured migration experience in the same analytical frame. Jonathan Hyslop's discussion of Scottish poet Charles Murray reveals how an ostensibly "national" culture was profoundly implicated in transnational space and in the peculiar role that Scots played in British imperial expansion.

The editors are eloquent on the strengths of the approach of transnational biography as a way of understanding empire, and, overall, the collection is a worthy demonstration of these possibilities. Nevertheless, this is also a method that presents particular challenges, and, inevitably, these challenges are met with uneven success across the various chapters. For the contributors to fulfill the promises made in the introduction, they must detail the events of an individual life, trace that life across geographically distinct localities with due regard for both their connections and their particularities, and demonstrate how their account contributes to broader understandings of imperial systems or complicates existing nationally focused interpretations. These are big tasks, even without the space constraints of a chapter in an edited collection. Biographers must, of course, become absorbed in the lives of their protagonists. But these lives, and their minutiae, will not necessarily have an intrinsic interest or value for readers. This is especially the case in a collection such as this one, where most readers are likely to approach the particular biographical subject not on its own terms but as a route to understanding larger issues relating to the history of the British Empire. The best chapters in this volume are therefore those that highlight these broader concerns most effectively. Zoë Laidlaw's chapter on the life of Richard Bourke, soldier and colonial governor, in Ireland, the Cape Colony, and New South Wales stands out in this regard. Her discussion of Bourke's life and career is woven seamlessly into an analytical engagement with themes of liberalism, governance, relations with indigenous people, religion, and Britishness. Careful cross-referencing across the particular geographic localities shows how context and location, individual concerns and interpersonal networks all contributed to broader social and political shifts occurring across the British Empire. Chapters such as these show how tracing colonial lives across the British Empire can act as a route to new understandings of how that empire was made.

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KATHERINE ELLINGHAUS. *Taking Assimilation to Heart: Marriages of White Women and Indigenous Men in the United States and Australia, 1887–1937.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2006. Pp. xxxiv, 276. $49.95.

There is a dearth of careful comparative analysis on assimilation policies in the context of colonization, and even fewer studies from the perspective of interracial marriage between indigenous and non-indigenous subjects. Katherine Ellinghaus's analysis of assimilation brings a valuable fresh perspective on the subject through the examination of interracial marriages of Native American men with white women in the United States, and Aboriginal men and white women in Australia. Studies in both countries generally focus on broader aspects of policy or on the more common occurrence of marriage or cohabitation of indigenous women with non-indigenous men. Ellinghaus's study offers insights on racism and prejudice within the United States and Australia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and how public policy and private lives were affected by these phenomena.

Ellinghaus's analysis works on a number of levels by drawing on interracial marriages that were unusual in themselves—that is, marriage between indigenous men and white women—to foreground public practice during the fifty years between 1887 and 1937. These dates were chosen because they marked key events in the development of assimilation policy: the 1887 Dawes Act in the United States, when assimilation was legislatively enshrined, and the first Conference of Aboriginal Welfare administrators in Australia in 1937, at the height of the assimilationist/absorptionist policies, particularly in Western Australia, Northern Territory, and Queensland. After a comprehensive introductory chapter, four chapters focus on the situation in the United States, three chapters relate to Australia, and two further chapters provide a broader perspective on each of the two nations.

The examination of assimilation delineates the shadow cast by initial contact that was bloody, and some claim genocidal, in both the United States and Australia. From "smoothing the dying pillow" of indigenous inhabitants, settlers turned to assimilation when it became clear that both they and the indigenous inhabitants were here to stay. The face of assimilation changed to aggressive absorptionist policies with the belief that interracial marriages and cohabitation produced "mixed race" children whose indigenous ancestry could be "bred out." Nevertheless assimilationist values were embodied in policies put in place in both the United States and Australia to remove indigenous and mixed-race children from their families and to educate them in missions and government institutions with the aim of preparing the children for fuller participation in mainstream society.

While it is useful to examine the similarities between U.S. and Australian policy and practice, the differences are equally illuminating. As the United States was colonized earlier than Australia, there were more Native American men who had received higher education and professional qualifications than Aboriginal men during Ellinghaus's period of study. It is only in the late twentieth century that indigenous Australians have achieved higher education to the level of some of the Native Americans a hundred years earlier. Racist policies and practices that disenfranchised and excluded indigenous people from mainstream society in Australia ensured that they were maintained largely as a source of cheap, relatively uneducated labor. The marriages on which

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Ellinghaus draws in her analysis reflect this difference: those in the United States were of partners who were educated, whereas in Australia the marriages were of working-class men and women.

Some of the women who married Native American professional men may have done so because it fitted their humanitarian notions. As Ellinghaus puts it: "After all, what more could a 'civilizing angel' do than combine her influence in both the public and private sphere by marrying a Native American man—especially if that man was already a promising candidate for assimilation?" (p. 83). In Australia, however, the reverse occurred; white women who married indigenous (and other colored) men were generally excluded from white society and incorporated into the indigenous family and community of their husbands. They became outcasts in their own society. All these marriages occurred in spite of restrictive legislation that circumscribed them. They embodied the contradictions of exclusion and assimilation faced by Native American and indigenous Australians.

The social environments in the United States and Australia differed. The presence of a significant population of African Americans in a very multicultural society in the United States created tensions of another sort. Racist attitudes toward African Americans deflected much negative attention away from Native Americans. Indeed by the 1930s there appeared to be an increasing fascination with Native American culture and society. In Australia, however, the dwindling indigenous population and the presence of colored people of indigenous, Pacific Island, and Asian backgrounds and others of mixed-race ancestry were most visible in the north of Australia. The White Australia Policy was in full swing as the white settler population asserted its "superior" presence.

This book is valuable for its illuminating transnational analysis and for the opportunity it provides for Australians and Americans to reflect on their own histories of treatment of their indigenous populations.

CHRISTINE CHOO
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ROBERT FRANKEL. *Observing America: The Commentary of British Visitors to the United States, 1890–1950.* (Studies in American Thought and Culture.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 318. $50.00.

For more than two centuries the relationship between Great Britain and the United States has been unique. No other European country has seen its colony wrest away its independence, change its character under the influence of a wide variety of immigrant cultures while retaining the language and many of the traditions of the mother country, and become the politically, economically, and culturally dominant nation of the world in the twentieth century. For the British the relationship with the United States has been much like that of a parent with a child who has left home to strike out on its own after a stormy domestic quarrel, has subsequently done well, and both appals by its naïveté and brashness and excites by its innovation and energy.

Robert Frankel traces the commentaries of four astute British observers of the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: the colorful crusading journalist W. T. Stead, the Catholic critic and man of letters G. K. Chesterton, the fiction writer and social prophet H. G. Wells, and the Marxist political scientist, educator, author, and prominent Labour Party member Harold Laski. Drawing on what must have been an exhaustive reading of this very prolific quartet, Frankel provides a careful, objective summary of their responses to such matters as the policies of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt, the New Deal, the forms of government, materialism, attitudes to Russia, the world wars, Anglo-American relations, and American responses to capitalism, socialism, and democracy. For any student of these four writers or of the many subjects with which they dealt, this book is a valuable resource.

The person reading the book's subtitle and expecting to find in it an analysis of widely held British attitudes toward the United States during the early twentieth century will, however, be disappointed. Although the commentaries of some other writers—notably George Bernard Shaw, Rudyard Kipling, and Sidney and Beatrice Webb—are given some attention, the focus is almost entirely on Wells, Stead, Chesterton, and Laski. Why this quartet was selected is never really explained except that they were the most widely and frequently published of the Britons who did the grand tour of the United States. They certainly are not a representative sample of British opinion, and not all of them even lived and wrote through the whole period covered by the book (Stead died in 1912 and Chesterton in 1936). Throughout the body of the text, Frankel remains the summarizer and the paraphraser, offering little judgment of the importance of the commentaries, what they might say about each country, how they saw each other, or how they functioned together in a half-century of conflict. From World War I to the Iraq invasion of 2003, the relationship between Britain and the United States has been fraught with tension but highly important to both; and the publicly expressed opinions of the respected authors Frankel treats must have had an impact on public attitudes and government policies.

If there is any thesis being offered, it is briefly stated in the five-page conclusion. That is, the four notable commentators generally liked the United States and Americans, they admired the American egalitarian spirit and the republican ideals, they recognized that the growth of American capitalism was deepening economic inequality and consequently eroding the principles on which American society had been founded, and they believed that the American Constitution tied the country to a rigid form of government that effectively blocked necessary reform. Such conclusions seem very general and tacked on at the end rather than guiding—or at least punctuating—the long recapitulations of the commentaries.

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The book would have benefited from the much wider consideration and analysis of British accounts of the United States suggested in its subtitle. Though not as prolific as Frankel's four, there were numerous other British commentators whose views are provocative and worthy of attention. Who better to consider than the Anglo-American Winston Churchill? Or the philosopher Bertrand Russell or the historian Denis Brogan? What about observant writers such as Somerset Maugham, who visited the United States frequently and wrote British propaganda there during World War II? Or D. H. Lawrence, Evelyn Waugh, Vera Brittain, Cecil Roberts, Sir Philip Gibbs, or Alfred Duff Cooper?

Why, too, end the examination in 1950, a date which Frankel seems to have chosen only because the last of his four commentators, Laski, died that year? As he admits in his closing lines, although the last half of the twentieth century saw the end of the grand tour of the United States by Britons of the stature of Wells and the others, America has never ceased to be to be written about by British observers. Indeed, it might be argued that Alistair Cooke's "Letter From America," broadcast weekly on British radio for decades after 1950, reached and influenced more Britons than anything written by Wells, Laski, Chesterton, or Stead. McCarthyism, Cold War politics, the Vietnam War, the emergent power of the American religious right, and the authoritarian, nation-building agenda of the Bush administration Neo-Cons have been closely watched by writers such as John Le Carré, Harold Pinter, and Christopher Hitchens. Even as its power and eminence in the world declines, the United States still fascinates Britons and is too important to their—and the world's—well-being not to merit further scrutiny.

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ROBERT FRIEDEL. *A Culture of Improvement: Technology and the Western Millennium*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 2007. Pp. x, 588. $39.95.

Robert Friedel has written a detailed, single-volume overview of the history of Western technology in the last thousand years, covering everything from the emergence of the medieval plow to the modern space shuttle. There have been attempts to do this before, including Lewis Mumford's classic *Technics and Civilization* (1934), T. K. Derry and Trevor I. Williams's encyclopedic *A Short History of Technology* (1961), and, most recently, Donald S. L. Cardwell's *The Norton History of Technology* (1994). Friedel's work falls on this spectrum somewhere between Mumford and Cardwell. Mumford was heavy on theme and short on detail, while Derry and Williams and (to a lesser extent) Cardwell were long on detail and short on unifying themes. Friedel provides an abundance of detail but uses two central themes to guide his narrative. He also draws heavily on the flowering of scholarship in the history of technology over the past three decades.

Friedel does not try to cover all aspects of Western technology. For instance, he provides little about mining after the sixteenth century. His coverage, nonetheless, is quite wide. He introduces most chapters with a first-hand account of a particular technological change, such as the earliest report of the use of eyeglasses or the 1719 London riots against calico. He then uses these incidents to lead into many of the usual subjects: the rise of steam power, textiles, telegraphy, and electrical energy, for instance. However, Friedel spends more time than previous histories in dealing with less well known technologies, such as pottery, brewing, and even cheese making.

Earlier synthetic surveys of the history of Western technology focused almost entirely on major inventions and inventors. Recent scholarship in the field has demonstrated the importance of the social context in which technology appears and the importance of actors other than the usual inventors and engineers, including women and users of technology. Friedel is sensitive to this scholarship. Thus, to provide just one example, he discusses the progressive displacement of women in the manufacture of cheese and alcoholic drinks as the scale of production grew. Friedel, however, does not let the new emphasis on social context, race, gender, and consumers completely dominate his text. He balances a detailed account of technological change with much more consideration of social context and the technological role of once-neglected actors than previous synthesizers did.

Friedel hangs his narrative on two key concepts. The core of his analysis is reflected in the book's title. Friedel maintains that the key factor behind Western technological dynamism in the past millennium was the presence of a "culture of improvement," a set of values and beliefs that permeated all levels of Western society that held that "things could be done better" (p. 2). This belief, he argues, is not the same as a belief that progress is inevitable. It involved no particular measure of improvement. This thesis strongly influences Friedel's narrative, leading him to place relatively less emphasis on initial invention than previous accounts and relatively more emphasis on the small, incremental improvements made by ordinary, anonymous workers and tinkerers.

The second major concept Friedel uses is "capture." He sees Western society's ability to "capture" and incorporate, or socialize, technological improvements permanently into its knowledge base, instead of allowing them to fade after the original innovator died, as central to the West's rise. He sees this process of "capture" as essential "for explaining not only what was distinctive about Western technological culture, but also what conditions shaped the modern experience of that culture, including its enormous capacity for expansion and dominance" (p. 6). The concept of "capture" affects Friedel's writing. His narrative pays much more attention to printing, the rise of science, the Enlightenment, the patent system, professional societies, and technical education than one finds in previous synthetic accounts of the history of technology, because he sees

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these as ways by which Western societies "captured," or permanently incorporated, technological innovations.

In his preface Friedel promises that his use of theory will be "unobtrusive" and not inhibit the flow of his narrative. If anything his use of the "culture of improvement" and "capture" is a bit too unobtrusive. The book would have profited had Friedel reminded the reader a bit more frequently about his theses. Friedel, moreover, does not provide a good explanation of why a "culture of improvement" developed in the West and not elsewhere, and why the West evolved means of capturing technological change, while other civilizations did not. Nonetheless, this is the best survey one is likely to find of the history of Western technology. It hits all the obvious elements, but it also includes voices not usually heard and incorporates the social processes and institutions that have influenced the growth of technology.

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MANSOUR BONAKDARIAN. *Britain and the Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1906–1911: Foreign Policy, Imperialism, and Dissent.* (Modern Intellectual and Political History of the Middle East.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 2006. Pp. xlix, 577. $75.00.

Mansour Bonakdarian's book is an important original contribution, based on extensive research, to both the literature on modern Iranian history and to that on British Empire and diplomatic history. It also strikes some blows for reason in discussions of Orientalism. The book documents the great courage and extraordinary dedication to fighting governmental policy and championing an Asian nation shown by Britain's greatest Orientalist of the time, Edward Granville Browne.

Bonakdarian presents British policy in detail, showing how the British Liberal Party government, especially foreign minister Edward Grey, switched British policy from its dominant nineteenth-century anti-Russian stand to one that sought agreement with Russia, due largely to the rise in German power. The Liberals came to power in 1906, the same year that Iran's "constitutional revolution" began in the summer. The British ambassador and his chargé d'affaires, Evelyn Grant-Duff, both favored the opposition as against the Russian-backed royalists. Grant-Duff allowed the opposition to bring thousands of Iranians into the winter Legation in Tehran, in a huge *bast*, or general strike, which brought royal concessions and ultimately a modern constitution that created an elected parliament and greatly limited the power of the shahs. Grey was furious, as he was already pursuing the Anglo-Russian accord of 1907, which divided Iran into Russian, British, and neutral spheres. Subsequently the British increasingly cooperated with the Russians, backing an ultimatum that demanded the dismissal of Iran's American Treasurer-General, Morgan Shuster and sending troops to southern Iran as Russia sent them to the north, effectively ending independent constitutional government.

These policies, as Bonakdarian details, did not have universal British support, and their most important and active opponent was Browne, professor of Arabic at Cambridge University. Bonakdarian should have placed Browne's biography early in his text, which would have shown that his humanism was combined with longstanding anti-Russian and pro-Iranian convictions that were profoundly aroused by British policies. For several years, once Grey led the change in British policies, Browne put much of his time into organizing, speaking, and writing against these policies and in favor of Iran's revolution. He was the most important voice in the influential Persia Committee, which also included businessmen and politicians and received support from a few other prominent Orientalists. Browne also paid several Iranian revolutionary exiles incognito, by creating with his own money new research posts at Cambridge University.

While some of Browne's supporters on the Persia Committee, which combated official Iran policies, joined because of their own economic interests in Iran or their anti-Russian sentiments, Browne was primarily there to defend Iranians and their promising revolution. His own classic book on that revolution was written largely in order to have a practical effect and as such occasionally weighted its analyses in favor of Iran and its revolutionaries. Browne's distortions were minor compared to those of the revolution's enemies in Britain, however, who often painted overwhelmingly negative pictures both of the ulama, who largely supported the revolution, and of the popular leaders who fought for its victory.

Specialists in British and international foreign policies will find much that is new in this book, which makes thorough use of published and unpublished documents in English and Persian to give novel details on the tortuous course of British pre–World War I international relations insofar as these affected Iran. Given the carnage brought on by that war and its dubious outcome, it is difficult to maintain that the British gained any significant advantage by helping the Russians to overthrow a genuinely popular movement in Iran. That movement succeeded in setting up a constitutional monarchy in place of an autocracy. The continuing Iranian suspicion of "perfidious Albion" goes back to British actions in this period, which foreshadowed later actions to undermine popular governments in Iran, notably in the originally British plan for the overthrow of the popular Mohammed Mosaddeq (carried out by the United States in 1953).

Bonakdarian's book will be useful for classes in British imperial history, international relations, and Iranian history, while its details about Browne should also benefit students of Iranian literature and culture and those interested in the history of British Orientalism and academe.

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GLENDA SLUGA. *The Nation, Psychology, and International Politics, 1870–1919.* (Palgrave Macmillan Transnational History Series.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2006. Pp. xi, 216. $69.95.

This book is a history of how psychology has been used to explain nations and nationalism. Given that its center of gravity is the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, one can fairly describe it as a contribution to the history of diplomatic and international relations. Glenda Sluga is concerned to explain how nations came to be viewed as psychological realities. She argues that the new science of psychology "became a widely accepted and seductive tool" that helped bring forth the concept of national self-determination and that made it easier to imagine "the collective subjectivity of nations and the interiority of national subjectivities" (p. 81). Her focus is chiefly on liberal-minded intellectuals in France, Britain, and the United States who were either directly involved in the Paris conference or whose ideas shaped the views of the negotiators there. She engages the swirl of activists, organizations, and government bodies that drew on psychological concepts in their struggle to reconcile national self-determination with the tenets of liberalism. Her account is especially noteworthy for demonstrating the biological and hereditarian cast of arguments in liberal understandings of self-determination. In telling this story, Sluga is little distracted by contemporary theorizing about nationalism: the bibliography contains nothing by Benedict Anderson, Rogers Brubaker, Ernst Gellner, or Michael Hechter.

But there is another, equally important narrative hiding behind the book's title. Indeed, Sluga has effectively written two books in one: the first is an account of the psychological interpretations of nationalism that shaped attitudes at the Paris conference, and the second is a gender history of the conference itself. The last two chapters of the book are devoted almost entirely to gender issues, one on the relationship of the "woman question" to nationalism and another on the efforts of women's rights activists to have their concerns heard at the conference. In telling these two stories, Sluga has given us a kind of Google-Earth narrative of international affairs in 1919: her account begins locally at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, then zooms out to a broad discursive landscape of "psychology, race, and the national question" (p. 61), before zooming back in to Paris and the efforts of Ellen Key, Jane Addams, and others who appropriated "the language of nationalism and the concepts of 'peoples' and 'self-determination' " (p. 129) to advance their causes. Zooming out, Sluga has filtered her view to reveal psychological landmarks; zooming in her attention is drawn to gender landmarks. It is the discourse of "self-determination"—national and female—that she uses to join together these two narrative flights and that she sees as crucial in understanding the "overlap in the woman and national questions" (p. 108).

The marked disjunction between the book's two halves suggests that this strategy has been only partially successful. In particular, the gender half appears to draw only obliquely on the earlier discussions of psychology, dropping as it does two of the three contemporary psychological approaches to the study of nation (instinct theory and crowd psychology) and proceeding to draw only on the third (theories of self). This is convenient given the focus on emancipatory themes in the gender half of the book, but it shortchanges the larger argument about the importance of the new science of psychology. Indeed, it remains unclear just how influential new "scientific" ideas of psychology were in the peace process. In the book's epilogue, the claim is made that the "process of peace making" was "beholden to the psychological truths of nationality and nations gleaned from the professional perspectives of geographers and historians" (p. 133). Yet Sluga provides plenty of evidence to suggest that the process was far more "beholden" to popular racial and gender stereotypes than to any "psychological truths."

Furthermore, Sluga's gender narrative would have been stronger if the analysis had not been so exclusively focused on the women's emancipation and suffrage movement but instead delved more deeply into the dynamics of the relationship between masculinity and nationalism. For example, if there was any specter casting its shadow across the negotiations in Paris, it was almost certainly that of the millions of men whose apparent loyalties to national ideals had cost them their lives. Given the enormous bloodletting of World War I, was the "relationship between women and nations" (p. 111) any more profoundly affected by the war than the relationship between men and nations? Was "self-determination" not also a crucial issue for men who had been subjected to the martial discipline of national armies and used as canon fodder on the killing fields? Surprisingly and unfortunately, these questions never appear on the horizon of Sluga's feminist qua gender analysis. Sluga is right to stress that we can no longer continue to write the history of the Paris peace process as a "fundamentally ungendered affair" (p. 131), but nor can we any longer be content to write our new gendered histories as histories of women's struggle for equal rights.

ERIC J. ENGSTRÖM
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MICHAEL BESS. *Choices under Fire: Moral Dimensions of World War II.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2006. Pp. xiii, 395. $27.50.

Michael Bess's book has been gleaned from two decades of lectures and discussions in his course on World War II. The chapters appear to be polished presentations on his favorite moral controversies that could have come straight out of a course syllabus. Each essay is a delight to read, focused and well written. However, some of them are outdated, neglecting more recent scholarship. While the book is not comprehensive, it is very provocative.

The author aims to give readers an overview of the war's most intense ethical debates, while also covering

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themes of racism's centrality in influencing actions, the barbarization of warfare over time, and internationalist imperatives accelerated by the conflict. But the book is more topical than thematic. It opens with an intriguing introduction, beginning with an analysis of the decision of the commanders of American torpedo bomber squadrons at Midway to launch virtually suicidal attacks, and ending with a request for readers to continue the discussions engendered by each chapter on a designated website.

The first chapter of a section entitled "Fomenting War" presents the author's arguments about the way racism permeated the conflict, starting with the influence of Social Darwinism around the world, and concluding by linking American prejudices against African Americans and Nisei with Japanese rampages in Manila and Nazi atrocities throughout Europe. Bess would have profited from reading Eric M. Bergerud's writings on the Pacific War, and some of his comparisons are stretched, but he does make the reader think. He continues to challenge preconceptions in his next essay, where he plants the roots for the Pacific War in Commodore Matthew Perry's forced opening of Japan and the series of unequal treaties that ensued. He is not an apologist for Japanese actions in Asia in the 1930s but does provide a broader perspective on why they occurred. I would be curious as to his opinions about the current displays at the Yushukan Museum in Tokyo, which take such arguments so far as to completely shift the blame for the war. The weakest chapter in this section is the last, dealing with Munich, which needs to be revised based on Gerhard L. Weinberg's authoritative work. Bess is very critical of the policy of appeasement, seeing its only advantage as clearly establishing the aggressor in the war.

The next section is entitled "Making War." The first essay is very short, contrasting the Danish resistance to Adolf Hitler's hunt for Jews with the inaction of Pope Pius XII toward the Holocaust and American refusal to harbor the refugees on the *St. Louis* in 1939. His next chapter, on the Allied bombing of civilian populations, suffers the most from intellectual obsolescence. While the author is correct to give Ronald Schaffer's *Wings of Judgment: American Bombing in World War II* (1980) its due as a groundbreaking work on the ethics of strategic bombing, that book was published more than twenty years ago. Bess neglects the wave of scholars who have countered, modified, or expanded Schaffer's coverage, such as Tami Davis Biddle, Conrad C. Crane, Richard Davis, Frederick Taylor, and Kenneth P. Werrell. The discussion could have been much richer. The next chapter returns to the issue of the Holocaust, looking at the motivations that made members of Reserve Battalion 101 become killers, and the inhabitants of the Plateau Vivaris-Lignon in Vichy France become saviors. It is followed by an entertaining description of the chance and choices that influenced the Battle of Midway. The battle was not quite the "miserable gamble" Bess depicts, and he should have noted that the same caution he praises in Admiral Raymond Spruance for avoiding a Japanese riposte limited the extent of American victory at the later Battle of the Philippine Sea, but Midway is still a great story. The next offering dealing with the awkwardness of the alliance with Joseph Stalin is most noteworthy for its revisionist position that the Allies invaded Normandy primarily to keep Stalin out of northwest Europe! The chapter on Kamikazes offers another provocative comparison, this time between Japanese suicide pilots and the American sailors in Taffy 3 at the Battle of Leyte Gulf. Bess condemns the Japanese for wasting lives for nothing when they knew the war was lost. In fact many still hoped to limit the degree of that loss, and therefore they did have something to gain. The last chapter in the section deals with the dropping of the atomic bomb. It is very extensive, and covers most of the key issues, although there is still much hindsight evident, and Bess gives leaders credit for knowing more about the actual capabilities of the bomb than they did.

The last section deals with long-term consequences of the war. Its first essay argues that war crimes trials were flawed, but they did move mankind into a new era of human rights. The next deals more with the future than the past, trying to build an edifice for peace upon the precedent of Franco-German postwar reconciliation. The section ends strongly, with a series of vignettes about the battles over the memory of the war around the world.

The book's conclusion attacks the mythology of the war, but its closing story really reinforces the book's actual dominant theme: how individual moral choices influence broader events. It is an entertaining and provocative work that should give general readers and students a starting point to pursue the ethical dilemmas and controversies of World War II. I hope www.choicesunderfire.com sees a lot of traffic.

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JEFFREY A. ENGEL. *Cold War at 30,000 Feet: The Anglo-American Fight for Aviation Supremacy*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 351. $35.00.

Jeffrey A. Engel's study of Anglo-American rivalry in aviation provides a fascinating look at the underlying issues that strained the alliance during the first two decades of the Cold War. Building on existing historiography regarding the allies' different strategic visions during this period, Engel develops a fascinating new approach by demonstrating how conflicts over aviation policy illuminate these differences. Employing an impressive array of archival research, the author details how the allies endured a number of potentially serious disagreements regarding the diffusion of aviation technology. While Engel may overestimate the damage that these disputes had on the alliance, as no real crises developed from the cases he explores, he does an exceptional job of showing how important airpower was in the

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conflicting worldviews of the two great English-speaking powers.

Before World War II ended the British were formulating a postwar aviation policy (the Brabazon plan) that sought to counter American dominance in mass production with superior British technology and subsidies in order to compete in the peacetime market. When the war ended, an exhausted Britain placed airpower at the center of its plans to revive domestic prosperity and remain a world power. London recognized that American aid was invaluable in the short run but hoped that a revived economy would allow Britain to regain financial independence. As aviation exports were crucial for the British recovery, London was anxious not to cut off any potential markets, even those in communist nations. This desire for trade dovetailed with London's belief that the threat of communism could be tempered by promoting friendly relations with, and fostering prosperity in, the communist bloc. From London's vantage point a nuclear war would result in national destruction, leaving coexistence as the only option. To the British, America Cold War policies seemed overly aggressive and inflexible.

The first Anglo-American clash over aviation resulted from Prime Minister Clement Attlee's decision to sell jet engines to the Soviets in 1946. Engel describes how the Americans found this sale incompatible with their own worldview. America sought not to rebuild after World War II, but rather to manage the globe from a position of unprecedented power. Washington was skeptical of détente with the communist world and believed that security should always take precedence over trade. American leaders believed that their generous aid should have made their allies willing to follow Washington's lead in the Cold War. The British thus appeared to be feckless allies who were willing to put economic gains over security concerns. Attlee's government soon decided that the continuation of sales to the USSR was not worth the trouble, but the damage had been done. During the Korean War the Soviets deployed MiG-15 fighters powered by reverse-engineered copies of the British engines. However, both allies chose to downplay this fact while the war continued.

While London would be more cautious about sales of military equipment to the communists after the Soviet jet deal, the drive for aviation exports remained a central goal and misunderstanding between the allies continued. In 1952 De Havilland introduced the Comet, the world's first commercial jetliner. London hoped that this would give British aviation an invaluable lead over American firms. To Washington, widespread sale of the Comet was seen as a potential security risk, as its advanced engine might allow Soviet bombers to reach targets throughout America. The British saw American concerns as hypocritical at best (since Washington allowed similar technology to be exported in warplanes to NATO allies with horrible security records) and at worst motivated by a desire to stop British aviation from gaining a commercial advantage. Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration pushed London to limit sales, but Winston Churchill had made the decision to ignore these concerns when the appearance of fatal flaws in the Comet's design, and the unveiling of a new Soviet bomber, made the dispute moot.

By the late 1950s the focus of aviation disputes moved to the People's Republic of China. Prime Minister Harold Macmillan convinced a reluctant Washington not to stand in the way of direct sales of aircraft to Beijing, but U.S. law still barred sales of American technology. This fact proved embarrassing for the British when they discovered that the six Vickers Viscounts planes they planned to sell to China in 1961 had American-licensed navigation systems for which there were no British equivalents. The British Ministry of Aviation concocted an elaborate plan that allowed Vickers to hide its use of American parts. While Washington never found out about this deception, the British were so unnerved by the possibility of exposure, and so disheartened by the fact that they could no longer domestically manufacture all their required aviation components, that they never followed up on this first small sale. By the mid-1960s Britain abandoned its aviation-centered plan to revive its power, effectively removing the issue as a point of contention.

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CHRISTOPHER BAYLY and TIM HARPER. *Forgotten Wars: Freedom and Revolution in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. xxx, 673. $35.00.

In this sequel to their recent collaboration, *Forgotten Armies: The Fall of British Asia, 1941–1945* (2006), Christopher Bayly and Tim Harper focus on Britain's role in the beginnings of "The Great Asian War" that followed the collapse of Japan's Southeast Asian empire in 1945. Viewing these events through the prism of Asian more than European politics, the authors show how Britain's attempts to restore the status quo antebellum foundered amid a swell of nationalism that arose in the wake of Japan's victories over the British, French, and Dutch empires in 1942. Many of this story's details are not new, since scholars of Southeast Asia have described them in narrower studies than these. The overall perspective, however, is new. This book is neither an old-fashioned "top down" history of imperial policy in the region, nor a regional "bottom up" account of nationalist resistance to European rule. Rather, it shows how British illusions about the nature of Britain's power in Southeast Asia collided with Asian national movements. These movements were at once emboldened and empowered by the collapse of Europe's Asian empires during World War II, while in many cases hardened through resistance to Japanese occupation. Thus, Britain did not triumph over fascism in a global war so much as lose control of its Asian empire as the result of its regional war with another Asian power, Japan.

Permeating this book is a sense of the failure of Europeans generally to appreciate the new situation that

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World War II had created in Southeast Asia. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the authors' description of the efforts of British forces to restore the Dutch and French colonial empires. The attempts of European planters (many emerging from Japanese prison camps) in Indochina and the East Indies to reassert their property rights, and accompanying racial superiority, led to brutal and disastrous wars that merely delayed the triumph of indigenous national movements. The authors show the importance of British General Douglas Gracey's complicity with French authorities in perpetuating the continuation of a war in Vietnam that would not end until 1975. For senior British officers and administrators, "The Great Asian War" was a far more complicated affair than the war against Japan that preceded it. For instance, in an earlier generation, the punishment of colonial soldiers who sided with Britain's enemies would have likely been harsh. Yet, faced with the imminent independence of India, and wanting to maintain close ties to its new government, British authorities were relatively lenient with the Indian National Army that the former Congress leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, had raised with Japanese support during the war.

Although Bayly and Harper avoid the jargon of much postcolonial scholarship, they nevertheless deconstruct the past and explode self-congratulatory Western myths regarding the "liberation" of Southeast Asia. In this new history, the Labour government of 1945–1951, far from being the anti-imperialist liberator of India, embarks on what the authors describe as "a second colonial conquest" of Southeast Asia. This reconquest was violent and often vindictive. Although not as brutal to Japanese POWs as the Japanese had been to theirs, British forces detained Japanese soldiers for two years after the war, using them as laborers and often going out of their way to humiliate them. Furthermore, although the authors do not focus on racial stereotyping, they do not hesitate to point it out in their account of British behavior toward Southeast Asians. And while British opponents of imperialism receive ample coverage, they nevertheless appear impotent to reverse British policy in the short run. For instance, in spite of his sympathies toward Asian nationalist movements, Lord Louis Mountbatten justified a British reprisal burning a village in Java on the grounds that "terrorists" had mutilated their comrades' bodies (p. 182).

A major problem with this book is where to end it. The author's choice of 1949 does not seem very satisfying, since British forces continued to fight in Malaysia through the 1950s. Yet to cover this decade in more detail than the authors do in their epilogue would require another book. Given the high quality of this one and its predecessor—both are highly readable and grounded firmly in primary research—a further volume would be welcome.

Bayly and Harper show us that the complexity of Southeast Asian politics eluded the British, as it did the Americans after them. Southeast Asia, and the Western powers, paid for the latter's postwar intervention for over a generation. For America the cost was the Vietnam War, which still divides America's polity. For the region itself, the violence of the period spawned political instability that encouraged authoritarianism. This book addresses an important phase of that tragic history, for which, as the authors show, Britain bore considerable responsibility.

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Xia Yafeng. *Negotiating with the Enemy: U.S.-China Talks during the Cold War, 1949–1972*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 326. $45.00.

Xia Yafeng has written a comprehensive and well-researched account of Sino-American contact from communist victory in 1949 through rapprochement in 1972. This book investigates what the author defines as the "de facto diplomatic discourse between the two countries whose differences in fundamental political, strategic, and cultural outlooks were compounded by the conflicts of national interests and political ideology throughout much of the Cold War" (p. 1). Xia's effort is one of several recent examinations of Mao Zedong's foreign policy written by Chinese scholars such as Qiang Zhai (*China and the Vietnam Wars, 1950–1975* [2000]) and Chen Jian (*Mao's China and the Cold War* [2001]). These works meld Western historiographical approaches with Chinese primary sources and have advanced our understanding of Sino-American relations during the Cold War. Certainly, future researchers must consult Xia's comprehensive bibliography of Chinese-language sources.

Xia posits that the limited contact between Washington and Beijing during the 1950s and 1960s set the stage for President Richard M. Nixon's historic visit. He begins with the failed talks between United States Ambassador John Leighton Stuart and Communist Party official Huang Hua in 1949 and 1950 and concludes that "neither had a clear idea of the other side's intentions and goals regarding a possible U.S.-China relationship. Both ended up probing, rather blindly, each other's real thinking but producing little, if any, substantive result" (p. 40). In the long-running debate over whether there existed a "lost chance," an opportunity for the establishment of diplomatic relations between Beijing and Washington in 1949, Xia makes a case that this was "wishful thinking." Nevertheless, Xia places these meetings into a narrative that culminates in 1972 and, in fact, titles this chapter "Establishing Contact." It might have been helpful, however, to give the reader more background information on the Dixie Mission, the first meetings between United States officials and Mao's forces during World War II. Xia takes a similar approach in his discussion of negotiations during the Korean War. He suggests that the Panmunjom truce talks "opened the door for Chinese participation in future international diplomacy" (p. 75) and that "it was difficult to dismiss the impression that the United States had given Communist China de facto recognition" (p. 74). Xia exposes a key problem for leaders in

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Washington and Beijing: how to limit mutual hostility, or at least the scope of armed conflict between the two, without undermining each side's larger international agenda or domestic political legitimacy?

In the middle chapters of the volume, Xia offers the most well-documented English-language review of the long-running ambassadorial talks in Geneva, then Warsaw. Not only did the two sides fail to make progress over the issues that divided them, but they could not even agree on whether the talks were designed to reduce tensions by solving relatively small problems, such as the fate of detainees, or by seeking major breakthroughs that might fundamentally change the relationship. The Chinese demand that the United States withdraw its forces from Taiwan suggests that Communist Party leaders were not serious about achieving anything in the talks, or were badly misinformed about Cold War politics in Washington. Nevertheless, neither side abandoned the effort completely.

The book climaxes with rapprochement, a topic of many popular and scholarly books over the past few years. Xia's account uses newly available Chinese-language sources and offers insight into Chinese preparations for Henry Kissinger's July 1971 visit and Nixon's February 1972 trip. The author emphasizes that the ambassadorial talks helped set the stage for Nixon's triumph by "settling minor disputes and paving the way for real and substantial high-level talks" (p. 219). The Warsaw talks are, however, best conceived as a negative example to Nixon and his assistant Kissinger. The author acknowledges this when he writes "Drawing lessons from the decades-long U.S.-China ambassadorial talks, Kissinger knew that the old approach had not worked and would not work" (p. 188). Nixon sought personally to oversee a major reshaping of the geopolitical landscape, an initiative that was closely tied to his efforts to undercut a foreign policy bureaucracy that he felt had scorned him. Ending the moribund Warsaw talks got the Department of State out of the way, signaled to the Chinese his seriousness of purpose, and worried the Soviets—all Nixon goals.

Xia's book is valuable to historians of Sino-American relations. The volume also offers a useful case study for scholars of international relations. During the Cold War and after, Washington has repeatedly sought to negotiate with regimes that it did not formally recognize. Beijing's adherence to the One China policy meant that it, too, often engaged in talks without diplomatic relations. Xia describes how two parties with heated ideological rivalries, tangible conflicts of interest, a history of hostility and cultural misunderstanding, and complex domestic political pressures could maintain direct contact, if not productive negotiations.

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ASIA

Naomi Standen. *Unbounded Loyalty: Frontier Crossing in Liao China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 279. $53.00.

Karl Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-shêng's monumental book, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)* (1949) was, for many years, the most important, if not daunting, work on the Liao dynasty. A massive study, which consisted principally of translations from the Liao dynastic history (*Liaoshi*), with commentaries, appeared to be the last word on the Khitans, who founded the dynasty. However, the past two decades' resurgence of interest in China's foreign rulers, including the Mongols and the Jurchens, has spilled over into significant studies of the Khitans. Recent discoveries of Liao tombs have further stimulated research and monographs on this previously neglected group. The Khitans' extensive contributions to art alone as patrons, consumers, and producers of sculptures, gold objects, and textiles merit additional studies that go beyond the traditional paradigms about foreigners and foreign dynasties in China.

Like several other scholars over the past few years, Naomi Standen effectively challenges both the sinicization and ethnicity models as means of understanding the foreign dynasties, particularly the Liao, in China. The survival of the Mongols and of Mongol culture, for example, belies the traditional premise that foreign rulers had to assimilate to Chinese culture in order to rule China. Moreover, as Standen shows, other factors often superseded ethnicity in determining the choices of leading Chinese officials or commanders concerning their allegiance to native Chinese dynasties or foreign rulers. These civilian and military officials, on occasion, collaborated with foreign states rather than choosing to ally with fellow Chinese, decisions that undermine the concept of ethnic allegiance as the most important value in the traditional history of the so-called Middle Kingdom.

Standen focuses on the tenth-century Liao to explain the formation of allegiances during an era of a multistate system within China, or what she refers to as "multiple political centers." Neither ethnicity nor specific political boundaries shaped the choice of allegiances. Some Chinese sided with the various indigenous states while others joined the Liao. They transferred their allegiances depending on loyalty (*zhong*) to a specific individual, whether Chinese or foreign. The "political fragmentation" that Standen describes facilitated changes in loyalty and averted moral condemnation of such behavior.

The Khitan rulers of the Liao were originally pastoral nomads and had scant experience in ruling a sedentary domain with a diverse population, including numerous Chinese. Because the Khitans needed skilled administrators to govern the newly subjugated territories, Chinese officials were valuable both to the tenth century's native states and to the Liao. Neither the Chinese dynasties nor the Liao criticized transfers of loyalty as

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moral transgressions. They recognized that Chinese administrators and officials performed valuable services and were entitled to seek new masters without abandoning their links to Chinese civilization. As Standen writes, "Crossing a political border at any point during the tenth century did not have to involve a breach of morals; neither did it pose any threat to cultural identity" (p. 184). However, she emphasizes that eleventh and twelfth-century commentators, adopting a harsher tone in their assessments of "border crossers," portrayed them as traitors who had abandoned Chinese culture. By the eleventh century, the Song dynasty had unified much of China, and only the Song and Liao competed in North China. The Song court and its officials were less forgiving about Chinese who crossed the border to serve the Liao. The earlier fluidity in border crossings and political allegiances ended.

In addition to her central argument, Standen provides a detailed political and military history of the tenth century, a chaotic era in China. In undertaking this task, she also evaluates the contradictory and sometimes biased Chinese sources, some of which were produced decades or even a couple of centuries after the events described. Her assessment contributes to greater understanding of the era's historiography.

In short, Standen's book offers a valuable view of the tenth century for specialists and is useful to scholars interested in questions of assimilation and cultural identity.

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Joseph P. McDermott. *A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China*. (Understanding China: New Viewpoints on History and Culture.) Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 294. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

This rich work is an important addition to the growing literature on book culture in late imperial China. Joseph P. McDermott's stated aim is to demonstrate the centrality of the book to the evolution of Chinese culture from the Song to the Qing dynasties (eleventh to nineteenth centuries) and to assert its imbrication with broader social and economic issues (p. 3). Despite this ambitious objective, he limits himself spatially to the lower Yangzi delta and socially to the literati reader in order to escape the tendency toward "broad, unfounded generalizations that glut most books" on Chinese print culture (p. 6). Drawing on a broad range of sources including missionary descriptions of woodblock printing technology, Japanese, Chinese, and Western secondary works, and numerous Chinese primary materials, he makes a number of significant temporal, social, and cultural arguments.

McDermott builds on the work of the Japanese scholars Inoue Susumu and Katsuyama Minoru in challenging "conventional scholarly wisdom" on the temporal unfolding of Chinese print culture. He argues that despite the early origins of printing in China (speculatively dating from 636, definitively from 868), and notwithstanding the received view that the imprint became the primary means of transmitting written culture in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, the shift from manuscript to printed editions was not complete in the entirety of the Yangzi delta until the sixteenth century. He concedes that the imprint did predominate in some regions by the early thirteenth century and that certain core reading materials such as the Confucian classics were generally printed. The rise of the imprint was not fully secured, however, until a number of factors converged in the late Ming dynasty (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), most notably an increasing demand for civil service examination aids and "stories" (*xiaoshuo*), the expansion of commercial printing, and the declining costs of woodblock printing.

This temporal argument is indirectly supported by the social argument that up through the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties Chinese scholars had little interest in creating a broad, print-based community of knowledge. Rather than viewing books as belonging to a shared cultural patrimony, scholars coveted them as economic investments, and most importantly, as a form of social capital that could compensate for civil service examination failure, enhance family assets, and earn one social status and scholarly recognition. Creating discrete "oligarchies of letters" (p. 163) rather than a republic of letters, successful book collectors generally shared their rare holdings only with one or two other successful book collectors. Even then, they did so cautiously, entering into pacts and drafting detailed contracts that outlined book exchange rituals and restrictions. It was not until the seventeenth century that the situation began to change: large-scale, government-initiated editorial projects forced open private collections, and scholarly reading and book-lending societies expanded. Competition for rare books, nonetheless, remained keen.

So what does this book on the history of the Chinese book ultimately tell us about Chinese culture? It suggests that this was a culture in which being public minded went against "common sense" (p. 147). As the poignant story of the cobbler Qian Jinren that neatly frames the book indicates, when elite scholars did reach out to commoner readers it was more out of a philanthropic sense of noblesse oblige than of intellectual community. The move toward mass literacy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the result of externally driven "tragedies" and "crises" (p. 185) rather than internal developments.

In his unsystematic references to this external Western force, McDermott has little compunction about describing Chinese culture in terms of a relative lack. The Chinese book circuit was more clogged with bottlenecks than the Western (p. 116), for example, largely because it lacked lending institutions of the kind that were increasingly prevalent in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Western Europe (p. 126). While the author could have contributed to debates thus far limited to Western book culture on the (in)significance of the shift from

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manuscript to print, or the limited impact of print technology in the absence of the social will to mobilize it, he chose not to.

These are just a few of the issues that this book—so abundant in both details and ideas—bequeaths to future researchers. McDermott notes a number of potential avenues for inquiry himself and the conundrums the book leaves us with suggest others. How, for example, could this culture renowned for its dense textual traditions have reproduced itself if accessibility to books was such a perennial problem? What was the relationship between certain of these traditions—the Qing dynasty *kaozheng* philological movement, for example—and ameliorations in the functioning of communities of knowledge? And how do we understand the disjunctions in a society that produced, on the one hand, an allegedly rampant tendency to steal and mistreat books, and on the other, Cherishing Characters Associations that collected and ritually burned discarded scraps of paper out of reverence for the written word?

The book is well produced and edited except for the frustrating lack of a bibliography. This is partially offset by the appended "Bibliographical Notes," which are extremely useful for those inspired to delve further into the history of the Chinese book.

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Liam Matthew Brockey. *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 496. $35.00.

This well-researched volume is one of the most comprehensive works published in recent years on the early Jesuit mission to China from 1579 to 1724. In addition to secondary sources in Western languages, the research is based largely on two European archival sources: the Jesuítas na Ásia collection at the Ajuda Palace library in Lisbon and the Japonica-Sinica manuscript collection at the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus (ARSI). With well-documented illustrations and analysis, Liam Matthew Brockey carefully reconstructs the presence of the Society of Jesus in China from the late Ming to early Qing dynasties by following in the footsteps of the European Jesuit missionaries from the time they arrived at the late Ming imperial court in Peking until the Chinese Rites Controversy brought the mission to a halt.

In part one of the volume, Brockey recreates the mission of the Society of Jesus in China against a complex political, social, economic, cultural, religious, and multinational setting in China, Japan, and Europe. From a political standpoint, according to the author, the change of dynasties in China in the mid-seventeenth century did not seem to affect the mission's operation significantly. However, changing political, social, and economic dynamics in France, Spain, and Portugal and their respective relations with the Vatican at the time, as illustrated in the last three chapters of part one, influenced the mission from within. While the agonizing threat from the high-ranking Ming official Shen Que might not have posed a real danger (pp. 66–71) to the mission, the presence of other religious orders in China along with the arrival of the Vicars Apostolic in the early Qing, as discussed in the fourth chapter of part one, certainly were not helpful as far as the Jesuits were concerned.

In part two, the author leads us beyond the borders of China back to Europe, where the "behind-the-scenes" selection and training of the Jesuits to China took place through "a largely uniform academic program and probationary experience that outfitted future Jesuits with a diverse set of mental tools" (p. 209) for their intellectual and pastoral formation, as well as household management skills. Then, the author explores the grass-roots work both Jesuits and Chinese Christians performed to establish and maintain the Chinese Catholic Church.

Even with a shortage of priests, conversions increased between 1650 and 1663, because the Jesuits were "adopting the Chinese social impulse of forming common-interest groups" (p. 114), and ensuring that *Tianzhujiao*, Catholicism, was transformed from a religion of converts to a faith of families (p. 116). One crucial argument presented by Brockey concerns the importance of the role that family plays in the Chinese culture. He points out that Chinese Christianity is in effect a family religion (p. 346) that permeates society through social networks. The author then suggests that the Jesuits established such social networks in the form of *hui*. This is an indigenized church organization led by a well-trained *huizhang* and his auxiliaries who would perform special functions in conversion, management, and even funerals. According to Brockey, both as a social and religious institution, *hui* seems to be the foundation for the establishment and growth of the local church in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The author synthesizes the development of Chinese Catholic communities in terms of their leadership, structure, and methods of evangelization by quoting from both archival and secondary sources in Western languages. Because the development of the church involved interactions between the Jesuits and Chinese Catholics, however, his analysis would benefit from an examination of relevant Chinese-language sources that illustrate the key role played by the family in the establishment and growth of these communities in China. For example, Zhang Xianqing, in his Chinese-language dissertation "Government, Clan and Catholicism: Development of the Village Catholic Church in Fu'an of Eastern Fujian Province during the Late Ming and Early Qing Period" (2003), systematically documents the importance of family clans in the establishment, development, and sustainability of Chinese Catholic communities in Fujian Province. While the Jesuits might have relied on their "organizational techniques" to administer the mission churches in China and provide the benefits of either "pastoral care" or "defense from per-

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secution" (p. 332), the formation of such organizations also reflects the Chinese social structure based on families and clans in a rural setting.

The significance of this welcome volume goes beyond the historical documentation of events. The book sheds new light on our understanding of the church in China and succeeds in the goal of opening up "new avenues for research" and "new paths of inquiry" (p. 16). In sum, Brockey reveals how a "journey to the East" that took place some four hundred years ago resulted in Chinese-Western cultural exchanges that continue to bear fruit today.

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SHERMAN COCHRAN. *Chinese Medicine Men: Consumer Culture in China and Southeast Asia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 242. $45.00.

Sherman Cochran's elegantly argued study of five different Chinese-owned pharmaceutical firms operating in China and Southeast Asia from the 1880s to 1950 should be required reading not only for Asian specialists but for all historians interested in globalization and the spread of modern consumer culture. Cochran finds a middle ground between those who regard Western-based multinational corporations as the primary force behind the rise of global consumerism and those who emphasize the success of discerning local consumers in redeploying globally mass-marketed messages and products to fit their own local needs. He emphasizes the essential role indigenous entrepreneurs played in mediating between the global and the local. These "direct agents" of consumer culture selectively appropriated new-style marketing techniques from abroad even as they retained longstanding Chinese commercial practices. As a result, they created new hybridized forms of selling medicine that were neither identifiably "Western" or "Chinese" nor "traditional" or "modern." This gave them significant advantages over both Chinese competitors who failed to innovate and international corporations that could not so easily penetrate local Chinese markets. Indeed, these hybridized Chinese companies were so resilient they survived and even thrived throughout years of political chaos, economic hardship, and war. Only the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and the Chinese Communist Party's nationalization of the pharmaceutical industry brought an end to their extraordinary run as the most successful "medicine men" of China.

The five separate case studies of individual entrepreneurs and the companies they built reveal that Chinese medical firms distributed their goods across macro-regional borders to markets around the country. Some products were sold not only in all areas of China but throughout Southeast Asia as well. This study thus supports those who see an integrated national Chinese market in place by the late nineteenth century. Contrary to earlier analyses that suggest Chinese industrialists were severely constrained by government intervention, Cochran also finds that prior to 1949, some Chinese entrepreneurs were able to maneuver nimbly around government-imposed obstacles, whether extractions by the Nationalist Party or the Japanese military. The resiliency of these innovative Chinese drug companies enabled them to successfully continue to market their products across enemy lines even during the Japanese invasion and occupation of China (1937–1945) and Southeast Asia (1942–1945).

Although not a comparative or global history per se, Cochran's focus on the role of mid-level entrepreneurs in the diffusion of consumer culture throughout China undoubtedly holds interest for scholars of other world regions as well. Arguing that globalization did not emanate from a single Euro-American core outward to the rest of the world, Cochran urges historians to look for multiple centers of global consumerism, including those in the non-Western "periphery." Investigating the origins of consumer culture beyond Europe in turn necessitates revision of conventional views on when a globalized world emerged. The author concludes that China's contemporary "consumer revolution," clearly underway since the early 1980s, was not solely a product of post-Mao China's "opening to the West" but originated in the late nineteenth century and had deep historical roots in the pre-socialist past.

Cochran is quite correct to emphasize historical continuities between the pre-1949 and post-1978 periods, but he fails to fully elaborate upon an implied periodization of the evolution of mass consumer culture across the entire twentieth century. He advances the very useful concept of "proto-mass" consumer culture to describe the state of affairs before 1949, but he neglects to flesh out this analysis, sometimes giving the impression that the integrated national market of republican China was socially inclusive as well (p. 71). While convincingly demonstrating that medical advertising reached all areas and socioeconomic classes prior to the revolution, he provides no evidence that the poorest farmers or laborers actually *purchased* industrially produced drugs. Indeed, even in relatively prosperous Shanghai, Cochran notes that unskilled workers simply could not afford manufactured medicines (p. 62). Throughout the book there is thus some ambiguity about the extent to which China's consumer culture was becoming "massified" in advance of the Chinese Communist Party's efforts to engineer a more equitable society. Cochran's subsequent treatment of the Maoist years as a "hiatus" (p. 167) forces him to skip quickly over the intriguing suggestion (p. 166) that the emergence of a mass market may actually have been facilitated by the revolution itself. The history of consumption under Mao awaits greater analysis but we should not assume, as Cochran seems to, that what came before 1949 and after 1978 was completely divorced from what transpired in the intervening years.

Finally, China's position as a militarily weak country in a world dominated by Great Britain and the United States and in a region subject to expansive Japanese imperialism clearly impacted the course of Chinese

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commercial development. Yet the author makes scant mention of China's specific geopolitical circumstances, at times (p. 154) implying there was virtually no difference between Hong Kong, Tianjin, or Shanghai (a colony and two treaty ports) and New York and London (the economic centers of two great powers). Because he does not fully attend to the economic inequalities or ideological imperatives imposed on China by these international realities, he is unable to adequately explain, for example, why identifying products with Japanese and Western medical science was a highly successful tactic (p. 97) while advertising products as Chinese "national goods" was less so (p. 50). The preference of Chinese consumers for foreign goods over those made in China was at least partially rooted in the association of imports with the wealth and power of Japan and the West, a circumstance that can only be explained if China's semi-colonial status vis-à-vis the imperialist powers is kept in mind.

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Alvyn Austin. *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832–1905*. (Studies in the History of Christian Missions.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2007. Pp. xxxi, 506. $45.00.

"China's Millions" as a phrase at once signifies one man's life-changing spiritual moment, a corporate statement of mission, and partial fulfillment of a dream that demanded great faith and fortitude. Alvyn Austin has lifted the China Inland Mission (CIM) and its founder, James Hudson Taylor, from any characterization as merely "apostolic wandering" (p. 431) by mostly lay Protestant missionaries from Great Britain and North America who "went native" to reach millions in China's inland provinces. The book's richly complicated web connects overlapping histories of expanding Protestantism, industrializing England, the Taylor family, Chinese Christianity, Shanxi province, and late imperial China in revolutionary transition. Austin argues that the message and methodology of the CIM advanced the indigenization of Christianity as Chinese popular religion with fundamentalist focus.

The linchpins of Austin's complex narrative are Hudson Taylor (1832–1905) and "Pastor Hsi" (d. 1896), the latter a celebrated CIM convert. Taylor is Austin's primary "pilgrim" (understood in terms of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* [1678], which Taylor read enroute to China in 1853–1854 and which was available in Chinese translation). Hsi was the shepherd of a Chinese flock in Shanxi province drawn to his gospel message and to the promise of medicine (morphine) to break the opium addiction that plagued Shanxi in the wake of the tragic famine of the 1870s.

In singlehandedly inventing the CIM in 1865 after returning to England from his first efforts to spread the Word among the Chinese, Taylor followed the lead of Karl Friedrich August Gutzlaff, a Prussian missionary who employed Chinese evangelists to fan out among their countrymen. Taylor's dream of saving China's lost millions would stress two things: reaching the inner provinces away from coastal treaty ports, and sending foreign missionaries into the far reaches of the Chinese Empire. Unusual about Taylor's enterprise was the demand that missionary men dress like rural Chinese, with women missionaries in the padded outfits of peasant women. As well, the men were to grow out their hair and wear the queue that was the mandated style of Chinese men under the Manchu Qing dynasty.

The CIM had one other distinction: no collection box. Taylor held to the faith that "the Lord will provide." Corporate offices in Shanghai, London, and Toronto ran on money given by wealthy Britons and Americans who believed in Taylor's dream. The dream needed an army to work, and the CIM attracted young men and women of faith who also were adventurous and willing to face hardships gladly. They learned the local languages, called on their Chinese neighbors, and preached in the streets. From the beginning women were welcome in the CIM, and over time they were allowed to locate in China's frontier regions without having a male missionary escort, and to "gossip the gospel" with local women. For illiterate listeners to the message CIM evangelists used the Wordless Book, a four-color banner that moved from sin to Jesus' sacrifice and then to sanctification and heaven.

Austin has an extensive record of publications about the CIM and foreign missions in China, and he has combed the CIM archives in three locations. He draws liberally on the CIM newsletter, *China's Millions*, which invokes the image Hudson Taylor saw in his 1865 "Brighton Vision" of perishing Chinese. Austin also cites published missionary accounts for the second part of the book's title, "late Qing society." Pastor Hsi and other Chinese helpers are as written about in letters, articles, and biographical works by CIM missionaries. The massacre of CIM and other missionaries in Shanxi during the anti-Christian Boxer movement that reached its height in summer 1900 comes by way of missionary records of death, destruction, and ill-fated flight through the Chinese countryside.

While Austin includes Chinese terms in *Pinyin* romanized form, the book has no glossary of Chinese characters and only two Chinese works in the bibliography (which are mentioned only in a footnote). To Austin's credit, he delves deeply into events of the last half-century of dynastic China by way of well-chosen secondary works by China historians. Still, only one such source, a chapter in an edited volume on the Boxers in Shanxi, leads Austin to consider an alternative to the dominant missionary view of events.

In any case, the book is an absolutely fascinating read because of its multifaceted nature, as is evident in almost any single chapter, "The Octopus" (for the scattered CIM stations) being a good example. China Inland Mission personnel adored the venerable founder, even as some broke away from the CIM because they perceived life in the field as too rural, too "Chinese," and too dictated by principles, practices, and conser-

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vative theology laid down by Taylor. They all were witnesses to dramatic decades brought to life by Austin's somewhat repetitive but always informative analytical narrative.

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ZHOU YONGMING. *Historicizing Online Politics: Telegraphy, the Internet, and Political Participation in China*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 290. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

The explosive growth of the Internet in China has prompted pundits to proclaim that liberalization and perhaps even democratization cannot be far behind. Surely, they argue, the availability of vast quantities of information of all sorts will encourage ordinary Chinese to view and act on political and social matters in ways that will steadily break down China's authoritarian political system. With this book Zhou Yongming inserts an important cautionary voice into that discussion. Zhou agrees that the Internet is changing China in significant and often positive ways but takes issue with "Internet utopians" whose thinking reveals flawed "technological determinism."

Entire books can and no doubt will be written on the Internet in China. This is not one of them. Instead, Zhou uses historical comparison to argue that it is not technologies themselves but rather how societies receive and make use of technologies that determines their transformative importance. This is not an original observation, but it is an important one worth rehearsing anew. In the first half of the book Zhou discusses the halting and politically difficult process by which telegraphy was introduced into China roughly a century ago; in the second half he discusses the Internet, whose introduction into China has been more rapid and smooth than that of telegraphy. Why the difference? That is the key question for Zhou, and he provides persuasive accounts for both periods that pay due attention to government policies, social and political contexts, and the nature of the technologies themselves. Whereas the Qing government was suspicious of telegraphy and retarded its development, China's Communist Party leaders embraced the Internet early and have attempted to harness it to their own purposes. Indeed, under the Communist Party the Internet has not only found a foothold in China, it has prospered. The party has not always been successful in its attempt to blunt the Internet's ability to spread "subversive" information, says Zhou, but thus far it has managed to prevent the technology from threatening its grip on power.

For Zhou the logical value of the historical comparison between China's reception of the telegraph and its acceptance of the Internet is based on his argument that Chinese governments in both instances organized their thinking around the concept of *liquan*: that is, calculations about "interests," "benefits," or "resources" on the one hand and "power," "rights," or "control" on the other. While this is no doubt true for China, it is also true for governments elsewhere, especially authoritarian ones. Since this book originated out of Zhou's interest in the Internet, might it not have made just as much sense to compare China's acceptance of the Internet to other countries' experiences with the same technology during the same historical period? Zhou's study does not tell us anything fundamentally new about Chinese history or political culture; instead, he uses two case studies that both happen to come from China to make a general point about the contingency of technology reception.

Still, there is much of value here. Zhou astutely observes the close connection between the rise and spread of these two new technologies and high tide moments of popular nationalism in China. In contemporary China the state proactively uses the Internet to pursue nationalistic goals, but it also must contend with independent, rogue nationalists who are wont to publish attacks on the government for being insufficiently tough in the face of foreign provocations. Likewise, in the late Qing nationalists realized telegraphy's potential to aid their cause and pushed its uses beyond what the state was comfortable with. In time the telegraph emerged as an important tool that revolutionaries used to expand the boundaries of public political speech and threaten the dynasty's hold on power. Zhou's discussion of this point provides a new way of thinking about the relationship between information technology and the Qing dynasty's collapse. This part of his study is not well grounded in the existing historiography, however; Zhou makes no mention of a number of relevant works that focus on nationalism and the media in the late Qing, and as a result he misses opportunities to draw broader historical conclusions.

Zhou is an anthropologist by training and is at his most illuminating when summarizing the fieldwork he conducted among people involved in the production of politically serious cyber content in China. His typology of that content into officially connected or tolerated "intellectual web sites," "*minjian*" (unofficial, amateur, or private) sites, and nationalist ones is compelling and very useful. His fieldwork is also highly valuable in that it makes clear that the totalitarian model—like the utopian one—utterly fails to explain the complex reality of the Internet in China, where writers are constantly negotiating with government authorities and with market pressures in an attempt to push the boundaries of acceptable speech.

TIMOTHY B. WESTON
University of Colorado

NAM-LIN HUR. *Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan: Buddhism, Anti-Christianity, and the* Danka *System*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 282.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 550. $55.00.

This massive study of the *danka* system in the Tokugawa period (1600–1864) consolidates and integrates the best Japanese scholarship into a masterful work of his-

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torical interpretation. The *danka* system refers to the multigenerational affiliation of extended families with specific Buddhist temples for the performance of funerary and, increasingly over time, ancestral rites. The book is in some ways a companion piece to Nam-lin Hur's *Prayer and Play in Late Tokugawa Japan: Asakusa Sensōji and Edo Society* (2000), although it can certainly be read alone.

During the extended rule of the Tokugawa family from the seventeenth to mid-nineteenth century, Japan changed from being primarily a rural and agricultural society to an increasingly urban and commercialized country. As urban centers, such as Edo, developed, large numbers of Buddhist temples were built in these population centers. In two centuries, Edo grew from a sleepy hamlet into a bustling city of about a million inhabitants, with more than a thousand Buddhist temples. Hur begins by noting that few of these newly established temples held vast land holdings to sustain them economically, nor, like Asakusa Sensōji, did they have renowned Buddhist statues or other relics that could attract pilgrims and their money. This leads Hur to ask a simple question and to offer a "simple" answer to it: "So what, in the final analysis, provided a majority of Buddhist temples—regardless of their sectarian affiliation, prestige, and religious reputation—with financial stability? The answer is simple: death. During the Tokugawa period, all families were required to be affiliated with a Buddhist temple, and everyone had to die a Buddhist and be given a Buddhist funeral. . . . The enduring relationship between a Buddhist temple and its funerary patron household, cemented from generation to generation through recurring rites and services related to death and ancestral veneration, gave rise to what is commonly known as the *danka* system (*danka seido* or *dankasei*). It was the *danka* system, more than anything else, that sustained Buddhist temples in Tokugawa Japan" (p. 9).

Recently, other scholars, in more focused studies, have also demonstrated that death and memorial rites were central to the lives of Buddhists in different sects during this period. Duncan Ryūken Williams, for example, in *The Other Side of Zen: A Social History of Sōtō Zen Buddhism in Tokugawa Japan* (2005), has convincingly shown how the popular image of Zen overlooks the prominence of this-worldly rites of healing and the common performance of funerary rites in Zen temples. Western scholarship has made great strides in the study of the social history of religions in the Tokugawa period, and Hur's work will be fundamental to the ongoing revolution in our understanding.

Most importantly, perhaps, Hur clearly demonstrates that it was the Tokugawa bakufu's anti-Christian program that led to the incorporation of Buddhist institutions into the state ideological and police apparatus. In the process, funerary rituals and memorial rites were transformed from private to public acts. Hur argues that in the seventeenth century, the central government's requirement that all households annually obtain a certificate from a Buddhist temple, indicating that they were not Christians, led over time to familial forms of religious observances. At other times, though, he suggests, implicitly appealing to the sort of rational choice theory that most historians of religions have rejected, that the emerging forms of Buddhism answered the changing needs of people. He writes, for instance, "Death rituals, not the doctrinal polemics of karma and retribution were an answer for the socio-religious needs of the new type of family structure that was taking shape in the seventeenth century" (p. 17). If anything, causality is the Achilles' heel of Hur's study, for while remarkable change demonstrably took place in the Tokugawa period in economics, social structure, religion, and the arts, the causal linkages are often asserted but not really proven.

Hur also seems at times to have a Confucian mission to rectify terms concerning the *danka* system, as in the following: "[M]any current discussions are still by and large troubled by the most basic errors, as the recurring employment of such key terms as 'temple registration' and 'temple parish system' attests. These terms are either mistaken, misleading, or simply wrong" (p. 29). How ironic, then, to find Hur continually translating the critical term *tama* or *tamashii* as "soul," which is about as basic an error, based on a misleading and simply wrong introduction of Western assumptions into Japanese culture, as one could imagine. Equally puzzling is his parsing of *yamabushi*, popular mountain ascetic priests, as "petty Buddhist preachers" (p. 18). For all that he claims to be studying religion, Hur's discussion rarely gets down to the level of lived lives. Rather, his history is told in broad general terms where "Buddhism" and "the bakufu" are the dominant actors in history.

Still and all, this is a study chock full of information and insight. Historians of religions must read it; historians of Japan can not afford to ignore it. We will have to grapple with this book for years to come.

Gary L. Ebersole
University of Missouri, Kansas City

OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

Bain Attwood. *Telling the Truth about Aboriginal History*. Crows Nest, Australia: Allen and Unwin. 2005. Pp. viii, 264. $35.00.

Bain Attwood surveys a battleground of the Australian "history wars." A leading historian of Aboriginal Australia, Atwood makes clear from the beginning his observer status as a *Pakeha* (white) New Zealander whose loyalties lie with the discipline of history. Even so, he soon finds that he is dodging bullets and needs to defend himself.

Attwood's book provides us with a fascinating and challenging account of recent disputes over the character of European settlement in Australia, the quality of the relations between invading Europeans and Aboriginal inhabitants, and how the national story should

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be told. Attwood conveys vividly the importance of Aboriginal history—in various guises—to contemporary Australian political debates.

The first part of this arresting book traces the emergence of extensive historical scholarship on Aboriginal dispossession out of what John La Nauze once described as a mere "melancholy anthropological footnote" to the story of white settlement. White historians began to break the "great Australian silence" in the 1970s and 1980s, a time when government policies were set on Aboriginal self-determination and national reconciliation. Emphasizing conflict and the complexities of contact, academic historians like Henry Reynolds sought to convey the experience of invasion and settlement from the other side of the frontier. Soon local historians, most of them amateur, and Aboriginal activists joined them, thereby expanding the compass of "history" and sometimes, according to Attwood, discomforting its more scholarly practitioners. Still largely invested in the "scientific ideal of objectivity" (p. 38), academic historians found themselves uneasy with the intimacy, broad claims, and flimsy evidence of many of these lay accounts, derived from oral history and "memory work."

Enter, in the 1990s, historian Keith Windschuttle. In *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2002), he accused Reynolds and others of systematic exaggeration of frontier conflict and hyperbolic claims of genocide. As Attwood demonstrates in exhaustive detail, Windschuttle deftly misrepresented and distorted the arguments of academic historians, lumping them together with those less nuanced in their judgment of Aboriginal dispossession and white settlement. Although he claims that his book was a response to the politicizing of history, Windschuttle in fact was responsible for the polemical attack. Thus the absurd battle of the black-armband people with the white-blindfold people ensued, displacing careful observers of Australian history. Then Prime Minister John Howard and commentators from *The Australian* newspaper loudly cheered the loyal defenders of white settlement from the sidelines. It was historiography as political entertainment, a warm-up act for the next election. At the time it seemed an unedifying sight, an embarrassment to many Australians.

But Attwood knows his way through the minefield and guides us toward the more significant issue of how Australians might come to terms with their traumatic past. In addressing this question he makes apt comparisons with other history wars, especially the German historians' debate (*Historikerstreit*) and the dispute over the *Enola Gay* exhibit at the Smithsonian Institution. His historiographic range is wide. Attwood draws on Dipesh Chakrabarty to explain how history has been enmeshed in European sovereignty. He refers both subtly and explicitly to Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob's *Telling the Truth about History* (1994), generally supporting their moderate skepticism and pluralism in responding to the challenges of postmodernism and identity politics to "objective" history. But the most profound influence on Attwood's argument is Dominick LaCapra's analysis of the avoidance and denial of mourning in German debates over their historical trauma. Interestingly, Attwood suggests that the trauma of indigenous dispossession continues to disrupt the formation of national identity in Australia. Like LaCapra, he recognizes the role of mourning, and the distraction of evasion or denial, in working through historical trauma and coming to terms with the past.

Historians interested in the contributions of trauma and memory to the formation of national identity, and how they might legitimately address such issues, will learn much from this book. But, sadly, the qualities that will most impress other scholars—the range of reference, telling comparisons, adroit use of social theory, and psychoanalytic concepts—may well deter the reading public whose attention the author also wishes to capture.

WARWICK ANDERSON
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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

ZHIQIU LIN. *Policing the Wild North-West: A Sociological Study of the Provincial Police in Alberta and Saskatchewan 1905–1932*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press. 2007. Pp. 233. $34.95.

Many criminologists and a few historians spend their working lives trying to make sense of the often baffling changes in crime rates observed in the couple of centuries in which more or less reliable statistics have been gathered in various countries. There are many large unsolved questions about these figures. Do they represent real changes in behavior, or are they artifacts of the way they are recorded? Are they systematically related to economic or demographic changes? One of these questions is how the changing numbers are affected by the activities of police, and this is the main focus of Zhiqiu Lin's study.

The history of policing in western Canada over the last century and a half outside the major cities has been dominated by the North West Mounted Police and its successor, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The important exception was the brief period from 1917 to 1928 in Saskatchewan and 1932 in Alberta, when the federal government withdrew from contracts to provide provincial police services, forcing the two provinces to create their own police. The different organizational structures and policing agendas over the next decade or so provide a good foundation for comparative study. The core of the book is the third chapter, which uses an array of econometric techniques to analyze the data on crime rates. The chapter is quite successful in demonstrating that there was a gradual but real rise in rates of serious crime, while the much larger rise in public order offenses came from political pressures associated especially with the enforcement of prohibition. The size of the police force in relation to the population made little difference. As the author succinctly puts it, "Ar-

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rest rates are more influenced by what police do than by their numbers" (p. 81).

The rest of the book is, regrettably, less satisfying. It says nothing about how crime statistics were collected beyond the statement that the police themselves did the job, leaving the reader in doubt about the completeness and reliability of the data. This is in marked contrast to the twenty-four-page appendix detailing the statistical methodology. The introductory chapter, which reviews the literature on policing and crime rates, is solid and balanced, but the five historical chapters that attempt to place the statistical portion in context are very uneven. The author has not been well served by his editors, who missed dozens of minor grammatical and spelling errors.

The weakest chapter concerns the different political structures within which the two police forces operated. While the literature on the police themselves is scant, that on the social and political history of Saskatchewan and Alberta in the period is substantial. The book is not well grounded in that historiography, and, as a result, its interpretations are often naïve or simply incorrect. The portions dealing with the policing of immigrants and labor suffer from some of the same problems but are generally better. The chapter on the enforcement of prohibition is quite good, although a reader unfamiliar with the tangled and rapidly changing Canadian liquor laws in the early 1920s might find it difficult to follow.

Few pioneering studies are without flaws. This book is the first substantial scholarly examination of an important subject. It illuminates many of the questions even if it does not always provide complete answers.

Rod Macleod
University of Alberta

Joanna Dean. *Religious Experience and the New Woman: The Life of Lily Dougall*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 322. $39.95.

This is the first published study of the religious thinker Lily Dougall (1858–1923), and Joanna Dean's book demonstrates that Dougall is an important, neglected figure. Dougall's father was a prominent Canadian evangelical. Her youthful influences also included the Holiness movement. Dougall's intellectual biography is a story of her movement away from these traditions while still retaining and reinterpreting elements of them. Dougall eventually became a leading voice of Anglican modernism.

She began as a novelist. Her first book, *Beggars All* (1891), was a bestseller. A string of others followed, but they increasingly became vehicles for expressing her liberal theological views. Her publisher, Macmillan, began to lose patience: "You have to a considerable extent sacrificed your story to your purpose which we take to be a plea for liberal thought and practice in religious matters" (p. 96). Evangelical novelists have often been castigated for being too didactic, but here is a reminder that modernists have also succumbed to this.

Dougall eventually found the confidence to write straightforwardly theological works. *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* (1900) was immediately successful. Dougall participated in numerous organizations, including the Anglican Fellowship, the Society of Psychical Research, and the Modern Churchman's Union; she organized a series of multi-authored modernist volumes; and she interacted with other prominent thinkers such as Henry Sidgwick and Beatrice Webb.

Dean excels at teasing out intellectual influences. She fruitfully explores the way that Dougall made use of Edward Caird's idealist philosophy. (Delightfully, in a kind of parody of evangelical piety, Dougall converted to this position while at a Christian summer camp.) This reader found particularly illuminating Dean's highlighting of the influence of Thomas Carlyle's thought upon modernists.

This study is not without faults. There is an extraordinary amount of repetition. To give a random example of this irritating trait, here is a remark from the introduction: "*Pro Christo et Ecclesia* was a lyrical exposition of the ideas of Christian socialist F. D. Maurice" (p. 5). Close to a hundred pages later, perhaps it was worth reiterating: "Dougall's early religious essays are best interpreted as lyrical applications of F. D. Maurice's Christian socialism" (p. 102). But then just six pages on, one reads: "Dougall makes no direct reference to F. D. Maurice in *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, but her book presented a lyrical explication of some central tenets of his liberal Anglican theology" (p. 108). The reader is then informed on the very next page: "Dougall's *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* was a lyrical exposition of Maurice's argument" (p. 109).

More substantially, although the efforts of women to gain influential voices in the religious world is a significant theme, Dean never even identifies, let alone grapples with, an intriguing reality at the heart of her story: namely that women had far greater opportunities to speak authoritatively in the evangelical circles that Dougall had abandoned than in the modernist world that she joined. Full credit is given to the Anglican Fellowship for being progressive: "women occasionally led discussions and on at least one occasion a woman, Mrs. Streeter, led a devotional meeting" (p. 140). Of course, this had limits: "they avoid[ed] such controversial questions as the preaching of women" (p. 141). A list of restrictions on women is valid within Anglican modernism, but not at all for many evangelical contexts (p. 11). Such presentations cry out for a contrast with the Holiness movement whose leading preachers and authors were women.

The introduction begins by crediting Dougall for her daring declaration, which has since won the day: "Whatever is true is God's way of revealing himself" (pp. 1, 12–13). Far from being original or unorthodox, this maxim sounds suspiciously like the celebrated teaching of the second-century church father Justin Martyr. There is also an odd paragraph that gives a series of quotations that do not remotely indicate any such thing to assert that "the idea of hellfire was still powerful" (pp. 26–27).

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Although there is much splendid analysis in this book, I have space only to gesture at a few of the other themes that Dean insightfully handles. Dougall's partner was Sophie Earp, and Dean's sure-footed exploration of their relationship insists that categories from other periods not be imposed upon it: "Dougall and Earp's love could no more be a 'romantic friendship' in the asexual terms of the mid-nineteenth century, than it could be a 'lesbian' relationship in the highly sexualized terms of post-1928 modern lesbian identity" (p. 72). Dougall and Earp's identity as New Women extended even to joining the bicycle craze. Dean is also an astute literary critic, arguing persuasively, for example, that two characters in one novel represent different parts of Dougall's identity. This is a well-researched, insightful study of a woman whose life interacted with and influenced key currents of modern religious history in Britain and North America.

TIMOTHY LARSEN
Wheaton College

JENNIFER A. STEPHEN. *Pick One Intelligent Girl: Employability, Domesticity, and the Gendering of Canada's Welfare State, 1939–1947.* (Studies in Gender and History, number 29.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2007. Pp. x, 299. Cloth $75.00, paper $29.95.

North American feminist historians have a long-standing interest in accounts of the mobilization and demobilization of women during and after World War II, and for good reason. The significant influx of women into the labor force, as well as recruitment of women for the armed forces, saw dramatic changes in women's lives. In Canada, the labor force participation rate soared from twenty-four to thirty-three percent in the space of five years, yet some of these women were encouraged, enticed, or pushed out of the labor force after the war. At least, that is the story we know. As Jennifer A. Stephen shows, there is more we can learn from these crucial years, particularly about the ongoing gendering of the welfare state.

Stephen's book builds on the core Canadian text on women and World War II by Ruth Roach Pierson, *They're Still Women after All: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood* (1986), probing federal policy, as well as the thinking behind it, that shaped the management of the female labor force, or, as she stresses, the discourses of employability that undergirded the welfare state. Women, she argues, occupied a "natural" (and domesticized) space "outside rational economic space" (p. 31) in the minds of many policy makers who did not see female workers, first and foremost, *as workers*. During the war women's employment was regulated by the National Selective Service Women's Division, which in turn was influenced by the prevailing discourses about women's proper sexual/gender roles and their class position, as well as by emerging concepts of personnel and vocational placement. Even as women flooded the workforce, their role as marginal/temporary workers was reinforced: the dominant typology of an "ideal type" citizen worker—white and male—characterized the emerging welfare state and the labor market so intimately connected to it. Women's labor, Stephen concludes, was thus firmly governed by "policy discourses of masculinist state power" (p. 207).

Stephen's work on these years of policy development nicely compliments the recent literature of Canadian feminist political economy which has explored the way a notion of a "standard" or "normal" employment relationship (the white, breadwinning, male production worker in secure employment) served as the template for post–World War II policies ranging from unemployment insurance to the regulation of contingent labor.

Stephen attempts to dissect federal policy thinking in more depth than previous scholars, and she explores some new themes. One is the emergence of female mandarins as policy makers, thinkers, and architects of the gendered welfare state. Save for the intrepid Charlotte Whitton, a conservative social worker and sometime government advisor in the interwar years, women had not generally played these roles before in Canada. World War II, Stephen indicates, opened new doors for this small group of white, educated women, animated by "liberalist" (p. 11) ideology. Although this term might have been defined more clearly, Stephen does show that their understanding of women's interests was very much shaped by their own education and class backgrounds, a recurring theme in studies of North American women and the welfare state. Stephen pays particular attention to the academic writing and subsequent bureaucratic work of Olive Ruth Russell, an educational psychologist who published and lectured on vocational testing and training, and who was employed both by the Canadian Women's Army Corps and later by Veterans Affairs after the war to aid women's postwar rehabilitation. Russell's career, to date undocumented, provides insight into the rationales (both realized and not) behind both the state's mobilization and demobilization of women.

Indeed, it was this group of psychologists, advocates of mental hygiene, and industrial psychiatrists, Stephen suggests, who benefited from newfound legitimacy and "scientific" prestige as the war provided a "staging ground" (p. 97) for their expert knowledge which was integrated into the policy machine during and after the war. Ideas about intelligence testing, vocational guidance, and personnel selection, as well as professional input from the National Mental Hygiene Association, were perceived to be valuable tools for determining the who, where, and how of employability. During postwar reconstruction, the same discourses shaped postwar notions of the ideal-type "healthy" psychological citizen (and the ideal family). Influenced by Foucauldian writing, the author places some considerable emphasis on these "psych" experts and their attempts to define worker employability and "interiorality" (p. 194).

Employability discourse, Stephen argues throughout the book, was both gendered and racially defined; though the former is developed quite extensively, the

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latter tends to be stated rather than explicated more fully with evidence. Other critical explorations of the postwar Fordist settlement have tended to look at the interactions of capital, labor, and the state, or the gendering of specific welfare state policies. Stephen's contribution is to probe federal policy development concerning women's employment and "employability," particularly the importance of new "psyche" expert thinking. The impact, or "policy effects" of such thinking, the author notes, were very "real" when it came to women's work options, although one wonders if women's horizons, broadened by the war, could be so easily tamed and regulated after it.

JOAN SANGSTER
Trent University, Canada

FRANCA IACOVETTA. *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*. Toronto: Between the Lines. 2006. Pp. xiii, 370. $34.95.

There are many ways of writing histories of major immigration movements: economic assessments of impacts on the receiving and sending countries; political accounts of changes in policies on the part of either receiving or sending countries that affect push-and-pull factors; sociological studies that evaluate empirically (often at an aggregated level) the impact of major waves of immigration, both on the immigrants themselves and on existing members of receiving societies in terms of economic, social, and political integration; legal accounts of the role of legislatures, administrative agencies, and courts in the formulation and administration of immigration policy; and social histories that attempt to depict the impact of immigration on the day-to-day lives of individual immigrants, their families, and members of the community in which they have chosen to settle. Franca Iacovetta's book falls very much into this last category.

The book offers a series of social narratives of the trials and tribulations confronting many immigrants who came to Canada in the immediate postwar years (from about 1947 to 1965), overwhelmingly from continental Europe. During this period about 165,000 displaced persons arrived in Canada between 1947 and 1953 (Poles, Ukrainians, Germans and Austrians, Jews, Latvians, Lithuanians, Hungarians, Czechs, Dutch, and Russians, in this order of numerical significance). These were followed by nearly 1.5 million continental European immigrants (including 37,000 Hungarian refugees from the 1956 revolt against the communist regime) who settled in Canada by 1965. This was one of the most concentrated influxes of immigrants in Canadian history, rivaling that which occurred in the late years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century.

Iacovetta has meticulously tilled popular accounts of the integration challenges faced by these immigrants through press and magazine stories of the day, records of ethnic and community organizations, social agencies, the ethnic press, and minutes and records from official government archives, agencies, and officials responsible for immigration and citizenship issues. In her preface, she states that her perspective is that of a "left feminist, anti-racist," and this perspective is strongly evident in her account of the often obsessive concerns on the part of government officials, the popular media, and the public at large with the potential for communist infiltration by immigrants originating in countries in the communist bloc and countries with strong socialist political histories (such as Italy). Both government and other institutional gatekeepers set themselves the task of identifying and weeding out these so-called infiltrators and either seeking their deportation or otherwise converting them to the cause of democratic capitalism. Her perspective is also evident in her narratives that focus on attempts to integrate newcomers into family values of their new country, where, again, she is critical of the efforts to inculcate in newcomers traditional gender roles that were then widely prevalent in Canada (and elsewhere in the industrialized world). These themes are developed through a large and rich body of highly personalized narratives or vignettes about particular immigrants or immigrant families wrestling with the manifold challenges of making the economic, social, and cultural adjustments required to immigrate successfully into a new society (which most did). In the case of many displaced persons, the shocking abuses that they had suffered in concentration camps and in refugee camps after the war posed particularly daunting challenges in rebuilding shattered lives. Iacovetta's historical methodology, focusing on personal narratives or vignettes, has the advantage over other kinds of histories of immigration that are often more abstract or rigorously empirical in that it provides flesh and blood insights into what immigration often entails for many newcomers and their families (although at the price of generalizability).

Her implicit critique of not only government authorities, but a variety of popular press and various social agencies' obsessive concerns with communist infiltration is tempered in her concluding chapter by her acknowledgment that "today given our greater knowledge of the Soviet Union's despicable human rights record, we can no longer characterize the testimonials of the anti-Communist East European refugees regarding human rights violations and atrocities in the Soviet Union and other Eastern Bloc states as being entirely ideologically motivated exaggerations emerging from right wing fanaticism" (p. 291), although she maintains that at the time those attitudes did help to sustain a repressive culture within the Canadian Cold War state. Her implicit criticism of the rather restrictive model of cultural pluralism reflected in gatekeepers' efforts in the early postwar decades to integrate newcomers into Canadian society is probably also somewhat harsh, in that in many respects these efforts simply reflected much broader community values (for example, about gender roles in the family and the economic, social, and po-

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litical life of the community) that were widely prevalent in Canadian society.

Indeed, it is implausible to suppose that integration efforts directed at newcomers would have reflected a richer or more liberal conception of cultural and social pluralism. In these implicit and sometimes explicit critiques of the various roles of gatekeepers charged with the role of receiving and integrating newcomers, one tends to lose sight of the enormous generosity of many Canadians—indeed, probably the majority of Canadians—in welcoming this enormous influx of newcomers, reflecting a receptiveness to immigration that stands in stark contrast to Canada's record in most prior epochs in its history where racial discrimination was pervasive and gross injustices were perpetrated upon many immigrants or would-be immigrants, including Canada's refusal to accept any Jewish refugees during World War II and its internment of most of its Japanese citizens during the war.

The period on which Iacovetta focuses is indeed a precursor to a general liberalization of Canadian immigration policy, both in terms of the number of immigrants admitted to Canada (now running at 250,000 a year) and the elimination of racially based criteria for admission. Indeed, in recent decades a majority of immigrants are members of so-called visible minorities from Asia, the Caribbean, and the Middle East, such that today the population of Toronto consists of about forty-four percent first-generation immigrants, the majority of whom are visible minorities. All of these subsequent efforts to liberalize Canadian immigration policy find their genesis in the period with which Iacovetta is concerned, and perhaps warrant a somewhat more generous interpretation of the shifts in policy that began to emerge in this period than she provides.

However, the author is right to point out in her concluding chapter that there are some resonances today with issues that were prominent in this period, including an inclination, in the so-called "war on terror," to engage in ideologically motivated forms of "guilt by association" where immigrants from Muslim countries are treated as presumptively suspect Islamic extremists, warranting special screening and deportation procedures that lack accountability and transparency and do not, in many cases, comport with Canadians' commitment to the rule of law and due process. In this respect her account of widespread instances of trampling on civil and political liberties and denial of due process during the Cold War serves as a salutary and timeless lesson to us as we seek to realize the enormous economic, social, and cultural benefits of liberal immigration policies while addressing the real but limited risks to national security that such policies entail.

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DUANE BRATT. *The Politics of CANDU Exports*. (The Institute of Public Administration of Canada Series in Public Management and Governance.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Institute of Public Administration of Canada. 2006. Pp. xv, 319. $60.00.

When it comes to international trade, Canada's image has traditionally been one of a "hewer of wood and drawer of water," known largely as an exporter of natural products such as wheat and lumber. But in a few important fields, such as aerospace and automobiles, Canada does have a significant high technology and manufacturing presence. And in nuclear energy, the country can rightly proclaim itself to be an important player in the design and export of its CANDU (Canadian Deuterium Uranium) reactors in this highly competitive global market.

Because of its vast uranium deposits, Canada was in on the ground floor of World War II's Manhattan Project. Although its provenance was military, Canada's nascent nuclear industry emerged, in Duane Bratt's words, "almost by accident," after the Americans cut off their allies in 1943 due to security concerns. With the world's first experimental reactor after the United States, Canada directed its nuclear program toward peaceful energy use. The centerpiece of this effort was the CANDU, which differed from most reactor designs in that it used natural uranium and depended upon heavy water for cooling. To keep the industry alive, exports of the reactor were necessary, since Canada's market was too small, and the United States and Europe already had their own nuclear industries.

Methodically written as a straightforward series of case studies, this useful book documents the evolving factors that have affected the postwar sale of CANDU reactors in the international market, primarily to developing countries. Commerce, proliferation, government subsidies, human rights, and environmental concerns have all shaped the political economy of Canadian nuclear exports. These competing interests have resulted in some very difficult outcomes for Canada's foreign policy and its nuclear establishment.

For instance, Bratt effectively illustrates Canada's "nuclear schizophrenia." Canada pushed a peaceful energy program through its exports, yet by 1959 had sold enough uranium to its allies to build 15,000 nuclear weapons, and did not expressly prohibit the use of exported uranium for weapons manufacture until 1965. Canadian military forces were equipped with nuclear capability (using U.S. warheads if necessary) until 1984, and the U.S. military stored warheads at its Canadian bases until 1971.

More centrally for this book, Bratt argues that Canada may have pushed nonproliferation or human rights as fundamentals of its foreign policy, yet these concerns often took a back seat when it came to CANDU exports. Canadians were quite willing to sell to countries with weapons ambitions or dodgy human rights records, including India, Pakistan, Argentina, Romania, and China. In peddling nuclear technology to India in the 1950s and 1960s, Ottawa convinced itself that the proliferation threat was minimal and focused on making a sale. Decades later, Canada hawked nuclear reactors to

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China a scant five years after the Tiananmen Square massacre.

Sometimes, commerce lost out. Canadian policy toward proliferation changed dramatically after India's 1974 "peaceful" nuclear test, when Canada severed its nuclear relationship with both India and Pakistan. Nonetheless, there is an undeniable link between Canada's initial assistance to those countries' nuclear programs and to the subcontinent's arms race (in 1998 both countries exploded nuclear weapons). Otherwise, in only one instance did human rights trump commercial considerations. During the depths of Argentina's military junta in 1979, public criticism of the Argentines from one Canadian minister led to the spiking of a second nuclear facility sale.

Bratt's book provides an insightful rendering of the dynamics of an industry wrought with nationalistic, commercial, and geopolitical consequences. There are interesting snippets on Indian leader Jawaharlal Nehru and his atomic expert, the flamboyant Homi Bhabha (a national hero in India), but there is little on the Canadian experts or behind the scenes clashes that might add color to the book. More is needed on the machinations of central player Atomic Energy Canada Limited, portrayed as a unidimensional entity, with no internal division or debates. Further, Bratt's claim that new CANDU sales in Canada are unlikely in the foreseeable future is premature. In 2006, Ontario announced that it would double its current nuclear capacity. While there are no specifics on construction (and some doubt the viability of the plan), new CANDUs could be a significant part of the future Canadian energy landscape.

Notwithstanding these minor issues, this is an accessible and important addition to our understanding of a central aspect of Canadian economic and foreign policy in the postwar period. As one of the world's most trade-dependent nations, this study illustrates the length that Canadian policy makers will go to in their efforts to secure an important niche in this high-technology sector. Bratt has done an admirable service in mining challenging terrain (archival documentation in this area is extremely difficult to access) to present a balanced and thoughtful approach to one of Canada's most important trade and foreign policy issues.

DIMITRY ANASTAKIS
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PAUL OTTO. *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter in America: The Struggle for Sovereignty in the Hudson Valley*. (European Expansion and Global Interaction, number 3.) New York: Berghahn. 2006. Pp. xiii, 225. $75.00.

One of the great mysteries in American historiography is the general absence of the Munsee and, to a slightly lesser extent, their trading partners, the Dutch. Further baffling to students of early American history is how and why the participants in a land transaction that occupies almost mythological status in American history—the exchange of Manhattan Island for the proverbial $24.00 worth of beads—have been so systematically ignored, except by a dedicated few. The reason, perhaps, lies in the relatively short tenure of both groups as prominent players in the region and in the broader story of British colonial America that has come to dominate the subsequent historiography. Whatever the reason, Paul Otto's book, along with a number of recent excellent histories exploring the groups that comprised the short-lived colony of New Netherland, is a welcome addition to the reconceptualization of that entire region.

In this slim volume, Otto focuses on the interactions between the Dutch and their near neighbors, the Munsee. The latter inhabited a broad swath of territory that encompassed western Long Island, crossed the East River to Manhattan Island (and the smaller adjacent islands), and from there moved north on both sides of the Hudson River to modern-day Kingston and west into New Jersey. The Dutch-Munsee relationship was among the earliest and closest interactions between native and newcomer and, as the author points out, deserves closer attention.

Otto's detailed account of the Munsee during the first five critical decades of Indian-European contact in the area helps return the Munsee, as well as the Dutch, to their rightful place in early American history. In doing so, he draws attention to the need to integrate the interactions of a wider variety of Native *and* European peoples into our understanding of the making of this Atlantic American world. For example, he mentions the actions of Narragansett sachem Miantonomi in the spring of 1642, who appealed to the Munsee to join in a pan-Indian resistance movement. Miantonomi preached his message of pan-Indian resistance not only to the Munsee but to Native groups living on the southern New England mainland as well as to the Long Island tribes who inhabited a swath of land stretching 127 miles west to east. His actions, along with the reactions of Native and European groups, demonstrate that even during the earliest decades of native-newcomer encounters these peoples did not operate in a geographic vacuum. Another question this study raises is how did the Munsee-Dutch relationship influence Dutch policy and actions in the broader Atlantic American region? After all, the Dutch were not only active in the region we typically identify as New Netherland but also were significant players in the events that ultimately shaped the southern New England mainland. Otto's book opens the door to these as well as many other questions, which, it is to be hoped, future scholars will pursue.

Otto structures the Dutch-Munsee relationship through Howard Lamar and Leonard Thompson's well-known "frontier model" in which the interactions between two competing groups are seen through the lens of competition for political and economic control. A frontier closes once one of the competing groups imposes its hegemony over the other. If there is a weakness to this otherwise lucid and informative history, this is it. The frontier model, by its very nature, somewhat limits Otto's analysis as the story seems to become a tale

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of declension. In stage one the Munsee remain in control of their territory, culture, and people, and of the type and quality of their contact with the Dutch. In stage two the Dutch, through the West India Company, begin to assert greater influence over the region, not only by securing trade but by peopling and planting New Netherland. At this point, the real struggle for political control between the Munsee and Dutch begins in earnest. In its final stage, war and disease, along with inherent changes in the basic economic and political realities, result in the closing of the Dutch-Munsee frontier even as the Dutch find themselves occupying a new frontier due to the defeat of New Netherland by the English in 1664. So, even as the author hints at the transformative influence contact with the Munsee had on the Dutch, the reader walks away with a sense that by the close of the seventeenth century, the territory of the Munsee had been transformed into an "increasingly European land" (p. 169).

Despite the limitations this analytical model places on this study, it has much to contribute. The strongest feature of this study is perhaps the information about Munsee society generally, the stresses and adaptations faced, as this group struggled to maintain its tenure in that area the Dutch quickly moved to transform into their "new" New Netherland.

FAREN R. SIMINOFF
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AARON SPENCER FOGLEMAN. *Jesus Is Female: Moravians and the Challenge of Radical Religion in Early America.* (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. x, 330. $49.95.

The Moravians or Herrnhuters were one of the most energetic and controversial religious groups in the mid-eighteenth-century transatlantic world. Led by the charismatic Count Nikolaus von Zinzendorf, the Moravians' mission extended from Greenland to South Africa, but the success of the Moravians aroused opposition from many sides. Numerous anti-Zinzendorf polemics appeared in the 1740s and 1750s, warning of the supposed threat that his piety posed to the public order. Zinzendorf was exiled from his homeland, Moravian missionaries were banned in South Africa, and the Moravians were forced to abandon one of their grandest settlements (Herrnhaag in Wetteravia).

Aaron Spencer Fogleman examines the opposition to the Moravians in North America during the Great Awakening. He argues that the opponents of the Moravians feared "female power run amok, which could be seen in the radical gospel of femaleness in the Trinity, women preaching, strange marriage and sex practices that undermined the patriarchal family, and ecumenism" (p. 219). Perceived violations of confessional and gender order led to violent efforts to stop the Moravians. Unfortunately, as Fogleman admits (pp. 9, 191, 198), there is a "lack of sources" to support his thesis. Moravian views on God and gender were controversial and offered titillating tidbits for the polemics, but Fogleman fails to connect gender fears to specific acts of violence. It is always problematic when a historian relies on "conjectural knowledge and possible truth" (p. 9), but it is doubly so when the group in question is one of the most heavily documented societies of the early modern period.

This book is most useful when it is closely connected to the original sources. Fogleman's narrative of the specific acts of opposition to the Moravians is informative and engaging. Historians should be able to use those chapters to broaden our understanding of the dynamics of the Great Awakening, especially among German-speaking settlers. Fogleman shows how certain religious controversies crossed the Atlantic, but he could have been more nuanced in his analysis of polemics. Is it not odd that church officials in Germany would quote from the publications of radical Separatists in Pennsylvania? If the opposition to the Moravians came primarily from the defenders of orthodoxy, as Fogleman asserts, why were the polemics written by pietists, separatists, and evangelicals?

Fogleman assumes that there was something unique in the Moravian story, but he fails to demonstrate this with comparative study of other religious groups, such as the Quakers or Presbyterians. Church divisions, legal actions, and personal attacks were not uncommon during the 1740s or other periods of religious fervor. Taken in context, the fifteen instances of violent opposition against the Moravians that Fogleman charts do not seem unusual or particularly violent. Many of the cases he presents were simple violations of local ordinances against itinerancy or work on Sunday.

The book does provide strong evidence that the Philadelphian ecumenism of the Moravians worried both religious authorities and dissidents. One suspects that the only thing that could unite Gilbert Tennant, Henry Muhlenberg, and Christopher Saur was opposition to the Moravian's ecumenical "heart religion." Unfortunately, Fogleman does not pursue this evidence with sufficient rigor to clarify why ecumenism was so frightening, especially in a Quaker colony where the government provided no structures of religious authority.

Fogleman's study could have been greatly strengthened by examining the broader Moravian context as well. There are only passing references to Savannah, South Africa, St. Thomas, and Surinam, where Moravians were subjected to harsh beatings, arrest, and expulsion. On the surface, it appears that America was far friendlier to the Moravians than Europe or Africa. By limiting his attention to the 1740s, Fogleman also ignores the two worst instances of violence against the Moravians: the massacres in Gnaddenhutten, Pennsylvania, and Gnaddenhutten, Ohio. These atrocities were directly connected with the Moravian mission to the Indians. Although there are hints throughout the book that opposition to the Moravians was motivated by fear of their work with native tribes, Fogleman does not develop this critical point. This is baffling since the Moravian effort to convert Indians was more immediately

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frightening to white settlers and planters than their feminized understanding of the Trinity.

Its title points to the greatest weakness of the book. Not only does Fogleman fail to connect any act of violence to supposed gender fears, he does not even provide firm evidence that the Moravians depicted Jesus as a woman. Quite the contrary, it was the Moravian's emphasis on Jesus' physical maleness that shocked most religious authorities. The idea that the church was born from the side of Christ does not make him into a woman any more than the claim that Eve was born from Adam makes the archetypal man into a woman. Fogleman's attempt to place the opposition to the Moravians in the context of modern gender debates seriously undermines the book and makes it hard to recommend it.

CRAIG ATWOOD
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JASON K. DUNCAN. *Citizens or Papists? The Politics of Anti-Catholicism in New York, 1685–1821.* (Hudson Valley Heritage Series, number 3.) New York: Fordham University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 253. $70.00.

In baseball, there is a manner of play called "small ball." Rather than swinging for the fences, a team works to get the little things right on offense, putting runners on base and advancing them methodically. There is nothing demeaning about the style; it works, though it is more likely to produce low than high-scoring games. Jason K. Duncan's book is a historian's version of small ball. While seeking to make a scholarly contribution, Duncan's aspirations are modest. He rarely swings for the fences and his approach is very traditional, but the volume provides a reasonable and readable account of the political integration of Roman Catholics in New York, with a pronounced focus on New York City.

The volume's title implies that this is a study of a century and a half of Catholic experience in New York, but the colonial era is covered in the first thirty pages and the revolutionary and constitutional periods in fifty, both unremarkably. At most, we are reminded that Jacob Leisler's version of the Glorious Revolution in New York made "Catholic" a dirty word in public life and drove the religious practice of Catholicism underground. Consequently, in the revolutionary crisis, "Catholic" was available as a political epithet to rebels and loyalists alike. Thebooktries to answer this question: against such a background, how did Catholic citizens become the "mainstay of the Democratic Party" (p. xiii), at least in New York City, by the 1830s and 1840s? To explain why his is a necessary study, Duncan serves up a doubtful premise. He argues that historians have focused their attention on Catholics in American civil life during the decades from 1830 to 1860 and have "portrayed the early republic as a period in which Catholics were almost effortlessly woven into the fabric of the new nation" (p. xvii). Perhaps this was so of the generation of Ray Allen Billington, but it has not been true of the scholarship of the last forty years—witness works in Duncan's own bibliography by historians like Graham Hodges, Paul Gilje, Sean Wilentz, and this reviewer, among others, who have identified significant continuities in religious, ethnic, and cultural interrelationships from the late eighteenth century to the antebellum period.

But there is a useful story told here, informed by some good ideas. Duncan is certainly right that the political integration of the growing number of Catholics in early nineteenth-century America, fueled by steadily if slowly increasing Irish immigration, was made more difficult by the fact that this was a time when all Americans were grappling with the question of national identity and what it meant to be independent of Great Britain culturally as well as politically. The central line of the book is the struggle that took place among Democratic-Republicans to come to terms with Catholic Americans. Duncan distinguishes between "Atlantic" Republicans, who identified with transatlantic liberal movements and saw themselves, for instance, as naturally sympathetic to Irish independence, and "Nationalist" Republicans, who "harbored a current of resentment toward Catholics that was rooted in suspicion of all things European" (p. 132). Duncan helpfully traces the Nationalist temper to an antifederalist outlook in the 1780s that threw Catholics into the mix of things that seemed to threaten local autonomy: urban merchants, international trade, and distant authority. He draws on substantial secondary scholarship to remind us that this strain survived for a long time in New York City's Tammany organization, which, before it became the headquarters for an immigrant-supported Democratic machine, was an association of native, Protestant tradesmen who feared assaults on their economic autonomy by manufacturers and bankers and on their political autonomy by allegedly drilled and manipulated naturalized voters.

Of course, in the end, Duncan has to explain how the rift among proto-Democrats was healed, and he does so by arguing that during the 1810s, the Federalists had become so repulsive to both native-born and immigrant Catholics that there was simply no denying Catholic voters a home in either Republican faction. This is where Duncan's argument grows pretty thin. For Duncan, the Federalists' stereotype of Catholics—particularly Irish Catholics—surfaced almost full-blown from the ether. Irish Catholics were "poor and disorderly people" (p. 135). Federalists were wedded to "hostility to immigrants" and opposition to "the struggles of Ireland for independence" (p. 105). There is no explanation here, just assertion. In this respect, Duncan's volume is limited by being such a traditional political history, overwhelmingly reliant on politicians' correspondence and newspaper accounts from the era to supplement heavy use of secondary materials. There is little getting beneath of the skin of popular culture or of voter behavior that might better explain motivation. That would be swinging for the fences and is a reasonable ambition for the next book by this author.

DALE T. KNOBEL
Denison University

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JAMES LOWELL UNDERWOOD and W. LEWIS BURKE, editors. *The Dawn of Religious Freedom in South Carolina*. Introduction by WALTER EDGAR. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 222. $39.95.

These eight essays, some of which were presented at a seminar sponsored by the South Carolina Supreme Court Historical Society, explore the history of religious freedom in South Carolina. When Charles II granted the colony to the Lords Proprietors in 1663, the charter allowed the Proprietors to tolerate religious groups other than the Church of England. Beginning in 1669, the Proprietors expanded this toleration in various versions of the Fundamental Constitutions, thought to have been written by Anthony Ashley Cooper and his personal secretary, John Locke. The broad degree of toleration laid out in the Fundamental Constitutions certainly reflected Locke's enlightened attitudes on the subject, but they were never fully implemented. In the first two essays, James Lowell Underwood explores the complexities surrounding the evolution of religious freedom from its origins as a revocable grant of toleration in the royal charters and Fundamental Constitutions to the South Carolina Constitution of 1790, when religious freedom was enshrined as a right. In his fine essays, which make up almost half of the volume, Underwood demonstrates that political conflicts in the colony and in the mother country often shaped the debate over religious freedom in South Carolina. The degree of toleration extended to Quakers, for example, declined in times of war when the Quakers' pacifism was seen as a threat to the colony's safety. Suspicions that Catholics owed their allegiance to Rome meant that they were not allowed to worship freely until the Constitution of 1790. In addition, the Church of England was the established church in South Carolina, and its rights and privileges caused conflicts with other religious groups whose members were required to pay taxes for its support. But politics sometimes made strange bedfellows; Huguenots, for instance, allied themselves with the Anglican faction rather than with other Dissenters. When Governor Nathaniel Johnson attempted to remove Dissenters from the colonial assembly, Dissenters hired Daniel Defoe to defend their rights in print.

The Proprietors saw religious toleration as one means of attracting settlers to their colony, and toleration certainly achieved that goal. Jews, Quakers, and Huguenots arrived in substantial numbers and made South Carolina one of the most religiously diverse colonies in North America. Separate essays in the collection give important insights into how each of these groups integrated themselves into the life of the colony and state. In his essay on the Huguenots, Alexander Moore shows that the Anglican elite worked hard to forge alliances with the Huguenots who quickly assimilated, intermarried with Anglicans, and joined the dominant society. Richard and Belinda Gergel demonstrate that more Jews came to South Carolina during the colonial and early antebellum periods than anywhere else in North America. The Jews "enjoyed tremendous tolerance and acceptance in early South Carolina" (p. 109). The authors claim that the election of Francis Salvador in 1774 to the First Provincial Congress was the first time in human history that a Jew was elected to public office. While the Jews did not assimilate to the degree that the Huguenots did, their desire to integrate more fully into southern society gave birth to Reform Judaism.

If the Huguenots and Jews offer successful but different paths to prosperity in South Carolina, the Quakers show that not all religious groups prospered to the same degree. W. Scott Poole found that the Friends "prospered in an officially tolerant but culturally hostile society" (p. 166), who ultimately chose to emigrate rather than conform. The majority of the early Quaker immigrants came from Barbados, where they were persecuted. Many of the Quakers found financial success and included such prominent individuals as Governor John Archdale. The South Carolinians allowed the Quakers to avoid military service until the Yamassee War of 1715 nearly destroyed the colony and the Quakers' refusal to defend the colony "had a withering effect on the Charleston Quakers from which they would never fully recover" (p. 172). The early Quakers had no qualms about slavery and owned slaves themselves, but when Quakers came to oppose the institution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they had little choice but to leave the state.

In one of the volume's best essays, Bernard Powers explores the contradictions inherent in fostering religious freedom in a slave society. Masters were wary of converting slaves, who sometimes saw conversion as a path to freedom. Even when masters decided that conversion could help make slaves more content with their lot, black Carolinians used Christianity "to create psychic and sometimes physical living space by which to challenge Christian slaveholders" (p. 126). Events like the Stono Rebellion and the Denmark Vesey plot, both of which had strong religious overtones, suggest that masters were right to be wary of the revolutionary potential of black religion. The rise of evangelicalism attracted enslaved and free black members who found a greater degree of independence among Methodists and Baptists than ever before, although the discovery of the Vesey plot brought a severe crackdown on that religious liberty.

Most of the contributors understandably praise South Carolina for its broad religious toleration, but the status of the black majority calls that positive evaluation into question. Only for the European minority was South Carolina a "beacon of religious freedom" (p. ix).

RANDY J. SPARKS
Tulane University

JONATHAN MERCANTINI. *Who Shall Rule at Home? The Evolution of South Carolina Political Culture, 1748–1776*. (The Carolina Lowcountry and the Atlantic

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World.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 314. $49.95.

Jonathan Mercantini takes up Carl Becker's famous question about the American Revolution and applies it to South Carolina between 1748 and 1776. While the title correctly identifies this as a book concerned with the origins of the American Revolution in one colony, Mercantini delves deeply into South Carolina's political world before the Stamp Act to provide an account that reveals as much about politics during the colonial period as about the revolution itself. The book begins in 1748 and emphasizes events before 1766. It also never loses sight of the transatlantic context that is necessary to make politics in colonial British America comprehensible.

Despite this book's attention to the broader contexts of colonial politics, it belongs at least as much to the rather distinctive historiography of South Carolina politics. For generations scholars have commented on South Carolina's reputation for radicalism, often in an attempt to make sense of secession. Mercantini carefully avoids potentially problematic references to the antebellum era and points out that South Carolinians had good reasons to be reluctant about independence in 1776. He attributes South Carolina's support for the American Revolution partly to long-range tensions within the British Empire but mostly to what he calls "brinksmanship." As Mercantini puts it, "South Carolina politics is defined, foremost, by a 'winner take all' strategy that I call 'brinksmanship' " (p. 24). Examples of South Carolina's use of brinksmanship appear throughout the book, concluding with the decision for independence in 1776. Many readers will wish for a more fully developed explanation of what Mercantini means by "brinksmanship" and how it emerges, but the concept suggests an intriguing perspective on South Carolina's political history. Brinkmanship tactics were frequently mobilized to maintain local authority and to defend what colonists considered their rights as British citizens, providing a distinctive South Carolina approach to concerns that were widespread in colonial British America by the late eighteenth century.

At the same time that Mercantini emphasizes the winner-take-all character of lowcountry political maneuvering, he also takes issue with Robert Weir and others who have depicted South Carolina's colonial elite as in relative harmony on the eve of the American Revolution. This book certainly demonstrates a great deal of in-fighting among the lowcountry elite. Most frequently, Mercantini focuses on the growing authority of the Commons House of the Assembly, which won several struggles for power within the colony during these years, taking on the South Carolina Council and several governors. In the frequent political disputes of this period allegiances often shifted quickly, however, and a variety of incidents revealed fissures within South Carolina's political milieu. Mercantini deals with some especially divisive issues in more depth, including the Cherokee War, the Gasden election controversy, and the Stamp Act. Ultimately, whether or not Mercantini's analysis demonstrates a lack of relative harmony may well depend on one's frame of reference.

Mercantinifocuses almost exclusively on political elites. On some level this is appropriate for a book that seeks to explain leadership decisions and imperial political dynamics. At the same time, one cannot help but wonder if a wider lens might yield a different point of view. For example, Mercantini has very little to say about the fierce political disputes between lowcountry elites and backcountry settlers that resulted in the South Carolina Regulation during this period. It would be interesting to know whether tensions between these two groups resulted in any brinksmanship. Similarly, readers familiar with the work of Robert Olwell, Sylvia Frey, and Peter H. Wood will be surprised to learn that, according to Mercantini, "slaves and slavery barely registered on the colony's formal political consciousness after the Stono Rebellion" (p. 15). The book does not challenge these scholars' arguments directly, but it does not engage with them either.

This study reinforces and modifies but does not radically depart from the interpretation of early South Carolina's political history developed in the classic works of Weir and Eugene Sirmans. While Mercantini builds on this solid scholarly foundation, he also provides a new, lucid, detailed, and often perceptive narrative of mid-eighteenth century South Carolina politics. His work should be of interest to all scholars of early South Carolina and to many scholars interested in the relationship between provincial and imperial politics in the decades before the American Revolution.

BRADFORD J. WOOD
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BEN MARSH. *Georgia's Frontier Women: Female Fortunes in a Southern Colony*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 253. $34.95.

Ben Marsh explores women and gender in Georgia from trusteeship (1732–1752) to royal rule (1752–1783). While women's opportunities in the trustee era declined as Georgia became a restrictive slaveholding society much like its neighbors, its evolution did not simply recapitulate developments elsewhere. Where Kathleen M. Brown argues that existing gender hierarchies provided a platform for creating new racial hierarchies in Virginia, in Georgia, Marsh states, "the framework was slavery and the shifting code was that of gender" (p. 143). Using colonization propaganda, legal records, land grant applications, and newspapers, among other sources, Marsh examines family formation and reproduction, women's occupations, legal position, and social influence and the linked growth of slavery and effective patriarchy. Whenever possible, he contrasts different communities of settlers, including Salzburgers, Jews, Quakers, Creek and Cherokees, and enslaved Africans, but as he observes elite white women predominate in many sources.

The relationship between material conditions and

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ideology works in one direction here: without a conducive demography and economy, imported codes of conduct cannot gain purchase. Georgia's trustees believed that female settlers would stabilize the colony by encouraging family formation, reproducing and rearing the population, and performing domestic labor and commodity production, of which the most important was silk culture. In fact, the colony neither grew by natural increase nor conformed to the trustees' ideals in most other ways. The scarcity of conventionally marriageable women forced girls' age at first marriage down into the mid-teens and also prompted men to marry across ethnic, confessional, linguistic, national, and even racial boundaries. Even the legal contours of marriage itself proved flexible, as necessity demanded and trustees encouraged female activities that violated a strict construction of coverture. Married women's work included remunerative dairying and silk production, and basic housekeeping, but they also worked alongside husbands in retailing, teaching, and tavern-keeping. Throughout, Marsh characterizes women's work in terms of specialization, in addition to the conventional axis of location. Most frontier women were struggling generalists, but a small number of specialists, like silk expert Marie Camuse and Creek diplomat Mary Musgrove, thrived. Marsh productively explores how "control of information, connections, and character" helped women "negotiate" their environment, but notes that "luck, wealth, status, race, or nationality" always mattered more (p. 91).

As Georgia's institutions matured and its demography changed, the occupational diversity and legal laxity of the trusteeship disappeared. While white Georgians experienced natural population growth and many enjoyed the prosperity of slave ownership, conditions remained abysmal for the now-legally enslaved population. Disease, overwork, mortality, and sexual imbalance inhibited natural population growth, but the colony's leaders addressed that problem by importing thousands of slaves. The rise of slavery changed women's work and forged new distinctions among them: most enslaved women perforce performed unskilled and monotonous work, while a privileged white elite did almost no work at all. (Marsh suspects that elite women gladly relinquished managerial responsibilities to men.) White women who worked for money found new opportunities in meeting planters' desires for fancy clothes and imported luxuries. Specialization thus persisted for a limited number of women, but became more exceptional, as socioeconomic "niches" for women became "smaller and rarer" (p. 141). Legally, women's position changed too, with the imposition of a Carolinian slave code and paternalistic legal procedures such as separate conveyance.

By the eve of the American Revolution, demographic "normalization," economic "specialization" in slave staples, and "effective encoding of racial difference" created a "web of race and gender" that made Georgia southern (p. 142). The revolution itself shook this web but could not tear it, and Georgia recovered speedily, thanks largely to continued slave importation and land grants (p. 180). White women's and even slaves' contributions to the web—a metaphor Marsh explores rigorously—also ensured its stability. Slaves who formed "ransomable" families, for example, "inadvertently anchor[ed] their descendants" in bondage (p. 176).

Despite the book's strong, clear argument, general readers might be deterred by its densely packed details and confused by the occasional misstep. Marsh calls one wealthy Georgian's fiancée a "paramour" and uses the word "matriarch" as if it were not controversial (pp. 154, 137, 180). The observation that "the ferocity of the mother-in-law is a constant of human nature" is patently ahistorical and does not illuminate the adjacent example (p. 136). While unfortunate, these and similar lapses barely detract from the considerable sophistication with which Marsh explores his subject on the whole. An unusually liberal salting of other historians' names in the text itself will help the curious track Marsh's intellectual debts, although he rarely debates interpretations explicitly. On the whole, Marsh refines our understanding of how the southern frontier became the South, giving his fellow historians a revised chronology and a new understanding of gender's role in colonization to ponder.

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EMILY CLARK. *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727–1834*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 2007. Pp. xvi, 287. Cloth $59.95, paper $22.50.

Emily Clark's nuanced exploration of a community of energetic New Orleans nuns between 1727–1834 tackles themes we might better expect to find in modern newspapers: radical religious education, affirmative action and women's rights, pro-black family campaigns, and Louisianan urban regeneration. The prelude recounts the European origins and development of the Ursuline order, with some sharp contextual writing showing that this is a work well-grounded in the literatures of Counter-Reformation religious and social history. Early chapters on the French colonial era analyze scattered correspondence, convent records, Superior Council proceedings, marriage contracts, library holdings, and obituaries to shed light on the Ursulines' lifestyle and impact on Louisiana. Self-confident in their mission to spread a new femininity rooted in enlightened, spiritualized motherhood, they maximized the opportunities presented by frontier conditions and perceptibly improved the literacy of women in the colony. The second part of the book explores the changes that accompanied Spanish and later Anglo-American control of Louisiana, as the province launched wholeheartedly into staple crop agriculture. It also elaborates on work that Clark has published in article form, using sacramental records to explore the Ursulines' multifaceted

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relations with people of African origin, many of whom they used as slaves on their plantations.

The transplantation of France's distinctive female religious tradition to the miserably disease-ridden and underpopulated Louisiana of the 1720s was initially sought for its public health benefits as much as its moral reform. The cloistered Ursuline order, which was fairly hands-off, middle class, and carried Jesuit associations, was not the first choice of colonial administrators, but the nuns undertook to nurse the many sick of New Orleans, literally contracting themselves to "the service of the hospital" (p. 53). To the frustration of the Company of the Indies, despite this prospective enlarged role, the French Ursulines quickly prioritized their own objectives: establishing a program of female education, conversion, and devotion. In good times, they exploited the respect, even deference, showed to them by elites and authorities on account of the institutions and values they represented. In hard times, they stubbornly rallied against external pressure to nurture a remarkably heterogeneous sorority on the margins of the city, which encompassed women of all social and racial backgrounds.

Clark carefully explores how the Ursulines were able to mingle their conservative custodianship of hierarchical Catholic tradition with a set of jarringly inclusive policies and practices that often challenged civil power. Testament to their conservatism and formality, for example, was their refusal to abandon the lesser category of a "converse" nun in Louisiana—this despite their ownership of slaves who did most of their hard labor, and might therefore have rendered Old World converses redundant. But while protective of internal stratification, the Ursulines were far less vexed than many of their contemporaries about racial or class intermixing, as evidenced in the diverse attendees at their convent schoolroom, or their support for a laywomen's confraternity in 1730 that included the whole social spectrum from wealthy plantation mistresses to lowly women of color.

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, creole Ursulines constituted a majority for the first time, prompting sharp contests between French and Cuban factions over the convent's direction and program of popular education. The hardening of plantation society outside the convent walls, along with the arrival of Iberian influences that stressed *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood), probably moderated the extent of racial inclusiveness in the boarding school's enrolees, as segregation was instigated in 1797. Clark views such compromises as minor concessions, prices the Ursulines thought worth paying to allow continuity in their wider mandate, which by the early nineteenth century included the instruction and acculturation of Spanish and Anglo-American parvenus. Occasionally, this insistence on a singular, assertive, inclusive institutional ambience born out of her subjects' shared femininity is overplayed, and overshadows a more multilateral conception of the institution's practical operations. As suggested by the convent's rigid demarcation of facilities for orphans, mixed day-students, and elite boarders, or in the strict punishments meted out to licentious bondwomen, class and race remained profound influences, as did familial status. One wonders how the nuns reconciled their Marian devotion and emphasis on universal spiritual motherhood with their "investing strategically" (p. 208) in bondwomen for reproduction? Needless to say, the sparse evidence about the education and participation of women of color is difficult to infer from.

But Clark's enjoyable, punchy account of this distinctive community sparks and crackles despite lacunae in the historical record, and is assisted by a range of evocative illustrations and helpful footnotes. Clark has not only explained through institutional microhistory how a community of Old World nuns adapted their methods to become a significant, enduring force among the people—and especially the women—of New Orleans. She has also splendidly cast the process in a convincingly Atlantic (rather than bilateral) context. For this reason, like Clark's historical subjects, this book will prove valuable not only for what it brings to the history of New Orleans and Louisiana but also what it signifies about the intertwining of Franco-Iberian-Anglo-American societies and their faiths in the Americas. Because the Ursulines circumvented the ideological and practical restrictions built into normative female life cycles, they offered a potent challenge to changing male authorities well into the antebellum era.

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John Resch and Walter Sargent, editors. *War and Society in the American Revolution: Mobilization and Home Fronts*. Foreword by John Shy. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 318. Cloth $48.00, paper $22.50.

Thirty-five years ago, John Shy reminded us that "wars are notoriously effective agents of change" (*Essays on the American Revolution*, p. 122). Now, ten scholars have responded to John Resch and Walter Sargent's invitation "to consider war as a seminal social experience and to analyze Revolutionary society and more generally societies at war" (p. vii). Beginning with an examination by Shy himself of the historiography of individual motivation, collective mobilization, and the impact of war on society, this important collection of essays showcases many of the extraordinary ways in which a conflict that began as a colonial rebellion eventually generated an American revolution.

The war that established the political independence of thirteen of Britain's continental North American colonies is arguably the most complex—and most important—military endeavor in the history of what is now the United States. These essays emphasize that complexity: the "communities and societies within and among the American provinces were often disconnected, radically different, and variously touched by a war that shifted in site, intensity, and conduct—from

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formal naval and big army operations to guerrilla warfare—over eight years" (p. viii). The editors have grouped the essays under two headings. The first five, on "Soldiers: Motivation and Mobilization," examine individual and collective participation in military activity and focus on how particular communities created and sustained armed forces. The second five, on "Communities: Retribution, Allies, and Women at War," shift the perspective a bit to show how various geographic, racial, and gender communities were affected by the conflict. All ten essays provide important snapshots of how complex societies understood and shaped their use of armed violence, and how, in turn, they were twisted and reconfigured by the strain of that effort. Together, these essays are important steps in the long-neglected process of reintegrating war and war-making in our vision of what was "revolutionary" about the American Revolution.

Every society creates armed forces in ways that reflect its composition and character, in a process that everywhere involves some sort of conflict, negotiation, and agreement among its constituent elements about what needs to be done by whom. In societies as culturally, socially, and economically diverse as those in British North America, the picture of war making that emerges is therefore richly varied and not easily summarized. In New England, for example, where resistance to British imperial authority first broke out into armed rebellion, the depth and breadth of popular participation in military affairs comes closer than anywhere else to matching the myth of gun-toting American yeomen rising as one group to defend their freedom and liberty; the picture is necessarily different here than in the middle colonies or in the south because the underlying societies were so different. Charles Neimeyer, Sargent, and Resch have exploited New England's rich archival resources to demonstrate in convincing detail how leaders crafted enough of a consensus on the need for military action that their communities were able to mount an effective armed opposition to British authority, preparations for which began long before April 1775. Politics and military participation were so inseparably intertwined in Massachusetts that Neimeyer's town militias "won the first engagement of the war" (p. 39) by out-organizing their political rivals and by being willing to use force to maintain their political ascendancy. Mobilizing soldiers and supplies became more difficult once the *rage militaire* of 1775 cooled. The passage of time invariably dampened enthusiasm, especially when, as is typical in war, initial military success was not followed by a quick political resolution. Although active operations moved away from the Bay Colony after March 1776, Sargent argues persuasively that "the persistence of ordinary Massachusetts people in support of the war is clear during the course of 1777" (pp. 65–66), an extraordinary accomplishment in the third year of formal, large-unit operations, one that indicates a widespread willingness to fight for the political goals at stake. What "widespread" means in this context reopens the debate between expectations and reality. Resch helps to clarify the matter by concluding that mobilization in his sample of five New Hampshire towns amounted to "a people's war," for which the modern standard, it must be remembered, is active military participation by ten percent of the population. Although that level of engagement might seem unimpressive if measured against the myth of universal participation, Resch chronicles the far more impressive achievement of how a conflict that "began as a people's uprising [*sic*] became a war of attrition conducted by a determined group of hard-core leaders who sustained war-weary townsmen and by young soldiers who were drawn from both the fringe of society and its establishment" (pp. 70–71).

The extraordinary difficulty of sustaining military activity is also at the center of Michael A. McDonnell's essay on Virginia, where "[s]lavery and class . . . profoundly shaped mobilization" (p. 125). Raising soldiers was always, everywhere, a negotiated process. In the Old Dominion, "lower-class Virginians refused to be coerced [by middling and upper-class Virginians] into serving for the state, and almost all fought to secure the best deal they could in return for doing the bidding of others" (p. 125). Judith L. Van Buskirk focuses on how military service affected one of the most downtrodden groups, using pension records to peek into how a handful of impoverished African American veterans went about "claiming their due" under the terms of the 1818 pension act for service rendered over forty years earlier. The veterans' pride in their service is evident in their accounts, even when it is couched in words designed to emphasize their poverty, something that was hard for them to overstate; the bureaucratic runaround they endured is a reminder that ungenerous treatment of veterans is hardly a modern phenomenon.

The second five essays raise issues that intersect and overlap with those in the first five. Wayne E. Lee's account of how North Carolina's opponents and supporters of royal government waged a war in the backcountry that oscillated between the poles of "Restraint and Retaliation" shifts the focus away from the large-unit war of Cornwallis and Greene, and provides a more nuanced context for the endemic, socially corrosive, and usually small-scale violence that lay beneath and behind the better remembered activities of South Carolina's Francis Marion and Thomas Sumter. Jim Piecuch examines how Britain's strategy to "bind South Carolina to the empire" (p. 211) was based on an unstable triad of loyalists, slaves, and Indians. The essay makes one doubt whether Britain had much of a chance of retaining its colonies, and reminds us (again) of some of the pitfalls of using armed forces to achieve political objectives, whether the locus is South Carolina, Vietnam, or Iraq. Karim M. Tiro uses the story of the Oneida Indian nation, one of the six members of what whites called the "Iroquois" confederacy, to look at the perils faced by a small actor caught underfoot in a contest between giants. Faced with a Hobson's choice between encroaching white settlers and the confederacy's traditional pro-British orientation, "the Oneidas realized

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that they would have to come to terms with neighboring patriot communities" (p. 219). They bet on the rebels with the hope of earning the thanks of the eventual winners, a clever attempt to retain some control over a desperate situation, but one that was doomed to failure.

The final two essays examine women at war, and through the experiences of this group illustrate some larger truths about war in eighteenth-century America. And, by sketching the activity of people not traditionally the subject of "military history," they demonstrate how war can be returned to its central place in our understanding of that age. Holly A. Mayer extends her earlier work on the role of women in the army by reminding us that, "by attending to the soldiers, followers served American independence by helping to sustain the morale and cohesion of the army" (p. 258). She provides ample evidence that, despite attempts to graft revolutionary military units onto the lineage of the modern U.S. Army, those forces were thoroughly premodern. Without women to provide essential support services, in addition to whatever fillip they gave to morale by helping to create a sense of community in the mobile, city-like encampments of the Continental Army, the nascent nation would not have been able to field the full spectrum of military force that alone gave it any hope of winning the war. In her examination of how active operations affected Virginia women late in the war (1779–1781), Joan R. Gundersen demonstrates that "it is possible to recover the political dimension of women's lives and the extent to which even women traditionally characterized as dependent or helpless refugees were actively involved in determining their lives" (p. 284). She provides another powerful example of what war meant for anyone and everyone in its path, and adds a new dimension to Shy's long-ago observation that war in revolutionary America was "a political education conducted by military means."

For too long, the writing of military history has been dominated by the needs and perspectives of professional soldiers and amateur historians seeking lessons learned and inspiring narratives. This collection shows how, when the net is cast more widely, our understanding of the role and impact of military activity becomes more richly complex, closer to reality, and no less insightful and inspiring.

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MICHAEL A. MCDONNELL. *The Politics of War: Race, Class, and Conflict in Revolutionary Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 2007. Pp. xviii, 544. $45.00.

The perspective from which a book is written undoubtedly gives force and substance to its arguments and its conclusions. In the case of this book, the perspective is mildly "new left," written in large measure as "history from the bottom up," although it rarely leaves the bottom and even more rarely reaches the top. There is much to admire in it, most of all its research into the sources of its subject: the struggle in Virginia to recruit troops, militia, and regulars in a society long dominated by great planters who lived on the labor of slaves.

Reconstructing the history of mobilization, done with extraordinary skill here, has led Michael A. McDonnell to conclusions about the importance of class in the efforts to mount a fighting force. His classifications follow traditional models: white men were lower class, middling, or the planting elite. Outside this society were the slaves, by no means an inert group, but composed of men who fled for their liberty when given the chance and sometimes took up arms with the British enemy.

These classifications offer little that is fresh, except perhaps McDonnell's finding that, at certain points in the revolution, the middling sort joined the elite in the attempt to escape service themselves in favor of compelling lower-class whites to do all of the fighting.

Nor is there much on the political ideas of such leaders as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, who stated the principles which defined the long-term meaning of the revolution. Less exalted planters—the "elite" in the pages of this book—appear occasionally, but none is given anything like rounded consideration. Rather they, and more commonly the particular interest they represented, seem to have been limited to defending the property in land and slaves they owned. That they ever had anything else in mind—for example, the importance of independence to self-government—is not considered. This book in fact is barren of analysis of their ideas.

The limitations of the perspective from which the book was written would not matter had its argument been confined to the meaning of the American Revolution for the non-elite groups in Virginia. But the book offers conclusions far broader, almost insisting that the experience of the lower sort defined the revolution, the whole of it, in Virginia. (This was a common claim of an earlier historiography.)

The guts of the book are far more important than the assumptions underlying its claims concerning the character of the American Revolution. The book takes a narrative form that includes accounts of the struggle made by lower-class Virginians to defend their interests in the long mobilization crisis. It is a tangled story, so complicated and so dense with detail as to submerge the larger narrative within which lower-class efforts to look after themselves occurred. These efforts provide the primary emphasis of the book. From the beginning of the revolutionary crisis Virginia lurched forward—and sometimes backward—looking for ways to put together military resistance to British policies. The struggle in this sense was, as this book demonstrates effectively, a crisis of labor, black and white.

Race entered the conflict in these years in several ways. The fear of slave rebellion inhibited owners who wished to stay close to home to protect lives and property. For most of the war, the main action, the battles and combat, took place far from Virginia. Throughout the war, great planters, the lower classes, and the mid-

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dling sort proved reluctant to leave the state despite appeals from Congress pushed by the pleas of General Washington that it field an army for the duration.

In Virginia, small farmers and middling planters found themselves constantly called upon to fill the ranks of the militia and of regular Virginia regiments. They resisted vigorously in ways that surprised their betters. They found a political voice as they gradually made their way into the lower house of the legislature, becoming a major force long before peace, and succeeded in shaping mobilization according to their own terms. Much of the task of recruitment fell to local militias, and they acted with a legislature that was more and more responsive to lower-class needs. Indeed as the war went on, the middling sort and lower classes extracted concession after concession in bounties, taxes, and land.

McDonnell describes these actions through careful attention to local records, correspondence, legislative minutes, among other sources. His findings constitute the most substantial account in existence of the inner history of attempts in Virginia to mobilize labor for the war. He not only explains what succeeded but also the desperate attempts of the gentry that failed. Many of these failures included attempts to make a draft attractive to the poor while avoiding it themselves. In late 1780 a bounty was to be paid, land granted, and, in the most radical proposal of all, a slave between the age of ten and forty granted to every recruit who volunteered for Continental service for the duration of the war. This version failed to pass, though a modified version that promised large bounties, land, and in certain cases slaves did not.

In a curious way, although McDonnell's study arrives at conclusions not far from those of John Selby's *The Revolution in Virginia, 1775–1783* (1988), it is a little more favorably impressed by the changes brought by the war. Selby saw little change in planter dominance. McDonnell seems to be saying that although classes beneath the planters fell far short of getting control of Virginia's politics, they made permanent gains. It is a doubtful gloss on most of what he has written, as is his assertion that the experience of laboring people constituted the heart of the revolution in Virginia. Apart from this conclusion, which ignores important aspects of Virginia's history, there is much that is fresh and valuable in this book.

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SUSAN DUNN. *Dominion of Memories: Jefferson, Madison, and the Decline of Virginia*. New York: Basic Books. 2007. Pp ix, 310. $27.50.

Susan Dunn has written an intriguing book that examines the Old Dominion's devastating descent from political greatness and economic affluence following the American Revolution. Author of many books on the founding era, Dunn here skillfully explores the aftermath of the War of Independence and poses a number of important questions regarding the tragic, backward-looking decisions that Virginia leaders made over the decades as they sought to cope with the realities of nationhood. Although Dunn occasionally exaggerates the magnitude of Virginia's decline, historians and general readers alike will to do well to read this book and grapple with the issues she raises.

The book begins near the story's end—in 1824—when the Marquis de Lafayette returned to the nation he had helped to establish a half century before. Visiting Virginia, Lafayette found both Thomas Jefferson and James Madison withered with age. But the French hero was shocked to find that the Old Dominion itself was badly withered as well: its population was stagnant; its economy shattered, with land values and commerce greatly diminished; planters were overburdened with slaves; the state's most talented sons and daughters were leaving and heading west by the thousands; and its once-great mansions, including Mount Vernon, had fallen into "dilapidation and ruin" (p. 8). Rather than trying to remedy the situation, Virginians instead had sunk into a morass of lethargy, nostalgia, and conservatism. How had it happened, Dunn asks, that the state that had led the American Revolution forward, articulated its core principles, and provided four of the first five U.S. presidents had fallen into such a pathetic condition?

Dunn argues that the answer is a complicated mix of sins of the fathers (including Jefferson and Madison, but not George Washington) and sins of the sons (the postrevolutionary generation of leaders, such as John Randolph of Roanoke). Each chapter deals with a particular issue that the state's elite misunderstood and mishandled. Indeed, whether the topic was land, slavery, public education, roads and railroads, banks, political rights, or the state constitution, Virginia leaders made one disastrous decision after another. For example, Dunn explains in the chapter "The Cult of the Soil" how and why Virginians clung to their farms and plantations. Led by Jefferson, Virginians celebrated the social, political, and economic virtues of working the soil. "Land was a badge of independence and citizenship, but it offered something else too: the promise of *permanence*" (p. 21). But ruinous and wasteful cultivation methods, an ongoing dependence on a single cash crop (tobacco), and a stubborn refusal substantially to reform their agricultural practices had left Virginians by the 1820s not prosperous and independent, but impoverished and indebted. As a result, many were left penniless and those citizens who could—including Jefferson's grandson, Francis Eppes—fled in search of prosperity elsewhere.

In addition to crippling conservatism at home, Virginia leaders grew increasingly suspicious and hostile toward the national government in Washington, D.C., viewing it as a direct threat to the state's power and property. In her chapter entitled "Tariff Wars," Dunn points out that Virginians, not South Carolinians, were the first southerners to declare higher federal tariffs un-

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constitutional. In other words, Virginians set the stage for the sectional crisis and, ultimately, for the Civil War. Thus, as northern states rapidly industrialized, prospered and became more politically democratic, Virginians held fast to their outdated traditions, beliefs, and customs, all the while dreaming nostalgically about their glorious past. But, during an era of geographic expansion, economic transformation, and democratic political changes, the past provided few practicable answers for either the present or the future.

Dunn's book is an absorbing read. Clearly familiar with the most recent historical literature on Virginia between the American Revolution and Civil War, she provides a searing indictment against the Old Dominion's leadership. Had they been less backward-looking and more forward-looking, she argues, our national history would have been significantly different: less conflicted, less oppressive, and ultimately less bloody. Nevertheless, Dunn occasionally overstates her arguments. This is because her book is not so much about Virginia as about the state's political and economic elite. This focus leads her to mistakenly associate the decline of the gentry with the decline of the state. This was not always the case. Dunn largely ignores, for instance, the very robust economic activity that took place west of the Blue Ridge Mountains during the nineteenth century's first half. During these decades, western Virginians embraced agricultural diversification and local manufacturing. Furthermore, most western farmers avoided slave ownership. In short, Virginia as a whole was not quite as backward and crippled as Dunn would have readers believe. Nonetheless, this is a thought-provoking, lucidly argued book that should appeal to both scholars and general readers.

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JOHN FABIAN WITT. *Patriots and Cosmopolitans: Hidden Histories of American Law*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. 406. $29.95.

Through "four yoked [biographical] essays" on diverse figures canvassing the length of American history, John Fabian Witt's book illustrates the way that "American nationhood and American law have produced each other in an ongoing reciprocal process of mutual formation" (pp. 6, 10).

Chapter one, "Creations," considers the constitutional thought of James Wilson, who "misunderstood the character of the nation-state he had helped to found" by envisaging the Constitution "as a design that perfectly embodied natural truths for all the ages" rather than "as a humble arrangement for the adjustment of interests and factions" (p. 13). Witt contrasts Wilson's vision with that of his pluralist fellow founders like James Madison and Alexander Hamilton, who, in formulating a "new political science," imagined the constitutional order as akin to a passion-diffusing machine in an age of ever-increasing democratization (p. 20). The idealist Wilson was mesmerized instead by the pyramid metaphor that took that same order as a unified whole embodying timeless natural truths. Only "the progressive refinement of the virtuous instincts of the people's moral faculties" would, he believed, stave off decline (p. 68). Wilson's great hope was that the ministrations of a cadre of elite common-law lawyers would guide American law to "at last capture history from unreason and accident to unlock the natural law encoded in the moral sensibilities of generations" (p. 58).

Witt presents Wilson's story as tragedy: the privileged cadre of lawyers who were the repository of Wilson's hopes managed to ride out the American Revolution with spectacular success only because they played a critical role in mediating conflicts rife within a heterogenous people with competing values and conflicting interests—a role utterly at odds with that imagined for them by Wilson. His Philadelphia home was set upon by the Pennsylvania militia. His belief that the moral sense is compatible with commercial enterprise ended up underwriting his cupidity and avidity for land speculation, which ensnared him in scandal and ever-mounting debt. His hectoring moralism, and sense of himself as a pillar of a lawyer elite, vitiated the promise of his learning, transforming what many predicted would be an illustrious career on the Supreme Court into the downward progress of a pedantic, pompous windbag. He died, delusional, having narrowly escaped (yet another spell in) debtor's prison.

Chapter two, "Exits," tells the story of Elias Hill, a highly educated, charismatic, crippled ex-slave and Baptist minister from Clay Hill, South Carolina, who led an exodus of freedpeople to Liberia. Beginning with Albert O. Hirschman's dictum that "nation-state politics is paradigmatically the art of voice, not of exit," Witt tells Hill's story as a study in the (at times) tortured relationship between Americans and a constitutional culture that (like, for many, family and religion) inescapably constitutes their identity (p. 102). Witt guides us through the depredations visited upon former slaves like Hill by the Ku Klux Klan, which sought to redeem the South by restoring the "constitution of '89" (p. 116). Clay Hill was a Klan hotbed, and Hill, at considerable personal risk, was a prominent witness in the area's famous Klan Act prosecutions. While some (like Frederick Douglass) sought hope in the potential that the United States would live up to its constitutional ideals, black nationalists looked instead to the option of exit. 3,100 of the four million freedpeople emigrated to Liberia. This story, too, is a tragedy, and a case study in national identity as fate. Twenty percent of those who emigrated to Africa with Hill were lost to malaria. Liberia was so wracked by political strife that most of the Clay Hill emigrants longed to return to their native South Carolina Piedmont. The emigrants, moreover, built the new nation they had founded, remarkably, employing the blueprint of the society they had fled: Liberian citizenship was restricted to blacks only, and indigenous Africans were enslaved. Hill's nephew, a partner in one of Liberia's leading commercial firms, lived regally in a palatial plantation manor house built

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to evoke all the grandeur of the remembered Dixie of his youth.

In chapter three, "Critiques," Witt considers the career of Crystal Eastman, early twentieth-century lawyer, labor and peace activist, and leader of the nascent "radical internationalist" movement, which, in contradistinction to a more moderate internationalism that continued to believe in the indispensability of sovereign states, held that nations were artificial constructs that "created partial units of loyalty that distracted individuals from their universal obligations" (p. 155). Significantly, Eastman, a founder of the American Civil Liberties Union's (ACLU) progenitor, the American Union Against Militarism (AUAM), was also one of the first modern civil libertarians. Through an account of Eastman's thought, Witt argues that the roots of modern civil libertarianism can be traced back to the cosmopolitan radical internationalist political vision. As a champion of employer liability for industrial injuries, Eastman looked to the emergent workmen's compensation schemes of Europe's new social welfare states, which emphasized not the respective rights and duties of the parties (as Americans did) but rather social need. Eastman always defended individual liberties instrumentally as means to advancing peace, collective social welfare, and internationalism. Within the AUAM's Civil Liberties Bureau, however, her vision was challenged—and (following Eastman's early death) eclipsed—by the American nationalist vision propounded by Roger Baldwin, who insisted that the (successor) ACLU "get a good lot of flags" and "talk a good deal about the Constitution" (p. 195). In the process, the ACLU claimed the protection of constitutional rights and liberties (formerly a conservative rallying cry) as a progressive—now "liberal"—cause, rooted in the core constitutional commitments of the American nation.

In chapter four, "Reactions," Witt explores the origins of the Association of Trial Lawyers of America (ATLA), the modern personal injury bar, and contemporary tort law. His vehicle is the story of the heretofore unchronicled relationship between the flamboyant "Barnum of the Bar" and "King of Torts," San Francisco lawyer Melvin Belli, and the aged and increasingly conservative founder of sociological jurisprudence (and former Harvard Law School Dean) Roscoe Pound (p. 212). Witt shows how Belli shrewdly cultivated a friendship with Pound as part of campaign to ward off the movement toward a (European-style) publicly administered bureaucratized system of injury compensation using "powerfully nationalistic and often starkly xenophobic" appeals to the jury trial rights, federalism, civil liberties, and "the Anglo-American legacy of legality" (pp. 256, 258). Together, Belli and Pound (the latter of whom once championed the social interest over that of the individual, and administration over adjudication) "[re-cast] the New Deal idea of economic security in common law terms and [re-oriented] swaths of American public policy back toward the courts of the eighteenth and nineteenth century American states" (p. 216).

This book is arrestingly creative, powerfully imagined, and brilliantly argued. Witt manifests the psychological acuity of a novelist and a journalistic eye for the telling detail. He teases out diverse substantive patterns and relationships between law and the wider politics and culture in a consistently illuminating way. Some will take issue along the way with Witt's various emphases and interpretations. For instance, there were plenty of domestic roots for modern civil libertarianism aside from radical internationalism. Baldwin was no less instrumental about appeals to rights and liberties to advance particular substantive causes (e.g., labor) than Eastman. And (as Witt notes in passing), whatever Wilson's failings, his emphasis on timeless natural rights was hardly a misdiagnosis of American constitutional culture that died along with his person and reputation.

Still, Witt's focus is on "hidden histories": on connections, patterns, and processes that are highly significant, but heretofore unstudied or understudied. As such, this absorbing book is suggestive, provocative, and delightful.

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JAMES R. HACKNEY, JR. *Under Cover of Science: American Legal-Economic Theory and the Quest for Objectivity*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 238. Cloth $79.95, paper $22.95.

James R. Hackney, Jr., is interested in ties between science and legal theory, in particular American legal-economic theory, the attempt to explicate the relationship between the legal system and the economic order. Although someone with such an interest might choose taxation and trade for examples of this relationship, he focuses on what lawyers call torts, injuries to the person from the acts of others, largely because much legal-economic theory has discussed the latter and hardly any the former. He wishes to demonstrate that from the beginning American legal-economic theory has, in the name of objectivity, relied on scientism, defined as "privileging knowledge forms deemed scientific" (p. xiv), to legitimate preferred understandings of the economy, especially ones that elide consideration of the distribution of wealth in this country. Given this definition of "scientism," and a recognition that the understanding of what knowledge is "scientific" has changed as the meaning of "science" has altered over time, some might say that nothing in Hackney's book could be surprising. However, his structural method of establishing his proposition discloses two quite interesting things.

The book is structured as an exploration of a set of homologous relationships in four intellectual domains—science, philosophy, economics, and legal theory—over four roughly defined, though overlapping, periods: between the American Revolution and World War I, the Classical; between the Civil War and World War II, the Pragmatist; between the early twentieth

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century and the present, the Neo-Classical; and between World War I and the present, the Neo-Pragmatist. This implicit four-by-four table is presented as having four sequentially ordered threads. The first or Classical thread ties together Isaac Newton's physics, formalism, classical economics, and classical legal thought into the proposition that science is the rendition of a deterministic world using a mixture of Baconian induction and Cartesian deduction. The second or Pragmatist thread ties together Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, pragmatism, institutional economics, and legal realism into the proposition that objectivity in science can be found using a largely inductive, probabilistic approach. The third or Neo-Classical thread ties together Albert Einstein's theories of relativity (and his subsequent search for a determinist understanding of quantum mechanics), the analytic turn, neo-classical economics, and law into the proposition that there are objective, and thus scientific, questions, answerable as a matter of deductive theory validated with statistical evidence, that can be distinguished from all other questions. The fourth or Neo-Pragmatist thread ties together Werner Heisenberg's quantum mechanics, neo-pragmatism, Keynesian economics, and critical legal studies into the proposition that determinism in science is likely to be impossible to achieve and so objectivity is going to be hard won no matter what method of inquiry a scientist chooses.

In exploring these four threads Hackney discusses over forty thinkers, but each is presented cleanly, carefully and fairly. The book is thus a model of structuralist intellectual history and would be useful in classes for advanced undergraduates and beginning graduate students. There are, however, two problems with it. First, the author surmises that his implicit narrative is an indication that objectivity and so scientism have finally been vanquished from intellectual life. The structure of the previous paragraph suggests one could just as easily read the story as a bit of pendulum theory—formalism/pragmatism, formalism/pragmatism—much like that detailed in Neil Duxury's *Patterns of American Jurisprudence* (1995). Although I wish Hackney's surmise were true, I would bet that another swing of the pendulum is likely, if only because the average bit of legal-economic scholarship still ends with the objectivist, "And therefore the law must be . . ."

Second, there is a conspicuous absence in the overall story Hackney tells. Consider his choice of an economist for the Neo-Pragmatic period. John Maynard Keynes was only intermittently an academic and his work, while mathematically sophisticated at the time, is anything but representative of the work done in economics departments today. The university discipline of economics, as well as the university itself, is significantly absent from the story Hackney tells. The dominant activity in economics today is model building and theory testing, an anything but probabilistic activity, except in the sense that all statistics is probabilistic. Economics is deeply positivistic and remains scientistic because it normalizes probability into the proposition that models are necessary simplifications of a chaotic world in which data is always noisy and yet amidst the noise a signal can be found that demonstrates how that world works. Black swans are not possible. All of the hard sciences and most of the social sciences express a similar view of probability. Perhaps legal-economic theory can escape the normalization of this view of science that is at the center of the bureaucratic university, but I would bet against that possibility.

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MICHAEL P. YOUNG. *Bearing Witness against Sin: The Evangelical Birth of the American Social Movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 256. Cloth $55.00, paper $22.00.

Sociologist Michael P. Young brings the methodology of his discipline to the historical study of temperance, abolition, and moral reform as America's first "national" movements in the late 1820s and 1830s. He argues that these movements were born from the marriage or "recombination" (p. 53) of organized Protestant missionary-benevolence work (largely Congregational and Presbyterian) and the "boisterous populism of sects like the Methodists and Baptists" (p. 6) with their emotional, revivalistic personal conversion from sin. Single-issue movements spread rapidly because their "combination of cultural schemas—public confession and special sins—generated a highly transposable or modular form of collective action" (p. 203). Movements became transregional thanks to the blending of intensive and extensive religious schemas. This convergence of "the intimate and the far-flung," the reformer's "fusion of personal reform and social change" was thus "religious in origin, stemming from an evangelical sense of the dynamic of sin, repentance, and reformation" (p. 3). Young posits in his introduction and conclusion that contemporary movements like gay rights and radical environmentalism, where reformers' personal identities are bound up with or projected onto their national issue, are rooted in this earlier period of evangelical Christian activism.

A foundational chapter, "Modern Social Movements and Confessional Projections of the Self," traces developments in sociology, social psychology, cultural anthropology, and, to some extent, social history in order to establish a methodological framework for his exploration of the history of these movements. A chapter near the end of the book includes biographical sketches of six individuals who exemplify Young's thesis. While the seriousness with which Young takes religious experience may constitute a "new theory of the sources of antebellum reform" (p. 25) from the perspective of sociology, historians will probably find his analysis of the movements, their supporters, and their leaders less than ground-breaking. His engagement with the historiography of antebellum reform—including the emergence of female preachers and reformers—is not deep,

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limited to a handful of monographs from the 1950s and 1960s and a few more recent titles. Alongside his neglect of significant works from the last twenty years is the strangest omission of all, Timothy L. Smith's seminal *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (1957).

Young's account of antebellum reform is nevertheless quite strong—illustrated notably in tables and maps charting the establishment of local auxiliaries of national societies—but his explanatory framework is actually too simple. He never defines terms like "evangelical" and "orthodox," using the first for American Protestants in general and the second with reference to "Calvinist" Presbyterians and Congregationalists. In dialectical tension with these "orthodox" evangelicals were the "populist" evangelicals, "Arminian" Methodists and Baptists (conceding that Baptists generally espoused a version of Calvinism). Unfortunately, Young takes no account of the Old School-New School conflict among Presbyterians or of the varieties of New England theology, rendering his description of these denominations' support of the benevolent and missionary societies one-dimensional. His flawed discussion of Charles Grandison Finney, accordingly, mistakenly portrays him as "deeply Arminian" and "part of a group of new ministers with weak institutional ties to the ecclesiastical structures of orthodoxy" (p. 110). It was New School Presbyterians and Congregationalists—who could be described as Yale-oriented evangelical Edwardseans—that participated most fully in mission and reform movements. These were the very "Yankee emigrants" (including Finney) who settled "across upstate New York and further west into Ohio," eventually "unleashing radical reform movements" (p. 87). It is also doubtful that radical reform was ever widely supported at the congregational level. It was embraced by individuals awakened to these causes, some of whom (Theodore Dwight Weld being the classic example) grew impatient with the church's sluggishness and abandoned the Christian faith. Furthermore, while Young argues that temperance, abolition, and moral reform movements were national in scope, his data reveals them rather as *transregional* movements. At one point Young offhandedly acknowledges this, stating that "the antislavery field was from the start national (or at least sectional)" (p. 137). Virtually ignoring religious and social developments in the South, Young's monograph would have been strengthened if he had taken seriously the transregionally northern nature of these movements.

Young's analysis and storyline are helpful, coherent, and persuasive in many ways. The book enhances our understanding of religious, political, and social events in antebellum America. It was indeed "an astonishing transformation" when "the idea of a covenanted community mediated by an ecclesiastical order of ministers and deacons was reconfigured into a democratic constitution of individual and nation mediated by voluntary associations brought together over special sins" (p. 148). Then and now, however, movements built on personal experience and a vision of national reform have found themselves at war with opposing visions and competing associations.

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JAMES HUDNUT-BEUMLER. *In Pursuit of the Almighty's Dollar: A History of Money and American Protestantism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 267. $29.95.

The economics of religion is a growing academic subfield. Its boundaries are murky enough to encompass both the application of economic tools to the subject of religion and the analysis of economic topics as they relate to religious phenomena. James Hudnut-Beumler's book, although itself an essay in history rather than economics, reflects these dual approaches.

Hudnut-Beumler documents changing methods, rhetoric, and practice with respect to the financing of church operations among Protestant congregations in the United States. Around this primary focus, the narrative moves somewhat disjointedly between sections that relate the history of—as the subtitle has it—"money and American Protestantism," and other sections that simply relate the history of Protestants, using economic concepts and terminology.

Less intriguing are the latter cases. In these sections, Hudnut-Beumler tells a story that is already well known; he simply spices the telling with terms like "market share," "free rider," and "nature of the firm." If there is any value in these passages, it may lie in making the work of economists of religion known to historians of religion.

In his treatment of Protestants and money—the bulk of the book—Hudnut-Beumler offers a valuable and original contribution to the history of American Protestantism. Historians have paid more attention to religious ideas, institutions, and social dynamics, but the details of church financing, if more quotidian, are at least as enlightening. This account ties the methods and rhetoric of church funding to broader ideological and institutional developments, moreover, in ways that are informed and interesting. This is a critical part of the story of Protestant churches in the United States and the book deserves serious attention for that reason.

An example of Hudnut-Beumler's skill is his treatment of church architecture in chapter six. He argues that the transformation of church design in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was connected to changing ideas about the role of the church as well as the changing character of the churches' environments (the rise of industrial cities). This shift in church building, in turn, affected the nature and scale of church funding.

The portrayal of ministerial worry about finances and compensation is especially sensitive and adroitly sketched. Raising money has been as essential a part of the Protestant ministry in the United States as any other activity. Hudnut-Beumler pays due attention to its re-

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lation to theological ideas, preaching, social relations, and family life.

Stewardship is a central theme in Hudnut-Beumler's history, and he documents and examines competently the term's various uses and nuances within the sphere of Protestant clerical fundraising. With respect to both the concept of stewardship and other examples of Protestant thought and practice concerning money, however, the author at times exaggerates the extent of change. His own account shows that competing notions and methods persisted over time rather than rising, falling, and disappearing.

Similarly, Hudnut-Beumler's assessment of recent church history overemphasizes innovation. Nonhierarchical, nondenominational, "charismatic" ministers such as Tony Campolo and James Dobson (p. 207) are not historically unusual: Charles Grandison Finney and Dwight Moody were characters equally (or more) sensational in their day. Hudnut-Beumler accurately captures the repetitious character of this history: what makes seemingly new religious forms "so American and so Protestant," he writes, is their being populated by "people on a quest for religiously authentic experience of their own, who reject any priest between themselves and the divine, but who will easily turn to religious entrepreneurs for help" (p. 212).

The book's prose is fluid and concise, but there are spots that could have been improved by more vigorous editing. Sometimes the author strings together series of anecdotes without adequately explaining their connection to the whole. For example, a paragraph mentioning an anticommunist stewardship sermon by Bernard Iddings Bell appears out of place (p. 130). Misguided, too, was the decision to designate a separate chapter on clergy wives. While the content is interesting, it is mostly superfluous; it would have been better to integrate into the other chapters those pieces that are relevant to the book's thesis.

As Hudnut-Beumler notes at the beginning of his account, the disestablishment of the church in the United States was the "largest instance of privatization in all of American history" (p. 8). The reliance of Christian denominations on voluntary contributions profoundly influenced the character of the churches as well as their clergy. Hudnut-Beumler's presentation of the playing out of this effect over the course of American history is a unique and valuable addition to the historiography of American religion.

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JACQUELINE BACON. Freedom's Journal: *The First African-American Newspaper*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2007. Pp. x, 325. Cloth $80.00, paper $29.95.

Jacqueline Bacon's book is a welcome addition to recent studies of free African American life in the antebellum northern United States. A history and analysis of a pioneering project of African American journalism, Bacon's book should prove useful to anyone interested in this important area of American history.

The decade of the 1820s, when *Freedom's Journal* appeared, was one of the more difficult and complex periods for African Americans in the North, as Bacon shows. Though nominally free, they were being pulled in a variety of directions throughout the decade, facing constant oppression while trying to create bases for community organization and development. It was also a decade during which many members of the community were necessarily preoccupied with the aggressive work of the white-dominated American Colonization Society, an organization whose emigrationist program was symptomatic of a larger society seeking to categorize African Americans as permanent outsiders, denigrating black aspirations while offering only an insulting alternative to conditions of slavery and racial exclusion.

Freedom's Journal, edited by the accomplished Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm, began publication in March 1827, offering an African American response to such conditions and providing an unprecedented forum for African American thought and community creation. The paper was to have a brief, troubled, but invigorating career. Like many publishing efforts from the period, the *Journal* faced major financial difficulties, being dependent on subscribers who were not as eager to purchase the paper as they were to read it. In the fraught times of the 1820s—confronting colonization, oppression, and, as Bacon shows, significant internal conflicts—the *Journal*'s editors often ran afoul of one reader or another. Controversy and criticism dogged Cornish and Russwurm throughout the paper's existence. They dissolved their partnership only about six months after the paper's founding, Russwurm becoming the sole editor in September 1827. (Bacon describes the parting as amicable.) Russwurm remained a controversial figure, however, especially when, in early 1829, he departed from the *Journal*'s longtime anticolonizationist stance and actually came to associate himself with the American Colonization Society, heading for Liberia and bringing the paper to its end by the end of that year.

Much of Bacon's book is devoted to a topical analysis of the kinds of material and ideas appearing in *Freedom's Journal* over the course of its two-year existence. As Bacon shows, like many newspapers of the era, the *Journal* drew on an eclectic mix of sources. There was a fair amount of material written by the editors themselves. They encouraged contributions from members of the growing African American middle class, and received some fascinating work—including essays, poetry, and even fiction—that remains of great historical interest. And, like other antebellum editors, Cornish and Russwurm drew heavily on their contemporaries, reprinting articles from a wide range of publications, including the Colonization Society's *African Repository*.

The content was also eclectic, although Bacon is able to identify a number of key themes and concerns that dominated the *Journal*'s columns. A good deal of space

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was devoted to community building and "moral improvement," including an emphasis on the importance of education. The editors also used their paper to respond to the blatant racism that plagued African American communities, publishing and republishing pieces that challenged the decade's growing racist ideology. Bacon combs the paper to demonstrate the significance of gender to African American thinking, and the ambiguities created for that thinking by the various forces of race and ideology. She shows, too, the centrality of African history and of the example of Haiti to the *Journal*'s pages. Both, as she says, were cited to build morale among African American readers. And she shows how, for much of its history, the paper helped to shape readers' views on colonization and slavery, revealing how complicated those views could be during these years immediately prior to the emergence of an immediatist abolition movement at the beginning of the 1830s.

Bacon's main concern is, ultimately, to place the story of *Freedom's Journal* within the larger framework of a drive for self-determination and autonomy among antebellum African Americans. Thus, for example, she argues that the creation and character of the paper have to be understood to involve more than a simple response to racist aspersions and more than a desire on the part of its African American editors and contributors to "prove" their mettle to a larger American society. The evidence she presents does not always support the arguments she wishes to make, but those arguments do, nevertheless, provide valuable insight for understanding the *Journal*'s inner dynamics and into its significance in the context of its time. The result is a book that many scholars will find useful, and one that adds much to our understanding of African American history.

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CAROL WILSON. *The Two Lives of Sally Miller: A Case of Mistaken Identity in Antebellum New Orleans*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 158. $21.95.

This book explores a case of disputed racial identity that sheds light on the "concept of race" in the slave South (p. 77). Carol Wilson's analysis is a model of judicious scholarship that connects its primary evidence to larger historical questions.

In 1844, Sally Miller sued for freedom because she was white and therefore free by Louisiana law. She was approximately thirty years old and the slave of her common-law husband, New Orleans café owner Louis Belmontí, who, in 1838, had purchased Sally from planter-businessman John F. Miller (no relation). Belmontí, who would not emancipate Sally because state law banished manumitted slaves from Louisiana, welcomed the lawsuit, but John Miller fought it to rebut the charge that he enslaved whites. Sally Miller asserted that she was Salomé Muller, an orphaned German immigrant who had been illegally enslaved in 1817. John Miller claimed that she had always been a slave and was partly of African descent. No clear answers emerged from the trial and the ensuing appeals and countersuits. Ultimately, the court freed Sally Miller but also exonerated John Miller of wrongdoing. Despite the verdict, Wilson shows that John Miller may have provided the correct account of Sally's origins.

Miller's case attracted attention partly because it blurred the line between free and slave in antebellum Louisiana. In 1817, Salomé Muller and her family left impoverished Alsace for New Orleans. Short on cash and connections, the Mullers suffered from disease, theft, and, upon arrival, bound labor. Those Mullers who survived the voyage became Redemptioners, a variant of indentured service wherein penniless migrants promised labor in exchange for transportation to America. In Louisiana, Redemptioners lived like and with slaves.

Just as German immigrants could approximate the condition of African American slaves, Wilson shows how slaves of mixed race ancestry could live like free people in the polyglot society of New Orleans. Wilson adds to historians' knowledge of the city by looking into the complicated relationship between Sally Miller and Louis Belmontí. Sally likely met Belmontí working in John Miller's sawmill, located in the plebian and culturally diverse Faubourg Marigny district. Belmontí established romantic ties to Sally and purchased her to prevent her master from removing her to his plantations in southwestern Louisiana. Whatever her true identity, Sally Miller appeared white to most observers, and her life illustrated the difficulties facing mixed race people in a society where race demarcated slavery and freedom.

Gender also mattered in determining Sally Miller's fate. Wilson notes that women outnumbered men among the small group of slaves who successfully sued for their freedom on the ground that they were white. Sally Miller used the conventions of the Cult of True Womanhood to win public sympathy for the plight of a white woman enslaved against her will. To combat this impression, Sally's opponents pointed to her numerous lovers and children by different fathers.

Wilson uses Miller's story to address the problem of white slavery in the Old South, which she suggests might have been more widespread than popularly believed. At risk of enslavement were the most vulnerable members of the white community, usually infants like Salomé Muller who were either separated from parents or belonged to families unable to effectively use the law to fight kidnappers and shady labor contractors. Conversely, Wilson finds that antebellum jurists applied race law more liberally than required by one-drop-rule statutes.

Wilson's admirable investigation of this incident provokes questions for further research. As with other recent studies of the Crescent City, one wonders about New Orleans' distinctiveness. The city's legendary heterogeneity invites scholars to treat it as an exotic outlier

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to the norm of the slave South, but Wilson's evidence for the interaction between John Miller's slaves in Attakapas and those in the city indicates one of many ways that New Orleans' ways and worldviews spread beyond municipal borders.

Second, the case hints at rising public influence by the New Orleans German community. Part of Miller's appeal to the public involved the plight of Redemptioners abused in the 1820s. When the case went to trial in 1844, Germans had increased their numbers substantially and established community institutions that the earlier generation lacked. Local Germans staged a lavish celebration of the initial verdict that freed Sally Miller. Given that the trial pitted a slave backed by working-class Germans against an influential planter and his prestigious lawyers, the festivities may have trumpeted not just Sally's freedom but also an ethnic minority's symbolic victory over the dominant culture.

These questions should not detract from the author's solid research and thoughtful analysis. Although other historians have written about Sally Miller, Wilson provides a definitive, restrained assessment of what can and cannot be known about the case. In doing so, she makes a valuable contribution to understanding the social construction of race in the slave South.

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David M. Henkin. *The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 221. $38.00.

David M. Henkin's book aims for a return to grand totalizing narrative via a scattershot of anecdotes. He argues that the mid-nineteenth-century United States saw a "postal age" (p. 12), revolutionary in its consequences for Americans, for whom it became the nascence "of Modern Communications" (p. iii). He traces this fundamental change that saw "Americans . . . reorganizing their perceptions of time, space, and community around the existence of the post" (p. 3), to 1845 and 1851, when federal legislation lowered postage rates, thus heralding a postal age, marked by a "diffuse *culture* of the post" (p. 5). It is palpable enough to launch an epoch, but "diffuse" enough to vex a historian writing about it and to force him into producing "a study of straining and unlikely breadth" (p. 7). However, depth is sacrificed here; absent any systematic approach to surveying sources, the selection of primary materials seems haphazard, if promiscuous (albeit far too few manuscripts are used, given the focus on personal letters). Squeezing this into a slim volume, Henkin eschews establishing the primacy of postal culture over, say, the market or transportation revolutions, or the age of Jackson, thus leaving unanswered whether postal culture was more or less significant than these in defining the age.

Rather, Henkin presents less an argument for primacy than an exhibition of prevalence (an unreliable indicator of cultural power). The result resembles a vaudeville show, "America Goes Postal," that summons seemingly everyone from the self-mailing fugitive slave Henry "Box" Brown to slaveholder Mary Chesnut and her overused diary. Fresher acts on the playbill are the book's strength, but their omnibus-like presentations only underscore its structural deficiencies. Evenly divided between two loosely conceived parts, "Joining a Network" and "Postal Intimacy," are six meandering chapters on the "communications revolution," the postal shift from print to letters, and mail in the city, followed by others on "the personal letter" and the special cases of Gold Rush and Civil War correspondence, concluding with an improbable potpourri of "Valentines, Junk Mail, and Dead Letters" (pp. iv–v). Throughout, Henkin simplifies his presentation by occluding complicating factors, like the surge in business correspondence or the continuing role of nongovernmental conveyancers (pp. 31; 179, n. 13). Such simplification reaches its denouement in the epilogue, where the telephone ends the postal age, leaving only vestiges "of our pervasive expectations of complete contact, of boundless accessibility" (p. 175). Would that Henkin had consulted John Durham Peters's *Speaking into the Air: A History of the Idea of Communication* (1999) for those expectations' ancient antecedents.

Indeed, Henkin overlooks or underestimates much highly relevant scholarship. For example, William Gilmore-Lehne's *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England, 1780–1835* (1989), referenced but once, demonstrates that a system of vibrant mass and interpersonal communications could thrive before the 1845 legislation. Richard D. Brown's *Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700–1865* (1989) advances increasing "contagious diffusion" as a model of antebellum information flow (pp. 245–267); Henkin cites Brown only for mutual use of an anecdote (p. 179, n. 6) and referring to "letter-burning" (p. 202, n. 45). Mary Kelley's seminal, but here unmentioned, article, "Reading Women/Women Reading: The Making of Learned Women in Antebellum America," *Journal of American History* 83 (1996), offers insights on antebellum women's negotiations of intellect and gender ideology that could have challenged Henkin's use of separate-spheres scholarship (e.g., p. 203, n. 55). Engaging these scholars' rich views of antebellum media ecology could have allowed Henkin to position the postal more precisely within its cultural field.

More troublesome are Henkin's discussions of topics well-covered by previous writers not cited in support of his specific points. For example, readers unfamiliar with Richard B. Kielbowicz's *News in the Mail: The Press, Post Office, and Public Information, 1700–1860s* (1989) and Thomas C. Leonard's *News for All: America's Coming-of-Age with the Press* (1995), among several other communication historians' works (that of this reviewer included), might wrongly conclude Henkin is the first commentator upon the sociocultural meaning of "transient" papers (newspapers circulating among consum-

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ers at publishers' low postal rates). Indeed, Leonard considers such practices in the very diary of Edward Jenner Carpenter (pp. 120–122) that Henkin also uses; many of the same diary quotes appear, as do many similar ideas. The common authorial apology for elision due to limited space is unacceptable here, since Henkin's endnotes groan with digressive effluvia.

This book is thus largely dependent upon earlier scholars for its particular insights, but far too often the author seems unwilling to acknowledge them or to heed their generalizations. After all, according to that scholarship, postal policy innovations were no more important in shaping cultural life than any number of other developments. No matter how many postal anecdotes Henkin can throw against this multicausal wall, without his engaging prior contributions, it can only remain standing firm. Grand narrative awaits a more propitious return.

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BARRY SHANK. *A Token of My Affection: Greeting Cards and American Business Culture*. (Popular Cultures, Everyday Lives.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 328. $50.00.

This book by Barry Shank directs substantial intellectual firepower at one of the most devalued forms of American popular culture: greeting cards. Tying business history to American culture's "dominant forms of subjectivity" (p. 3), the book is an impressive work of materialist cultural studies scholarship. Shank reveals the power of the economy "to structure and partially determine the most private, internal and intimate of feelings"; at the same time, he demonstrates how "feelings of love and affiliation" affect "systems of material production" (p. 4). Taking seriously one Hallmark executive's boast in 1971 that while, in any given day, few Americans may read a book, twenty-five million will send a greeting card, Shank foregrounds the cultural importance of greeting cards, arguing that they illuminate what Raymond Williams terms "the 'structures of feeling' produced as modern capitalism evolved into the forms we live among now" (p. 3).

Chapters one and two examine the first commercially produced greeting cards in the United States—Valentines and Christmas cards—which emerged in the 1840s and grew in popularity during the postbellum decades. Drawing on the abundant critical literature on antebellum sentimentalism, Shank argues in chapter one that commercial valentines were important "quasi-public expressive objects in the culture of sentimentalism" (p. 41). The primary "ideological achievement" of that culture, Shank contends, was the "construction of an authentic interior self" seemingly independent of market forces but in fact ideologically central to their operation. Claiming that the public display of "an interior self" constituted "the most important evidence" of "certain forms of class-bound agency and autonomy," Shank sees commercial valentines as establishing the emotional interiority and eloquence of sender and recipient. Shank pays special attention to the popular genre of comic valentines, in which the deficiencies of lower-class figures were mockingly displayed, which clearly delineated the class parameters of sentimental subjectivity.

Chapter two follows the career of Boston chromolithographer and Christmas card producer Louis Prang, charting how Prang's "overt public struggles with the contradictions of art, industry, discipline and abundance" illuminate "the problems of social affiliation within an industrializing world" (p. 67). Prang's cards and "chromos" (mass-produced copies of popular paintings), Shank contends, "represent the structures of feeling that organized rational business discipline along with ideologies of family joy and social obligation" (p. 67). Shank presents two principal arguments: that Prang's Christmas cards were what Walter Benjamin terms "dialectical images," figuring subjects' desire for utopian abundance in the midst of increased market discipline; and that preoccupation with the intensified color of chromos in debates about their artistic merit registered the centrality of "color" in the postbellum reorganization of "the dominant means of production" (p. 75). Shank develops this argument in analyses of the racial imagery in Prang's Christmas cards from the 1880s and an imaginative reading of William Dean Howell's *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885), in which the circulation of cards in the "domestic arena" of Boston society mirrors the operations of racialized economic exchange (p. 114).

While the first chapters situate greeting cards in the market revolution and the "construction of market-oriented subjects" (p. 119), chapter three examines the rise of the modern greeting card industry after 1890. The "post card craze" of 1905–1910 helped establish a mass market in cards and a national industry publishing greetings that could be mailed throughout the year. Cards continued to mediate the contradictory needs of competition and social affiliation, their conventional imagery of hearth and home revealing "nostalgia for an imagined premodern community of emotional abundance" (p. 134). Shank connects such sentiments to the hegemony of a new corporate "business culture" in which "association" and "business friendship," not autonomy, were paramount. Modern cards thus represented a "distillation of emotions from the corporate associations that characterized modern business culture" (pp. 156–157).

Chapter four surveys visual and verbal clichés that comprised the language of greeting cards from the mid-1920s to the 1950s. Rich with images, the chapter examines how these clichés reveal tensions between "mobility and stability," aspiration and hierarchy (p. 175). Comic images of African Americans and lower-class individuals reveal the persistent desire to police the lower boundary of the middle class; sympathetic images of children and African Americans exhibit nostalgia for authentic connection; while cards featuring middle-class businessmen facilitate "identification with the

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masquerade of business culture, with the [purported] valuation of production over feeling" (p. 204). Chapter five, on extant collections of cards from early twentieth-century families, examines how the use of cards shaped social networks, establishing the inseparability of "business relations and kinship among the professional-managerial class" (p. 226). Senders of greeting cards, Shank discovers, seldom supplemented printed sentiments with their own hand-written messages: "the abstract condensed . . . language of mass feeling" is the necessary form of modern sentiment "in a culture structured by" large corporations (p. 234). The brief final chapter suggests that contemporary greeting cards, with their emphasis on irony, reveal a new business norm in a postmodern era of globalization.

This is a beautifully illustrated, painstakingly researched book: Shank has performed valuable scholarly service in bringing the ephemera of mass culture to historical attention. Shank's most original contribution is his account of the intimate ties between "hardheaded business competition and the soft expressions of love and social connection" (p. 3). But Shank's commitment to uncovering the buried relays between production and emotion serves to marginalize the significance of gender—an odd occurrence given the fact that, as Shank owns, nearly eighty percent of greeting cards continue to be bought and sent by women (p. 6). Thus, the "market subjects" depicted in and constituted by greeting cards are at times racialized but curiously ungendered; and the fact that women circulated the visiting cards discussed in chapter two (to cite one example) is not the subject of extended analysis. This is partly the effect of a materialist approach that prioritizes class over gender; it is also the consequence of a methodology that privileges business records and the cards/texts themselves rather than—as in much cultural studies work—the meanings of these "texts" for consumers. Additionally, the broad scope of the book means that Shank's analyses are often suggestive rather than entirely convincing. But this always smart, ambitious, innovative study is an important assessment of a cultural artifact rarely deemed worthy of significant attention, scholarly or otherwise.

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Arthur Riss. *Race, Slavery, and Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century American Literature*. (Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 238. $80.00.

In this engaging and well-researched study, Arthur Riss argues that contemporary scholars have elided key debates in antebellum American culture over who counted as a person and, consequently, who had legitimate access to the political and civil rights that the Constitution granted to individuals. This blind spot, Riss argues, derives from Americans' now-thorough abhorrence of their national history of slavery; secure in our knowledge that the slave is/was a person, and thus was unjustly held in bondage, we have forgotten that the personhood of the slave was very much at issue in the mid-nineteenth century (and earlier). By imposing a late-twentieth and twenty-first-century notion of the "person" onto antebellum thought, we render proslavery figures as mere hypocrites and read the slavery debates themselves as a series of reasonable antislavery assertions and absurd proslavery rebuttals. For Riss, by contrast, the person is not an established concept existing apart from or prior to liberal political theory, but rather is that which emerges, often quite contentiously, via conflicts within liberalism. Personhood is liberalism's product, in other words, rather than its precursor.

Riss's exploration of these antebellum contests over personhood does much to illuminate the era's political and social theories vis-à-vis the vexed matter of racial identity. Working from the premise that hypocrisy is an intellectual dead end, Riss reconstructs with notable precision the ideological investments that enabled some Americans to exclude slaves from the category of the person. The book is also an excellent primer on liberalism itself, providing trenchant readings of antebellum texts and of contemporary critics' uses and misapprehensions of this influential political theory. Although Riss seems overly concerned that readers might miss his point—the book's first thirty pages or so are marked by a certain repetitiveness—he offers here a valuable intervention into antebellum culture and particularly into the ways in which the era's literary texts advanced, explored, and debated social and political claims.

The book's key literary figures—Harriet Beecher Stowe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Frederick Douglass—receive astute, detailed, and nicely contextualized readings. The first of Riss's chapters on Stowe, "Family Values and Racial Essentialism in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," appeared (in somewhat different form) as an article in *American Quarterly* in 1994; its widely cited argument has done much to challenge modern readers' presumption that the novel's racial essentialism necessarily undermines its ostensibly liberatory agenda. On the contrary, Riss claims, "Stowe generates the 'progressive' politics of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by means of racial essentialism" (p. 80). Because the novel's "true" families—and, crucially, its nations—are premised on racial sameness, the family reunions at the novel's close should be read as merging seamlessly with its infamous Liberian resolution. Intervening into the debate over Stowe's racism, Riss writes that the matter "cannot be reduced to the question of whether Stowe accepts racial essences unless one imagines that racial essences necessarily distort what a 'person' is" (p. 82). And so Riss bolsters his overarching argument that the very concept of the "person" is "fundamentally contested rather than . . . absolute" (p. 82). Stowe's racial representations may make contemporary readers uncomfortable, but we should not imagine that she shared, yet callously retreated from, the beliefs about personhood that undergird such unease.

Riss's second chapter on Stowe, titled "Eva's Hair

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and the Sentiments of Race," offers one of the most illuminating readings of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* I have encountered to date. Using antebellum scientific and social treatises on the racialization of hair—sources that were widely read and highly esteemed in their own time but largely forgotten in ours—Riss brilliantly rereads Eva's deathbed scene, arguing that her ritualistic distribution of her golden locks is not a universalizing gesture but rather "conjoins racial essences to the sentimental" (p. 108). Stowe's first audiences, Riss convincingly asserts, understood Eva's hair to be an explicitly racialized marker, the very substance of her difference from the slaves who gathered around her bed. And so the novel's project of making slaves into persons, once again, builds on an overarching attention to racial difference rather than "human" sameness.

Riss's chapter on Douglass moves from matters of essence to the complications of process, teasing out the conflicting notions of personhood that shape the 1845 *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*. That is, while Douglass participates in the great abolitionist project of deriding slavery because it violates the slave's transcendent personhood, he also explicitly narrates his own transformation into a man/person in the oft-cited fight with the slavebreaker Covey. In Riss's words, Douglass's uneasy marriage of preexistence and conversion "suggests that it is only after one has become a 'person' that one acquires the history of having always been a 'person' " (p. 179). Similarly, it is only after a social justice movement has unequivocally achieved its goal that its claims (nearly always to the personhood of one or another disadvantaged group) become self-evident.

Less successful are the book's two intervening chapters on Hawthorne. Riss's analysis of *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) is routed through a long reading of Sacvan Bercovitch's *The Office of the Scarlet Letter* (1991) that does not fully repay the reader's attention. And the chapter on *The Marble Faun* (1859) depends heavily on a rather slender bridge between the novel and one of Hawthorne's few overt comments on slaves. But even these less satisfying readings do important intellectual work. Riss resists the impulse simply to castigate Hawthorne for failing to hold the ideological positions we admire and instead resituates the novelist's gestures within crucial political and aesthetic matrices. Contemporary readers may disapprove of Hawthorne's apparent aversion to emancipation, but we should not imagine that it derives from some facile retreat from all activism.

This is, in short, an excellent book. I would consider it a must-read for anyone interested in the relations between antebellum literary production and the complexities of race and slavery. Historians and social theorists will find much of value here, too, as will those generally intrigued by literature's social and political resonances.

SUSAN M. RYAN
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T. GREGORY GARVEY. *Creating the Culture of Reform in Antebellum America*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 263. $39.95.

Historians are sometimes inclined to think of rhetoric as verbal trickery, bombast, or sophistry: that is, precisely the thing to be avoided in search of distant realities. T. Gregory Garvey's book reminds us that sometimes rhetoric *is* the reality, that inherited traditions of speech, debate, and persuasion can shape decisively the political culture of a given era. The author accordingly offers to readers across several disciplines a rich and compelling examination of four key debates in antebellum America: between religious orthodoxy and liberalism, between Angelina Grimké and Catharine Beecher over women's role in public affairs, between William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass on slavery and the Constitution, and Ralph Waldo Emerson's internal conflict between the competing appeals of public and private life.

The conceptual foundation of Garvey's volume rests in the interplay of democracy and public dialogue. The introduction establishes the case for why this relationship matters and how it obtains in the course of political and social disputes. By way of assistance, Garvey draws on the work of such theorists as Jürgen Habermas and, in particular, John Rawls. The result is a finely etched account of what the author calls "discursive democracy"; by tracing its contours, Garvey promises to "map the emergence of a culture of public debate that has not only enabled Americans continually to mediate deep divisions in the society but also profoundly influenced their understanding of equality and citizenship" (p. 3).

Of central importance to Garvey's argument is a persistent concern over the nature of sincerity: that is, whether it is possible to enter into public disputes and still retain a genuine sense of one's selfhood. In short, he argues, we can learn a good deal about democratic culture by asking how leading spokespersons attune themselves to the call of public life: what they are willing to give and what they hope to gain from joining the battle on the stage of social protest.

These are big questions, and they take on another level of complexity when the public sphere is itself undergoing profound change. In the debate between orthodox clergy and its liberal critics, for example, Garvey observes how crucial the issue of authority became to the proponents of either camp. Under the circumstances, where did authority ultimately rest? "Both liberal and orthodox ministers," he writes, "recognized that as a dialogic public sphere became increasingly important to the legitimization of authority, a vital source of the minister's authority had become unstable and was vacillating between the pulpit and the pew" (p. 35). For Lyman Beecher and others associated with the New England clergy, the answer could only be the pulpit; for William Ellery Channing and the Unitarians, it could only be the pew. To the extent that the pew may be said to have won, public culture was thereby reshaped and,

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so to speak, repopulated with a new generation of potential activists.

If the locus of authority was changing in antebellum America, so too were expectations about access to the public stage. Garvey's illuminating account of the debate between Grimké and Beecher (1836–1838) charts competing arguments over the prospects of public life for women of the time. The author is quite right to note that the series of published exchanges between the two represent a watermark in the history of public debate, and he treats each side with refreshing fairness and equity. "In their boldest moments," Garvey claims, "Grimké and Beecher each imagined femininity as a revolutionary force, a force that could redefine institutions, transform values, and serve as the moral bedrock of a consensus society" (p. 77). Grimké argued that as moral agents, women commanded rightful access to public speech; Beecher held that women were in an ideal position to claim the private sphere as the site of special privilege. Either way, the fact that the debate took place at all is evidence that the culture was transforming itself anew.

Garrison's and Douglass's divergent interpretations of the Constitution are a familiar chapter in the abolitionist story, but again Garvey gives us reason to revisit the debate in light of his theme. His examination is detailed and comprehensive, and justice to it cannot be rendered here. It is perhaps enough to underscore the author's insight that Garrison's perfectionism—his principled refusal to see the Constitution as anything but a proslavery document—bespoke a luxury that Douglass could not afford. The African American, in a sense, had no political capital to repudiate. On the contrary, Douglass understood that black enfranchisement could only come about by embodying or, as we might say now, performing citizenship. Garrison feared that such performances compromised the sincerity of abolitionists' aims; Douglass knew that the search for racial equality required no apologies.

None of the individuals above is noted for giving way to ambivalence. In Emerson Garvey seizes upon the one figure who made a career out of giving expression to his internal doubts and musings, and here we have an ideal occasion for concluding the volume. Emerson's well-known doubts about the culture of protest would seem to make him an unlikely case study in the formation of public debate; indeed, "Self-Reliance" alone can be seen as shutting the door against the noisy, conformist, do-gooders outside. But in this, his most adventuresome chapter, Garvey insists that "Self-Reliance" actually provides the ultimate rationale for Emerson's emerging sense of public selfhood. The command of one's own identity, the courage of one's convictions, the internal dialogue required to give a coherent account of those convictions: these are precisely the traits of mind and character that enable sincere action in the scenes of social reform.

This is a challenging, nuanced, and provocative book. The author is given to a certain fondness for prolix sentences, and some readers may be puzzled by its theoretical inflections—but not many. Most will appreciate its boldness and learn from its many insights.

STEPHEN HOWARD BROWNE
Pennsylvania State University

DANIEL W. HAMILTON. *The Limits of Sovereignty: Property Confiscation in the Union and the Confederacy during the Civil War.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. 231. $39.00.

On occasion, new scholars asking new questions of an old topic cast fresh light on historical questions that previous scholars had considered settled, insignificant, immaterial, or just plain irrelevant. Property rights and wrongs during the United States Civil War constitute just such a topic. Previous scholars have downplayed the significance of public policies such as the First and Second Confiscation Acts (1861, 1862) in the North and the Sequestration Act of 1861 in the South. But, as this carefully argued, instructive, and insightful monograph suggests, previous scholars have under-estimated the importance of these key public policies, both North and South, and they have failed to place confiscation into any larger historical understanding. Confiscation is a difficult legal issue to grasp; yet, as Daniel W. Hamilton states, "the ambiguity of confiscation is, historically, its most interesting feature" (p. 78).

Hamilton presents four major themes: to separate the revolutionary experience with confiscation from the Civil War–era confiscations; to analyze the divisions within the Republican Party (radical, moderate and conservative) that resulted in the hodge-podge of powers and restrictions upon confiscation in the best-known 1862 Second Confiscation Act; to explain the ironic success of sequestration in the Confederate States, where centralized power was supposed to be limited and checked; and to explain how, after 1865, Associate Justice Stephen Field used litigation arising from wartime confiscations to craft greater judicial protections for all private property. Unlike the experience during the American Revolution, the United States Congress did not adopt sweeping legislative confiscation. Instead, a modern perception of the sanctity of private property caused new approaches to confiscation to be proposed in Congress; a perception that property needed to be protected from arbitrary government interference.

Perhaps counterintuitively, confiscation proved difficult to enact in the United States Congress. Not just southern sympathizers and members of the northern Democrat Party opposed strong confiscation, but powerful persons and factions within the Republican Party opposed legislative confiscation. Conservative and the moderate Republicans preferred judicial confiscation after a treason trial and confiscation only for the life of the accused. Confiscation was so controversial that President Abraham Lincoln crafted a veto message of the Second Confiscation Act; he signed the act but only after Congress passed a joint resolution clarifying that any confiscation would last only for the life of the offender. Because of a lack of political opposition and in

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response to the First Confiscation Act, the Confederate Congress enacted a legislative confiscation act that was in line with the revolutionary confiscation experiences and it operated throughout the war. Ironically, long before the 1887 Interstate Commerce Commission, Confederate citizens experienced the centralized administrative state through their experience with Confederate confiscation receivers "making decisions about their personal property, the property of their families and neighbors, and the property of their clients, agents, or business partners" (p. 112). Associate Justice Field built on these changes in confiscation law to elevate the property "rights" of persons as tangible "vested interests" in need of protection from legislative tinkering and taking. As a result of these experiences and changes in the law of confiscation, by the end of the nineteenth century confiscation ended up a "relic, enforceable only in courts, and only for the life of an offender, an offender who nevertheless retained the right to sell the fee to the property while still alive" (p. 171).

Confiscation's story contains more weight and significance about the value of economic liberty in property than hinted at by previous historians. Thus, in elaborating these four themes, Hamilton's work casts new and considerable light on a topic scholars thought they had settled.

Hamilton has crafted an important advancement in the legal history of the era of the United States Civil War. A few quibbles on style can be suggested, such as the distracting use of the first and second person and a failure to explain what Hamilton means specifically by confiscation leading to a more "liberal" (modern?) understanding of property and constitutional responsibility. Regardless, Hamilton has produced an interpretation that suggests how much more work and consideration needs to be undertaken in the legal and constitutional history of the era of the Civil War. Together with the work of Silvana R. Siddali, this book advances the field and deepens our understanding of the enormous shifts in legal thought and action caused by the war and how law and the era's constitutionalism channeled the war's efforts on both sides. It ought to find a place on the shelf of every serious scholar of the era, regardless of field.

THOMAS C. MACKEY
University of Louisville

THOMAS J. BROWN. *Reconstructions: New Perspectives on the Postbellum United States*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 246. $30.00.

Reconstruction has often seemed one of the narrowest subfields in American history. Traditionally defined as the twelve-year period after the Civil War during which military troops were stationed in the South and southern state governments lay under northern influence, that version of Reconstruction was topically as well chronologically narrow. Indeed, it almost exclusively chronicled political and economic developments at the state and national level. Almost two decades ago, Eric Foner's magisterial *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (1988) not only consolidated the revisionist arguments about the promises and failures of Reconstruction but also used them to broaden chronologically the concept of Reconstruction. Surveying the early efforts at reconstructing the South during the war, Foner put the African American experience at the center of his account and so defined Reconstruction as beginning with the Emancipation Proclamation and the change in northern war aims.

Since the publication of Foner's book, the influence of social, cultural, and gender history has further widened the scope of Reconstruction. This collection of historiographical essays analyzes that continuing expansion of the definition of Reconstruction and, in fact, asks researchers in the field to be open to additional approaches. Editor Thomas J. Brown has chosen excellent contributors whose publications form part of the emerging new scholarship on the period.

Readers will find that this survey of Reconstruction historiography, unlike earlier ones, contains little controversy. The book's introduction describes its "keynote" as "less the contestation or elaboration of revisionism than the recognition of additional approaches to Reconstruction as an extraordinarily fertile field for historical writing" (p. 6). Thus, the essays describe and broaden the field rather than attack interpretations.

In keeping with this philosophy, the eight essays in this volume approach Reconstruction in several complementary ways. Almost half of them deal with major questions that have traditionally informed the history of Reconstruction and indicate recent contributions and changes of directions. Other pieces examine how the insights of historians in other fields of American history might contribute to the study of the Reconstruction era. And all suggest ways for historians of Reconstruction to expand their vision and their areas of research.

Some of the essays may well become required reading for graduate students preparing for exams that focus on Reconstruction. Michael W. Fitzgerald's account of the historiography of Reconstruction politics will be particularly helpful for those wishing a context for recent studies. He traces the emergence of "post revisionist" histories in the 1970s as doubts over the essential radicalism of Reconstruction surfaced, and his paired discussion of the two major syntheses of Reconstruction politics published in the 1980s by Foner and by Michael Perman also illuminates important differences in their views.

Stephen A. West's article on the "general remodeling" of the southern economy and the remaking of race relations persuasively argues that C. Vann Woodward's theses of discontinuity have been central to the study of both of these phenomena in the late nineteenth-century South. Tackling the important issue of African American agency during Reconstruction, John C. Rodrigue indicates how scholars have differed over the importance of communalism as opposed to individualism among freedpeople. Rodrigue also illuminates how this survey of individual autonomy has come to include

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freedwomen and has focused on the divisions within the black community. Similarly, Brown's article on memory and historical commemoration notes the way that that the emerging literature on Civil War memory has tended to draw more from questions surrounding that war than from the wider field of memory studies.

Other essays in the collection continue to expand the definition of Reconstruction. Several quite consciously proselytize researchers in the field to adopt a wider vision. Heather Cox Richardson suggests that historians of Reconstruction incorporate the West in their schemas, conduct research in governmental policy at the state level, and pursue questions of nationalism, citizenship, and identity, while Mark M. Smith argues the importance of foreign policy to a sophisticated analysis of Reconstruction. Surveying the differing emphases of legal and constitutional histories, Michael Vorenberg advocates a new focus on popular constitutional thought.

Realizing that some may question the omission of individual essays on religion or gender, the editor argues that the volume contains many discussions of these themes. The same may be said of cultural history, which looms larger in Brown's essay on memory than it does in Leslie Butler's, which is largely focused on intellectual history. In general these multiple perspectives on overlapping themes prove refreshing rather than repetitive. Whether historians continue to expand the definition of Reconstruction, this volume will be essential reading for those who wish either an introduction or a refresher course.

JANE TURNER CENSER
George Mason University

PATRICK G. WILLIAMS. *Beyond Redemption: Texas Democrats after Reconstruction*. (Red River Valley Books, number 1.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 234. $29.95.

Patrick G. Williams's insightful study of politics in Texas from the 1870s to the early twentieth century tells the story of how the Democrats established their power and what they then did with that power. He argues persuasively that the decisions made by the Democrats in these years had profound consequences for the future of Texas.

Williams's study is superbly researched, and his notes reveal a wide reading in published and unpublished government records, archival sources, and contemporary newspapers. He is also a master of the secondary literature on both Texas history and politics in the Gilded Age. He is able to note clearly and convincingly the ways in which Texas history simultaneously conformed to and departed from the more traditional patterns of post-Reconstruction politics in the other former Confederate states. Williams, for example, notes that Texas's western frontier and the state's borderlands history insured that Texas politicians would have to balance strengths and weaknesses not faced by other southern leaders. At the same time, Williams does not neglect the issues that linked Texas to the rest of the South, notably its population of former slaves, its history of federal occupation, and an economy that remained decidedly agricultural and reliant upon cotton.

The book is divided into two parts. In part one, Williams examines the ways in which Democrats widened and cemented their power. Williams argues convincingly that the process of "Redemption" did not begin with the inauguration of the first Democratic governor, Richard Coke, but instead began a year earlier when Democrats gained control of the Texas legislature. From the beginning, Democrats were unified by their hostility toward Reconstruction and for two particular manifestations of that regime, the Republican's state police forces and the public education system. Both were quickly dismantled or drastically altered once the Democrats gained political power. Democrats had a harder time ousting Republican local officials and judges. Democrats were not nearly as united on the importance of these changes, and, consequently, Republican influence lingered longer in certain pockets of Texas. Williams notes that other changes, like disfranchisement, were even slower in coming. Texas Democrats did not embrace blanket disfranchisement measures in the 1870s because such measures might unnecessarily alienate and antagonize poorer whites and, more importantly, were not necessary for Democratic ascendancy. The growing white population insured both Democratic control of the state government and the elections of Democrats in most local districts. Local, piecemeal disfranchisement did move forward during the late nineteenth century but only in specific areas, notably those with large black populations.

In part two, Williams examines what Texas Democrats did with the power they had established. Like Democrats in other southern states, Texas Democrats were the party of white, property-owning farmers, and they passed laws that increased the powers of landlords in the late nineteenth century. They also supported the convict lease system and small steps toward closing the open range. But Texas Democrats faced challenges that other southern states did not, such as the need to pay for a significant frontier defense force. This complicated things for Texas Democrats because they had ridden to power in the Lone Star State on promises to lower taxes and rid government of excessive spending and centralization. A number of Texas Democrats also wanted the state to encourage economic growth, even though the Republicans had been roundly criticized for the ways that they went about doing this. Texas, however, had a unique advantage over other rebel states: a vast public domain that was controlled by the state instead of the federal government as a result of Texas's annexation treaty. The use of the public lands became the way that Texas Democrats could deliver on their promises to lower taxes without having to make tough choices about public programs and services. Williams goes into detail about how this solution was used to prop up the public education system in Texas, allowing Texas schools to rate marginally ahead of the systems

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in other southern states despite a comparatively low tax burden. Eventually, the state ran out of public lands and the strategy of the Texas Democrats collapsed. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Williams argues that Texas became more like the rest of the South, as politicians were forced to make the tough choices that they had avoided earlier. It is during this period that true statewide disfranchisement came to Texas via the poll tax and other laws. Texas Democrats, under third-party threats from the Populists and others, were no longer as confident in their supremacy and were less worried about angering poorer farmers who were, at least in certain areas, abandoning the Democrats anyway. Williams concludes with a powerful section linking the decisions of the "Redeemer" Democrats to the history of Texas politics in the twentieth century and beyond.

This is a well-written and nicely argued book. It is a major addition to our understanding of politics in Texas, and it is also worth the attention of historians more broadly interested in the late nineteenth century. Social historians may quibble with the amount of space devoted to the devastating impact that the political decisions of the era had on the people of Texas, but even such historians would be forced to acknowledge that our understanding of late nineteenth-century Texas is far richer because of Williams's excellent study.

WILLIAM D. CARRIGAN
Rowan University

MICHAEL L. JOHNSON. *Hunger for the Wild: America's Obsession with the Untamed West*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. xvii, 533. $34.95.

Michael L. Johnson's ambitious book takes on the daunting task of identifying American attitudes toward wilderness and the wild from pre-European invasion to what he calls the "postregional West." He focuses on wildness in the West, both real and imagined, "that had powerfully and long—and ambiguously—fascinated its explorers, invaders, exploiters, legendizers, and dwellers" (p. xv). He begins with Indian attitudes toward the land, concluding that Native Americans and wildness fit well together, with culture conforming to the environment. No such happy union existed when the Europeans arrived. Plymouth Colony's William Bradford perceived that the fearful wilderness (and its inhabitants) must be tamed and cultivated, a task his fellow countrymen never doubted was their utilitarian and spiritual duty. Yet, as he often does, Johnson notes complexities and paradoxes. The intrepid Spanish explorer Cabeza de Vaca provides a contrast for the likes of Bradford. In his epic journey across the American Southwest flexibility was the key as he successfully adjusted to the new world wilderness and the native peoples who held him captive.

Johnson's odyssey through American West history moves on to extended discussions of Daniel Boone, Lewis and Clark, and the fur-trapping mountain men. He engages a long-standing debate about the trappers' character, concluding that of all the frontiersmen they "were still the most wed to the wild." Yet he acknowledges the arguments of such historians as Richard White, Richard Slotkin, and William H. Goetzman that the fur trappers were not so much motivated by the romance of the wilderness as by a yearning for profit, willing to ransack nature for economic gain. This same tendency was evident in the California gold rush and even with the invasion of cattle (replacing bison) on the northern plains. There the cowboy embraced the wilderness of the plains but was soon engaged in fencing (civilizing) that wild.

His latter two sections are more problematic, revealing the author's particular interests and interpretations. Part four loosely covers the period from the 1890s to the 1960s. Certainly the turn of the century and the close of the frontier make a convenient turning point for a shift in American attitudes toward wilderness. The book features John Muir leading the charge to change the cultural perception of the wild from a negative to a positive. He and many others largely succeed as the settled West increasingly features federally prescribed wilderness areas, Wild West shows, rodeos and dude ranches, essentially reenactments of what was lost. However, it is more than mere nostalgia. Johnson turns to environmental travesty, such as the Dust Bowl and the government's obsession with building dams at inappropriate sites, as well as atom bomb test sites in the "empty" West.

The final section is a potpourri of subjects that reflects the author's thoughts about the modern West and his theme of wildness. Recent demographic trends inspired provocative chapters such as "The Computer in the Cabin: Unsettling the Nouveau West" and "Wild(e) Style: Ralphlaurenizing the Range." Perhaps the most perplexing is a chapter on Las Vegas. One might rightly ask: what does Las Vegas have to do with the wild and wilderness? Johnson now looks at "the wilderness of the mind," examining the counterculture of the 1960s, the weird West represented by Roswell, New Mexico, and Las Vegas, which, one might surmise, represents the true urban (and fearful) wild West.

This book defies easy categorization. It is environmental history, but even more it is cultural history with a dash of literary criticism thrown in. It presumes a sophisticated understanding of both the westward movement and the regional West. It is a clever tour de force full of anecdotes, vignettes, literary observations, and art interpretations that challenge our knowledge as well as our imagination. And, as Johnson would freely admit, he did not write the book alone. He relies heavily on historians as well as literary scholars who have systemically worked the soil of the West across time and space. He quotes White, Slotkin, Donald Worster, and Patricia Nelson Limerick, as well as older historians such as Howard Lamar and Ray Allen Billington. Even the somewhat discredited Frederick Jackson Turner makes a few appearances.

Johnson relies on secondary sources for his authority and therefore the book almost becomes a Who's Who

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of American West historians. On this score Johnson must be complimented for his coverage, as he calls into play the theories of almost every notable western historian. Yet what is a strength can also be a weakness. For those readers not familiar with American West historiography, the constant attribution of ideas to others can be frustrating. One wishes a ruthless editor had cut the many quotes and relegated the cited historians to endnotes. As it now stands, the book is an invigorating read, but not necessary an effortless one.

Johnson's study will take its place among the thoughtful and sophisticated works on the American West. Its originality inspires new ways of thinking about the region. Who would have thought that a center-pivot irrigation system could be interpreted as taming the wildness of the Great Plains? Some readers will disagree with such interpretations, others with his speculations. The imagined West is all around us, proclaims Johnson, and we "spike our lives with imitations of the Western wild," to include raising gray wolves as pets, consuming buffalo burgers and other wild meats, acquiring shelves of Indian knickknacks, visiting expensive dude ranches, or shouldering heavy backpacks for treks in the Rocky Mountains (p. 396). Is all this mere foolishness? Not really, because Johnson maintains that Westerners "want to keep their own wildness alive in the only place left in this country where they can do that—the West, where the land remains more open and more wild than it is in the non-West" (p. xvi). The region is filling up with people, but Johnson's observation rings true.

Robert W. Righter
Southern Methodist University

Ned Blackhawk. *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. 372. $35.00.

This is the most significant study of Great Basin history to emerge in recent decades. Ned Blackhawk's engaging book captures the marginalized past of Great Basin Indians and reconstructs it at the center of powerful colonial forces. In Blackhawk's story, Native American peoples are not merely sideshows on the edges of American history but historical actors with diplomatic agendas equal to that of their colonial counterparts. This is not simply a rewriting of regional history but a reshaping of the American story to place indigenous peoples at the center, with violence and pain used as interpretive tools.

The scope of Blackhawk's study, from the late sixteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, adds deep texture to longstanding regional narratives. The 1776 Dominguez-Escalante expedition, a typical starting point for Spanish-Ute relations in the Great Basin, does not appear in Blackhawk's story until chapter three. By the time of the padres' foray into what would become Utah, the Spanish and the Utes had forged complex and frequently violent relationships. A 1639 Spanish slave raid against Ute Indians marked the first documented encounter between the two peoples. By the mid-eighteenth century, the Utes had adapted "to the region's new violent economy" to become "accomplished and dreaded antagonists" themselves (p. 25). They also formed a powerful alliance with the Comanche to dominate New Mexico's northern perimeter.

Eventually the Ute-Comanche alliance deteriorated due to multifaceted imperial forces pulling the Comanche in new directions. In the wake of this shift, the Utes and Spanish formed a powerful partnership that sent violent shockwaves reverberating throughout the non-equestrian Great Basin populations. Equestrian Utes displaced the violence of New Spain onto more distant tribes, thereby bringing them into the colonial sphere of influence. Utes raided Southern Paiute and Western Shoshone camps for women and children and sold them into the Spanish slave market. In this way, Southern Paiutes and Western Shoshones "were incorporated into the violent orbit of Spanish colonialism, not by Spanish conquistadors or soldiers, but by Utes, whose alliance with New Mexico spread slavery into the Intermountain West" (p. 57). This system largely lasted in various forms well into the 1850s and led to the outbreak of the Walker War in Utah as Mormon settlers became enmeshed in lingering webs of empire.

Mexican independence and then the Mexican War ushered in new changes especially as those events brought an influx of outsiders into the area. As trappers and traders poured into the Great Basin to compete over the region's rich fur resources, Native Americans again adapted. Shoshone groups secured desired resources and protection and incorporated trapper rendezvous into their migratory economies. However, along with trappers came explorers and cartographers, people who laid the foundations for a settler empire then pushing west.

In an insightful chapter on the Colorado Utes, Blackhawk challenges long standing assumptions that violence between the U.S. Army and equestrian Indians was inevitable. Rather, he points to the Utes' consistent diplomatic efforts, learned from a long history of negotiation and peace with the Spanish, as significant and serious attempts at reaching accommodation. "Ute leaders," Blackhawk asserts, "held visions of peace and attempted to keep their societies from clashing with American newcomers" (p. 203). In this regard Blackhawk sees Chief Ouray's missions to Washington, D.C., not as sellouts to his people but as serious attempts to negotiate space for Ute autonomy.

Mormon settlement of the Great Basin forms the end of Blackhawk's story, the place where a typical Utah Indian history begins. In Blackhawk's version Mormon settlers moved into centuries-old Native American political economies already under intense pressure from rapidly shifting fortunes of empire. The Mormon arrival quickly brought displacement, additional violence, disease, and misery, even as different Great Basin groups attempted to plug the Mormons into established patterns of interaction. The Mormons' suspect position on the American stage further complicated matters and

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led to a federal military presence in Utah. That presence, in turn, spawned more violence. More than Mormon-Shoshone tensions or other complicating factors, Blackhawk convincingly argues that it was "aggressive volunteer forces" in the U.S. Army, combined with "a militarized Indian policy" (p. 263) during the Civil War, that led to the largely forgotten Bear River Massacre in January 1863, a grisly slaughter that left nearly 300 Shoshone dead.

Blackhawk does not give all Great Basin tribes equal treatment. For good reason Utes dominate the discussion, paralleling their domination of the region for the period under consideration. Southern Paiutes and Northern and Eastern Shoshone are given less attention, while the Northern Paiute and Western Shoshone are afforded less still. As a whole, however, the book brings Great Basin tribes into the national narrative in new and important ways. This study deserves a wide audience, particularly among students of Native American history, the Spanish borderlands, the American West, and the American nation.

W. Paul Reeve
University of Utah

Pablo Mitchell. *Coyote Nation: Sexuality, Race, and Conquest in Modernizing New Mexico, 1880–1920.* (Worlds of Desire: The Chicago Series on Sexuality, Gender, and Culture.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 235. $20.00.

It is always refreshing to read familiar history from new perspectives. Pablo Mitchell provides both new sources and new interpretations in his study of New Mexico from 1880 to 1920. In fact, Mitchell's book is the most original work on New Mexico history since the publication of Ramon A. Gutierrez's award-winning *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (1991). As a truly original book, Mitchell's study of sexuality and race in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is likely to spark as much controversy as Gutierrez's study of sexuality and race in the Spanish colonial and Mexican eras.

According to Mitchell, Anglo imperialists believed that the culturally inferior Hispanic and Native American populations of New Mexico could only be transformed into acceptable American citizens by redefining the human body and bodily comportment in purely Anglo terms. Mitchell writes that "the human body's entrances and exits, protrusions and blemishes, incapacities, shames, triumphs, failures, and desires together constituted an overlooked, yet absolutely critical, component of the creation of American colonial order in New Mexico" (p. 5). While sexuality as a tool of imperialism has been used in studies of other colonial regimes, this interpretation has never been applied to New Mexico in the late territorial or early statehood periods, years when native New Mexicans "proved especially resilient in the face of Anglo incursions" (p. 4).

The author employs several new or seldom used sources to make his case. Mitchell mined Indian boarding school records, sexual assault court transcripts, and newspaper advertisements to show how Anglos used the human body and bodily comportment to praise proper (Anglo) behavior and to denounce improper (native) behavior in certain cities (Las Vegas, Santa Fe, and Albuquerque) and certain institutions (boarding schools and courts) of New Mexico.

But while the author makes a convincing argument in connecting sexuality, race, and conquest in New Mexico, he does little to relate his interpretation to pivotal events of the period 1880 to 1920. What impact did Anglo concepts regarding sexuality and race have on New Mexico's role in the Spanish-American War, the territory's long struggle for statehood, the writing of the state constitution of 1910, the state's participation in World War I, the fight for women's suffrage, and the campaign for prohibition? The impact may have been great, but the author is largely silent on how his central thesis relates to these major developments.

Mitchell is also silent regarding Anglos of this period who were less inclined to use sexuality and race to impose dominant American values on the native populations of New Mexico. In fact, a clear majority of the Anglo artists, authors, and anthropologists who arrived in New Mexico after 1880 made it their life's work to help preserve, rather than suppress, native cultures considered at risk in the modem age.

And so the controversy begins. Other historians will undoubtedly weigh in with their own concerns regardingMitchell's book. But this is how knowledge expands, and for that we should be grateful to an insightful author who has challenged historians to consider New Mexico's past in important new ways.

Richard Melzer
University of New Mexico, Valencia

Jean Pfaelzer. *Driven Out: The Forgotten War against Chinese Americans.* New York: Random House. 2007. Pp. xxix, 400. $27.95.

Jean Pfaelzer details the push to force Chinese people from their homes and jobs in California. Between 1849 and 1906, there were over two hundred "roundups" or "pogroms" of Chinese in California. These events were so common that the Chinese called them *pai hua* or "driven out." Fearing competition in the job market, white American workers in California took out their frustrations by organizing lynchings, night raids, deportations, and arson attacks on Chinese neighborhoods. By ridding their communities of Chinese, whites hoped to secure their own economic position. This is not a new story; however, Pfaelzer also looks at the actions Chinese people took to secure their well-being in California despite attacks against them.

Using excellent sources, the author successfully explains the attempted forced elimination of Chinese immigrants from California. Emphasizing roundups in Eureka and Truckee, California, Pfaelzer also analyzes

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well-known incidents at Rock Springs, Wyoming, and Tacoma, Washington. She might have expanded the book to include attacks against the Chinese throughout the West rather than focusing only on California.

When gold dwindled or became too difficult to extract from mineral veins, anti-Chinese activities increased. Boycotts of white businesses by anti-Chinese forces pushed the businesses to comply with demands to rid the area of Chinese workers. The white community began its anti-Chinese campaign by passing legislation attacking the Chinese lifestyle. For example, San Francisco's Queue Ordinance permitted prison wardens to cut off the long braids, or queues, worn by Chinese men, and the Sidewalk Ordinance prohibited Chinese people from using shoulder poles and baskets to carry vegetables and laundry to customers.

Almost to the extreme, the disquieting first half of the book details one attack after the other, but what stands out the most in Pfaelzer's writing is the tenaciousness of the Chinese. Chinese people rebuilt again and again after the numerous arsons carried out by their white neighbors. They also returned numerous times to towns that had forced their expulsion more than once. For assistance, Chinese contacted the Chinese government, hired white American attorneys, purchased weapons, and established organizations designed to combat the anti-Chinese forces. White men and women sought to protect the Chinese, including Frederick Bee, the Chinese Consul in San Francisco, who sought redress for atrocities in Denver and Rock Springs; W. H. White, a United States attorney, who prosecuted white mob members in Tacoma; and women who literally hid Chinese servants behind their skirts to protect them from angry townspeople. The number of whites who aided the Chinese is important, and Pfaelzer might have spent more time explaining their actions.

A highlight of the book is Pfaelzer's analysis of court cases brought by Chinese immigrants against their attackers. In *Wing Hing v. City of Eureka*, plaintiffs demanded reparations for losses incurred during a forced exodus from Eureka, California. In another act of defiance, Chinese people also showed their opposition by not agreeing to carry identification cards as prescribed by the 1892 Geary Act.

The book emphasizes the economic argument and touches only briefly on other reasons used in the nineteenth century to validate anti-Chinese crusades, such as belief that the Chinese could not or would not assimilate into American society, Chinese prostitution, and opium smoking. A better understanding of the push-pull factors of Chinese immigration is also needed. The Chinese men who traveled to the gold fields left families in China, not only because of laws passed in the United States, such as the Page Act, but because of Qing Dynasty dictates that prohibited families from accompanying male emigrants. Chinese families were kept as virtual hostages to ensure that men sent money home to support them as well as a deteriorating Qing government. The volume also contains a thirty-five page "litany of hate," which is little more than a list of anti-Chinese acts. There is a fine collection of seventy-nine photographs and illustrations that make the people involved more than just statistics and names.

DIANA L. AHMAD
Missouri University of Science and Technology, Rolla

DIANA L. AHMAD. *The Opium Debate and Chinese Exclusion Laws in the Nineteenth-Century American West*. Reno: University of Nevada Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 132. $34.95.

Diana L. Ahmad's concise volume makes a meaningful contribution to the scholarship on Chinese exclusion and the anti-Chinese movement. Filling a significant gap in the literature, it advances our knowledge of the issue of opium in nineteenth-century America's discourse on the "Chinese question," especially in parts of the American West outside California. A diligent researcher, the author has unearthed and used a wide range of primary sources, including local newspapers and various local records in Nevada, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, Oregon, and California. Based on extensive empirical evidence, her book gives us the first comprehensive and detailed depiction of the close connection between anti-Chinese sentiments and the subject of recreational opium use. In so doing, it reveals the extent to which anti-Chinese sentiments permeated towns and communities throughout the American West.

Opium smoking became a convenient target for the anti-Chinese forces because of its strong and widespread perception as a "Chinese habit." Ahmad tells us that "Opium dens became a lasting part of the Chinese stereotype" (p. 25). Anti-Chinese activists created the idea that white opium users would "develop Chinese characteristics" (p. 43). In 1885 a Boise, Idaho, newspaper sarcastically suggested that Ned Harrison, who had been repeatedly arrested for opium use, change his name to "Ah Ned" (p. 79). Anti-Chinese feelings were so strong throughout the West that having a sizeable Chinese population "was not a prerequisite to pleas for opium legislation and the curtailment of Chinese immigration" (p. 55).

Ahmad's rich empirical data also offer glimpses into Chinese American resistance to racial discrimination. In 1879, for instance, after being arrested for allegedly selling opium in Ormsby County, Nevada, a Chinese man named Ah Suey refused to change his plea to guilty in spite of being repeatedly urged to do so, and eventually his case was dismissed. Moreover, the Chinese made efforts to launch legal challenges to the opium ordinances passed by various communities, and they succeeded in one of these challenges.

The arguments the author attempts to make, however, often appear to suggest that she has a tendency to accept popular assumptions about the Chinese and sometimes fails to scrutinize her sources with sufficient care. One assumption is the notion that the Chinese introduced opium use and spread it to the rest of the

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nation. This assumption is part of the anti-Chinese rhetoric that needs serious and critical reexamination, going beyond the rhetoric itself. More problematic is the author's suggestion that the desire to exclude the Chinese came partly from the wish to eliminate the vice of opium smoking. It is problematic, first of all, because the connection between the anti-Chinese movement and the anti-narcotic forces has not yet been fully documented. Second and more important, the suggestion can be quite misleading, creating the impression that opium smoking constituted one of the "reasons for Chinese exclusion" (p. xi). The Chinese would have been excluded even if no Chinese had smoked opium. The 1790 naturalization act had already laid the foundation of racial exclusion long before the arrival of many racial minorities. In other words, it is America's institutionalized racist ideology, rather than the behavior patterns of the Chinese or any other racial minority groups, that caused racial exclusion. Ample evidence shows that leading a good, moral, "American" life would not have guaranteed to Chinese or other minorities political, social, or legal acceptance in nineteenth and early twentieth-century America.

Ahmad does point out that "Few Chinese involved themselves in the business of the opium den; however, the white middle class and elite classes failed to acknowledge that" (p. xi). Important points like this need further elaboration and exploration.

YONG CHEN
University of California, Irvine

ESTELLE T. LAU. *Paper Families: Identity, Immigration Administration, and Chinese Exclusion*. (Politics, History, and Culture.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 214. Cloth $74.95, paper $21.95.

This is a nuanced, sympathetically written account of the impact on generations of Chinese Americans of the widely practiced fraudulent immigration into the United States by so-called paper sons—there were very few paper daughters—who successfully claimed to be children of United States citizens. Their fraudulent entry was greatly facilitated by the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906, which destroyed most of its public records including birth certificates. Thus many Chinese immigrants, who—like other East, Southeast, and South Asians—were ineligible for naturalization, were able to claim American birth and thus American citizenship. As there were few Chinese women in the United States in the exclusion era, men had wives in China who, despite marriage to a U.S. citizen, were not normally admissible to the United States. But any child fathered in China was admissible as a derivative U.S. citizen. Each visit to China constituted, from the citizen's point of view, a time during which one or more children could have been fathered. Some men brought in their own sons, others brought in close relatives, and still others sold the "slot" to someone else, who had to assume that false identity for the rest of his life. Starting in 1955, the Immigration and Naturalization Service created a fifteen-year Chinese Confession Program—partly as a means of getting at and deporting supporters of "Red China" in the United States—that gave a kind of amnesty to those who confessed, if their confessions included and thus jeopardized their entire networks of real and fictive kin. Estelle T. Lau tells this part of the story well, piecing together lives and relationships largely from 190 of the thousands of Chinese case files in the National Archives and Records Adminstration archive at San Bruno, California.

But Lau's unattributed notion that "nearly 25 percent of the Chinese in the United States in 1950"—nearly 30,000 persons—"had illegally entered" as "paper" immigrants (p. 5) is surely far too high, although counting un-apprehended illegal immigrants is to count the uncountable. More clearly in error are the statements that "100 percent" of the 105,000 Chinese in the United States in 1880 "were foreign-born" (p. 20) and that "by 1900, eighty-five thousand [Japanese] lived in the United States, and by the following decade the number had nearly doubled" (p. 27): the U.S. Census numbers are 24, 326 and 72, 157.

There are problems with more than numbers. Unfortunately the author's scholarship is inconsistent. Her bibliography is excellent, although there are some important omissions: one misses particularly the work of Najia Aarim-Heriot and Xiaojian Zhao. Many of the works listed have not been utilized effectively, however, because the author's errors are clearly spelled out in some of them.

In writing about paper sons Lau calls the provision of American Nationality Law that gave derivative citizenship to properly documented persons born abroad to U.S. citizen fathers a "loophole [which] could be implemented by any U.S. citizen" (p. 37). To do so is to adopt the perspective of an immigration official. She claims that "Indeed, throughout U.S. history, many immigrant groups have resorted to this practice to gain entry into the United States" (p. 37). I do not know of any other immigrant group that utilized such a strategy, or needed to. Lau cites as authority for that statement (p. 170, n. 11) an article that deals with federal habeas corpus cases in California courts involving Chinese and makes no mention of derivative citizenship. She goes on to say that after the 1906 earthquake the paper son subterfuge "grew even more popular" (p. 37) but provides no evidence that it was used prior to the earthquake, and I am not aware of any substantiated claim that the practice existed before 1906.

Given these inaccuracies about matters that are largely in the public record and easily verifiable, it takes an act of faith to rely on the most important parts of the text based on archival materials that not one reader in a hundred will be in a position to verify. It does seem to me, as the opening paragraph indicates, that the family stories spun from the archives are both perceptive and plausible, but unfortunately the author has, in ef-

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fect, called into question the validity of her own work.

ROGER DANIELS,
EMERITUS
University of Cincinnati

HIROSHI MOTOMURA. *Americans in Waiting: The Lost Story of Immigration and Citizenship in the United States*.New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 254. $29.95.

In recent years, little attention has been given to lawful immigrants in the public discourse about immigration, reinforcing the notion that they enjoy an untroubled journey to American citizenship. Hiroshi Motomura challenges this notion in his timely book.

In this impressive overview of American immigration and citizenship law over the past 200 years, Motomura demonstrates that the treatment of immigrants has been influenced by three views of immigration: as transition, contract, and affiliation. Whereas the chronological order of these views is as above, Motomura first documents the use of the last two concepts in landmark Supreme Court decisions and legislation. His carefully researched and clearly written surveys of the cases and the historical context in which they unfolded make fascinating reading for all. Motomura traces the contract-based reasoning to the Chinese exclusion cases of the late 1800s. These decisions established the plenary power doctrine and emphasized that admission of immigrants was a conditional and revocable license and deportation was "a mere extension of the power to admit and exclude" (p. 96). Motomura provides important insights into the government efforts, with judicial complicity, to identify, exclude, and deport noncitizens (subversives, terrorists, racialized groups, and the poor) for reasons of national security and ideology. Over time, however, immigration as affiliation generated laws that gave noncitizens with strong ties to America more protection than under immigration as contract.

Motomura then turns his attention to the earlier paradigm: immigration as transition. From 1795 to 1952, immigrants who had filed a declaration of intent to naturalize were granted a pre-citizen status and were, in many ways, treated like citizens from arrival. A major contradiction, however, was that immigration and citizenship were formally restricted by race. Drawing on the extensive scholarship on nativism, Motomura outlines the exclusionary and restrictive measures targeting racialized immigrants. The end of racial barriers to naturalization in 1952 and the national origins system in 1965 opened up America to a new immigration, mostly from non-European countries. The irony, Motomura stresses, is that this shift in immigration policy and trends occurred at the same time that the contract and affiliation-based paradigms had become more prominent. The decline of the idea of immigration as transition was reflected in the failure to distinguish strongly between lawful immigrants and other noncitizens, and the "reciprocal skepticism" (p. 171) that had undermined relations between immigrants and citizens. Of special note in Motomura's analysis is his discussion of the post-9/11 use of immigration law as antiterrorism law. By using profiling in immigration law enforcement, Motomura argues, the government failed to heed the lessons from the past. Then, as now, the reliance of immigration law on profiling affected noncitizens *and* citizens.

Motomura's complex narrative begins and ends with his plea to restore the sense of mutual acceptance by Americans and immigrants of "a sensible we/they line" (p. 14), and to resurrect the promise of citizenship through a return to the transition model. Lawful immigrants, he urges, should be viewed as Americans in waiting and treated like citizens in public employment and education, benefits, family reunification, and voting. This would foster civic education and involvement of immigrants and would ultimately result in a more integrated society.

Motomura's study delves deeply into the case law and legislative history to demonstrate the complex role of the law in the historical construction of the boundaries of citizenship. His efforts to recover a usable past are both provocative and complex. His analysis provides a useful and convincing corrective to the narrow construction of the immigration issue as the problem of securing America's borders. While his proposal would do justice to lawful immigrants, it is worth questioning its selectivity. Given the massive backlog and indefinite delays in permanent residency applications, some intending citizens have been permanent residents in waiting for years. It is also debatable whether the transition model would open the way for a fair discussion of admission procedures that would address the marginalization of undocumented and other ostracized immigrants. This may be because of his proposal to resurrect a principle that served to structure racial, ethnic, gender, and class hierarchies. Significantly, Motomura finds that the waning of the transition idea was "largely because of fears that the wrong immigrants could become intending citizens" (p. 172). His study demonstrates the enduring significance of race, ethnicity, and class. His call to look "beyond race and ethnicity" (p. 187) and his advocacy of an integrationist model are therefore problematic. Significant though they may be, these qualifications should not detract from Motomura's invaluable contribution to the scholarship. Like Gunnar Myrdal's classic work, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy* (1944), this one stands as both a challenge to America's professed commitment to fairness, equality, and justice and a firm testament to its promise.

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EIICHIRO AZUMA. *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 306. $21.95.

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In this book, Eiichiro Azuma presents a compelling account of Japanese immigrants as transnational subjects negotiating their place between the American and Japanese empires.

Azuma provides new insights into Japanese American history because of the way he conceptualizes the history of the Japanese immigrant generation (the Issei). He does not analyze the Issei exclusively within one nation's history or as denationalized people. Instead, Azuma treats the Issei as "inter-National" people who live between nations. In this sense, he draws on a postmodern interest in the instability of identity categories and locates the Issei within several communities, including the Japanese in modern Japan, the overseas Japanese residing in North America, and settlers in the American West.

Most notably, Azuma's Japanese-language skills permit him to draw on archival records and other primary sources produced in Japan, as well as on Issei materials written in the Japanese language in the United States, such as immigrant newspapers. As a result, he not only provides a view of Japanese immigrants from the perspective of other mainland residents and the English-speaking Japanese American generation (the Nisei), but he also offers the Issei's viewpoints of their homeland and new country. Furthermore, he provides information about the Issei from Japan and Japanese officials as well as from the United States and American officials. These multiple viewpoints allow Azuma to treat the immigrant experience as part of both American history and Japanese history, and not merely at the point of departure from Japan but throughout the entire period from emigration up to World War II. He investigates nation building and imperialism, as well as the more prominent themes in Japanese American history of racism and labor issues.

Azuma admirably examines the Issei as a heterogeneous immigrant group, rather than a monolithic one. For example, he identifies three types of immigrants—mercantilists, colonialists, and laborers—and their competing interests. He also pays attention to the Japanese immigrant socialists, anarchists, and other leftists who criticized Japanese and American elites, and leaders within Japanese American communities. Azuma's astute use of leftist writings and run-ins with authority figures yields a far more complex picture of Issei experiences and attitudes than we have seen heretofore.

Azuma argues that the racial politics of both Japan and the United States played key roles in designating the Issei as outside the American and Japanese empires. He presents the Japanese immigrants as "in-between" people, reminiscent of the ways some scholars of European immigrants have identified them as neither black nor white. Azuma argues that the Issei's treatment as a racial "other" took place within the United States *and* within Japan. Although he makes a convincing case that the Issei (at least in California) responded by trying to "present themselves as quintessential Americans," he does not provide convincing evidence that "the Issei tried to transform themselves into quasi whites" (p. 6). Still, in one of his most interesting chapters, Azuma analyzes how Japanese Americans used history to tell their version of the Issei's significance in order to challenge the dominant racist views and legal restrictions.

Despite his original approach, there are some limitations to Azuma's history of the Issei. For example, the three immigrant types he identifies reveal the ways in which he treats the immigrants as male subjects without usually identifying them as such. Where would Japanese immigrant midwives or Issei women who worked as domestic workers fit within his typology of immigrants? The answer is that such women would be treated as the immigrants' wives, rather than immigrants in their own right. Although the author does include some important material about Issei women and notes the significance of the concept of gender in his introduction, he generally presents material on women as points of departure from the main narrative of the book rather than an integral part of the story of the Issei.

Furthermore, Azuma makes generalizations about the Issei experience through focusing predominantly on the immigrants in one state, California, and then offering occasional examples from the Issei in Washington, Oregon, Hawai'i, and British Columbia in Canada. Such an approach seems to diminish the significant differences among those locations and the ways in which place matters. Yes, the Issei in California constituted the majority of the mainland Japanese Americans, but there was also a sizable population of Issei in Hawai'i with its very different economy. Indeed, Azuma treats Hawai'i, as well as Canada, as if they were merely part of the American empire. Certainly they were both influenced by American actions, but greater attention to the Issei in Hawai'i and Canada would complicate the notion of a people "between two empires."

Overall, this interesting study makes a significant contribution to scholarship on Japanese American history and on transnational history.

SUSAN L. SMITH
University of Alberta

SUSAN L. SMITH. *Japanese American Midwives: Culture, Community, and Health Politics, 1880–1950.* (The Asian American Experience.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 280. Cloth $50.00, paper $25.00.

This book relates the story of midwives of Japanese origin who immigrated to the United States in the early twentieth century as members of the Issei, the first generation of Japanese Americans. Susan L. Smith focuses only on this specific group of midwives, making visible their long overlooked presence. Smith uses convincing evidence and a wide-ranging spectrum of resources to interpret the carefully defined, scientifically based practice of midwifery couched in American culture as that of a minority. The book deepens our understanding of the history of midwifery, broadening its scope to an in-

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ternational level to include foreign policy and imperialism.

The Issei midwives, or *sanba*, received their training in Japan during the Meiji period (1868–1912). In this period, the Japanese government legitimated midwifery by standardizing the practice. New midwives had to receive education in the professional and scientific study of childbirth in order to be licensed. Across the world midwifery existed in many different forms, notably taking new form in industrializing countries. Smith establishes a framework that recognizes the centrality of government as a source of power in this process. In Japan the central government, along with Japanese doctors, controlled midwifery and gave it an identity separate from medicine but inclusive of medical science. In contrast the United States' regulation of midwives was inconsistent, occurring at the state and/or local level. Smith develops the history of Japanese American midwifery to incorporate both Japanese and American influences.

With sensitivity and depth of interpretation, Smith takes on issues of diversity and race in Progressive-era America. By the early twentieth century Japan had gained favorable status with the American government. While immigration policy in the early 1900s offered only loopholes for Japanese immigration in the face of American society's strong prejudice against these immigrants, Theodore Roosevelt made every effort to encourage Japanese trade. Smith's book reconstructs the meaning of diversity for the immigrants themselves through Japanese American culture and life. The Issei midwives practiced as individuals and as representatives of a collectivity: they were the *sanba*. The *sanba* dominated the culture of Japanese American childbirth until American entrance into World War II. Their professional status as representatives of the immigrant community contrasts sharply with previous renderings of immigrant midwives in the era. Smith shows their power in social relations, especially in health and medicine.

Smith's new book complements her first, *Sick and Tired of Being Sick and Tired: Black Women's Health Activism in America, 1890–1950* (1995), furthering our knowledge of the intricate details of midwifery in U.S. history. These two works illustrate the significant participation of African American and Japanese American midwives in childbirth and in public health. Smith's new book establishes a previously unknown example of an ethnically defined group of midwives who practiced extensively among Japanese Americans but also among other cultural groups. Japanese American midwives were able to gain certification for several years because of their strong educational background. Until this work, many historians have argued that doctors in the early twentieth century simply targeted midwifery as the cause of infant and maternal mortality in childbirth and sought its eradication. While the Japanese saw their regulation of midwifery as strengthening their nation, Americans seemed to treat midwives largely as the scourge of health, targeting especially the black midwife. Smith demonstrates that the decades-long practice of the *sanba* in the United States was an exception and probes the reasons why.

Historical geography provides a strong element of the book's framework. Smith suggests that the exceptionalism of the *sanba* derives in part from its context of U.S. western history. Chapters move from California to Seattle to Hawaii, offering histories of social and cultural relations through a different lens, showing diversity within the *sanba* itself. The author uses this arrangement to underscore the importance of urban versus rural residence for the midwife's class, quality of life, and childbirth practice.

Among the expanse of Smith's research stands the rare midwife's journal, that of Toku Shimomura over fifty years, whose careful interpretation threads its way through the book. Other sources create a broad continuum, from government documents (Japanese and American) to interviews taken from relatives of midwives. The book balances biographies of several individual midwives with a broader history of the era of the *sanba* culture of childbirth.

The coming of the Japanese internment camps ended *sanba*-dominated childbirth, and Nisei women reaching adulthood embraced hospital birth. Reflected on changes between generations, Smith's history demonstrates the connection between midwifery and international issues of power. Her study, though based in a context of public health, shows details of private life and social and political relations little imagined.

Deborah Kuhn McGregor
University of Illinois, Springfield

Jill Norgren. *Belva Lockwood: The Woman Who Would Be President*. Foreword by Ruth Bader Ginsburg. New York: New York University Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 311. $35.00.

It is fitting this electoral season, when Senator Hillary Clinton has realistic possibilities of becoming the first woman president in United States history, to consider a nineteenth-century predecessor with similar ambitions. The subject of Jill Norgren's exceptionally well-researched biography is Belva Lockwood, an attorney in Washington, D.C., and a well-known nineteenth-century activist. Undeterred by a poor first showing in the presidential election of 1884, Lockwood ran again in 1888. Both times she was the candidate of the little-known Equal Rights Party based in California. Yet Lockwood was not the first American woman to run for president. Victoria Woodhull had announced her candidacy, although she did not campaign, in 1872.

Anxious to focus attention on woman's rights, both women argued that they fulfilled the eligibility requirements for president as specified in Article 2 of the U.S. Constitution. They had been born in the United States and were over thirty-five. In the gender-neutral language of the Constitution, they were surely "persons" and "citizens," though in this age of the constitutional

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neglect of women, these classifications were habitually interpreted as referring to males. The point of running was to publicize the status of women who could run for president of the United States, but who could not vote.

"I cannot vote," acknowledged Lockwood to reporters during her campaign in 1884, "but I can be voted for" (p. 133). To her friends in the woman's movement, she announced what they already knew: "It is quite time that we had our own party, our own platform, our own nominees. We shall never have equal rights until we take them, nor respect until we command it" (p. 129).

In this biography of a public life, Norgren tells the story of Lockwood's presidential campaigns. Unlike Woodhull's, hers was no quixotic effort. Rather Lockwood designed a platform that covered everything from suffrage to tariffs and foreign policy; she established a campaign headquarters in her Washington home; she organized electors in seven states; and she gave stump speeches throughout the United States. Later she charged that some of her votes were not counted in Pennsylvania, and in all she officially received 4,711 of some ten million cast.

If anyone beyond students of women's history and crossword puzzle devotees remembers Lockwood today, it is because of her presidential campaigns. As Norgren makes clear, it is incorrect to demote these campaigns to jokes and to reduce Lockwood to a curiosity. They were in fact serious efforts to advertise and promote suffrage and the need to overturn the common law of married women's coverture that Lockwood had fought against her entire life.

Norgren's contribution is to situate Lockwood among a generation of female activists. This biography develops other aspects of the expansive concerns Lockwood addressed in her eighty-six years, which ranged from suffrage to the peaceful arbitration of international conflicts. Earlier Lockwood had struggled to be admitted to law school as a single mother during a period in which women were routinely refused admission on the grounds of their sex. After graduation, Lockwood fought to be admitted to the District of Columbia bar. Norgren tells in detail the next phase of Lockwood's campaign to join the U.S. Court of Claims and to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court; she finally became the first woman lawyer to do so in 1880.

In a post–Civil War period in which conservative judges rejected her claims for professional standing on the basis that she was a married woman and therefore covered by the common law arrangements of *femme couverte*, the ambitious Lockwood turned to Congress. Norgren's detailed tracing of the legislative history of a bill to "relieve certain legal disabilities of women" adds new information to our understanding of the obstacles that Lockwood and other aspiring female lawyers faced. Her successful lobbying of a reluctant Congress, writes Norgren, eventually pushed that body "to enact one of the very first measures in support of women's rights" (p. 82).

For the most part Norgren presents a straight-forward descriptive account of a very energetic reformer. There is little discussion of Lockwood's private life. Her two marriages—the second to a man twenty-seven years older than she—and the death of her children are not integrated into her life, in part because of a lack of material, in part because Norgren is more interested in the public woman. Given the topical approach to Lockwood's most active years, there is some repetition in this story. Yet Norgren is certainly successful in moving the woman who would be president to her proper standing as a pioneering lawyer who would change America.

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JAMES J. LOPACH and JEAN A. LUCKOWSKI. *Jeannette Rankin: A Political Woman*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado. 2005. Pp. xi, 317. $34.95.

This book is an unconventional biography. It is not a narrative, is not organized chronologically, and does not consistently try to relate the subject to her times. It is not even complimentary. By the authors' account, Jeannette Rankin was a difficult woman who alienated her many employers, made many unprincipled decisions, and utterly failed to sustain intimate relationships with others. Here Rankin emerges as a complex woman who was at once "a feminist, a socialist, and a pacifist" and "a woman dependent on her brother, a capitalist[,] and a fighter" (p. 217), a woman who was driven, in one friend's words, by an "intense and even reckless passion to turn the world over like a flapjack" (p. 102).

James J. Lopach and Jean A. Luckowski add depth to the portrait of the woman best known for her congressional votes against U.S. entry into World Wars I and II by examining her family and personal life, her work as a suffragist, her campaigns for political office, and her reform agenda. In this account, Rankin's brother Wellington, a founder of Montana's Progressive Party in 1912 and later the state's Republican Party chair, controlled the family's finances and often called the shots in Rankin's political career. Rankin traveled in the circles of progressive and radical women such as Jane Addams, writer Katharine Anthony, and peace activist Cornelia Swinnerton, women with whom she shared political and intellectual friendships that seemingly lacked real intimacy. In her work for the New York Woman Suffrage Party and the National American Woman Suffrage Association (though her sympathies later lay with Alice Paul, not Carrie Catt), Rankin developed great skill as a political organizer that she used to win election in 1916 to Congress. There Rankin was determined to serve as women's "representative-at-large" (p. 133) and pushed an agenda of national suffrage, worker protections, and child welfare, authoring the bill that later would be enacted as the Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act. She also began to develop the peace agenda that would become her life's work and lead her to seek a second term in Congress on the eve of World War II.

The strength of this book lies in its discussions of

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Rankin's work as "an incomparable campaigner" (p. 102). For example, rather than explain Rankin's election to Congress with vague assertions that the West's pioneering history accounts for women's early political successes there, as some current scholarship does, the authors dig into the nuts and bolts of Montana politics—the state's at-large congressional districting that sent the first and second-place finishers to Congress, making it easier for an outsider to "win," and the prohibition amendment on the ballot in 1916 that helped turn out women who also voted for Rankin—and show how Rankin transformed the suffrage clubs she had organized for the state's successful woman suffrage referendum campaign in 1914 into the backbone of her campaign organization.

Historians, however, may be frustrated by this account's lack of a historical sensibility. Treatment of the times in which Rankin worked, from the Progressive milieu of reforming women to the tumult of the 1960s and early 1970s, is spotty or nearly absent. The authors further argue that "because her periods of public activity were intermittent, a straightforward chronological telling of her story seemed inappropriate" and that a brief biographical overview followed by thematic chapters offers "a better framework" (p. x), but this strategy compels them to leave turns in Rankin's life strangely unexplained or to repeat information. For example, Rankin's support of radical miners and Wobblies in the 1917 Butte copper strike is referenced in at least eight separate places and discussed at length in two (pp. 107–114, 155–164). The addition of a simple biographical chronology would have been helpful but, as it is, readers are left without a sense of the historical arc of Rankin's life.

This account, though ahistorical, offers a much-needed corrective to hagiographic treatments of Rankin. Certainly it affirms Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's adage that "Well-behaved women seldom make history."

LIETTE GIDLOW
Wayne State University

YVONNE HONEYCUTT BALDWIN. *Cora Wilson Stewart and Kentucky's Moonlight Schools: Fighting for Literacy in America*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2006. Pp. ix, 248. $40.00.

Popular literacy (or the lack thereof) became a critical American cultural and social challenge in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Advocates of expanding literacy in rural states experienced support and, remarkably, opposition. One such advocate was Cora Wilson Stewart, who took her zealous campaign for an end to illiteracy in early twentieth-century Kentucky and expanded it nationally.

Stewart's lifelong efforts to expand literacy have been carefully explored in Yvonne Honeycutt Baldwin's book. This study carefully scrutinizes Stewart's persistent campaign to eradicate illiteracy, first in the rural areas of her home state and then nationally. Stewart, the daughter of a schoolteacher and physician, created the concept of "moonlight schools" for illiterate adults to attend during the evening, after the workday had ended. Using her own specially designed texts in a newspaper format, she encouraged adult illiterates, often supported by the children in the local schools, to acquire basic literacy, as well to as absorb the morality lessons included in her self-published literacy primers.

Beginning in January 1911, Stewart's literacy efforts utilized middle-class volunteers to educate the large percentage of mountain folk—mostly among whites initially—who could neither read nor appreciate the power that educated elites had over them in business and politics.

At the outset, Stewart's campaign assumed an aura of a moral crusade of "club women" and was largely unfunded by state or local governments. As Stewart spoke to countless groups and her moonlight schools began to reduce illiteracy, her ideas gained support in Kentucky, South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, and other states. Stewart attracted regional attention for her goal of eliminating illiteracy by the target year of 1920. Although the Kentucky legislature approved the existence of a state-wide illiteracy commission but failed to provide funds for it, her campaign for it made her a symbol for Progressive women when they were still denied the right to vote.

By the late 1920s, Stewart's campaign attracted national attention and quiet support from her role model, Jane Addams of Hull House fame, as well as the blessings of such groups as the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Professional educators, however, were not initially supportive of Stewart's volunteer teacher methodology. Although a professional educator—she served as school superintendent in her own district of Rowan County, Kentucky, and as the first female president of the Kentucky Education Association—she believed that her goals would be best served by Christian-oriented volunteers who would inspire, lead, and teach their unlettered neighbors basic skills.

By the 1930s, formalized adult education had become an important component of the education system. Volunteers such as those recruited by Stewart, however well intentioned, were perceived by professional educators as impeding the delivery of effective education to the illiterate masses. Conversely, Stewart's efforts at the local and national levels caught the attention of politicians such as President Herbert Hoover and Senator Henry Allen of Kansas. Visibility at this level did lead to a national illiteracy commission and several similar state commissions, but these were placed under the control of professional educators and the National Education Association. Gradually Stewart's campaign to reduce illiteracy expanded to other affected citizen populations including blacks, Native Americans, and immigrants. Thus, poor whites were no longer the central focus of the movement. Stewart's crusade had become one more ancillary element of progressive and social reform.

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Throughout this study, the reader understands the complexity of factionalized Kentucky politics and contemporary Progressive and women's suffrage movements. Oddly, all of these factors contributed initially to Stewart's successes. Later, these same movements eventually worked to remove her from a leadership role as professional educators assumed control and took on the task of reducing illiteracy nationwide.

As for Baldwin's narrative of Stewart's struggle, it is generally readable and informative. It does tend towards repetition of key themes at the beginning of each chapter and constantly reminds the reader of Stewart's moral zealousness in her fight to end illiteracy and thus improve life. There is little discussion of Stewart the person or what happened to Stewart in later years when her campaign lost much of its fervor. Virtually unknown, she died of a heart attack in 1958 in North Carolina. These are tolerable discomforts in an otherwise sound and well-documented analysis of a significant twentieth-century advocate for cultural and social change.

JOHN A. HARDIN
Western Kentucky University

KEN FONES-WOLF. *Glass Towns: Industry, Labor, and Political Economy in Appalachia, 1890–1930s.* (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2007. Pp. xxviii, 236. Cloth $65.00, paper $25.00.

Appalachia's historical experience of industrialization in some ways has resembled that of third-world countries more than mainstream America's, and its people have suffered similar economic hardships. Despite its wealth of natural resources, Appalachia in the twentieth century became a poster child for poverty. Competing interpretations have generated controversy as to how that happened. Ken Fones-Wolf attempts to cut through the interpretive thicket by examining Appalachia's industrialization from the perspective of one of its sectors, glassmaking, as it developed in the northern panhandle of West Virginia.

Fones-Wolf starts with two interpretations of Appalachian industrialization that he argues possess more explanatory power than others because they address the exploitative role of outsiders. One of those interpretations sees so many parallels between Appalachia's experience and that of modern colonial economies that it classifies Appalachia as an "internal colony," both of and within the United States. The other adapts Immanuel Wallerstein's "world systems" theory, portraying Appalachia as a resource-rich "periphery" whose wealth has been exploited by more advanced "core" economies. But neither is fully persuasive to Fones-Wolf: they fail to recognize the diversity of the Appalachian experience, and they do not acknowledge the efforts some indigenous elites made to retain a larger share of wealth within the region by supplementing resource extraction with manufacturing. Accordingly, he examines industrial development in three West Virginia panhandle towns—Moundsville, Clarksburg, and Fairmont—with the intention of redressing those omissions. His case studies reveal certain similarities among the towns, especially the failure of various efforts that elites undertook in hopes of diversifying beyond King Coal. More importantly, the towns illustrate how local variation created different historical experiences of industrialization within Appalachia.

Local variation was encouraged by the way glassmaking was restructured in the nineteenth century. By the 1880s the industry was divided into three main branches: tableware, windows, and bottles. Those sectors followed divergent paths in terms of skills, technology, labor force recruitment and composition, division of labor, workplace relations, unionization, wages, and much else. Fones-Wolf uses his towns, selected because each represented one of the three branches, to illuminate the variety that marked Appalachia's process of industrialization.

The industrial history of the three towns also illustrates the ways that some members of West Virginia's elites tried to diversify their local economies. The dramatic restructuring of the glassmaking industry in the 1890s offered them the opportunity to develop local manufacturing bases. That restructuring was stimulated in part by technological changes that depended on natural gas as an energy source but also by the depression that prodded glassmakers to look for cheaper land for factories and a less expensive labor force. West Virginia offered all of those inducements. By 1900 the glassmaking industry began relocating there, eventually making it the number two glassmaking state. Such economic diversification, local elites hoped, would offset West Virginia's growing dependence on the extraction of coal and ensure that more of the state's wealth would remain within its borders.

The relocation of the glassmaking industry had a significant impact—social, economic, and political—on the industrialization of West Virginia. Glass workers brought their tradition of unionization with them. Because many of those skilled craftsmen came from continental Europe, they contributed ethnic and religious diversity to the state. They also carried new political preferences with them, such as an affinity for the Socialist Party. Each of the three towns struggled to adapt to this barrage of innovation, but in different ways. Again, local variation was a key factor. For a couple of decades glassmaking promised to add a healthy diversity to West Virginia's economy.

However, World War I, followed closely by the Great Depression, dealt back-to-back blows to the efforts of local elites to broaden the state's economy. Demand for glass plunged, wages plummeted, and employment and investment in glassmaking leveled off. Coal regained its dominance over the state's economy, ensuring West Virginia a future marked by the continued export of its wealth to the benefit of outside investors, low wages, and limited government intervention. A promising opportunity to retain a larger share of its wealth ended, and the state entered into the long period of poverty

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that dominated the public image of Appalachia in the twentieth century.

This book is ambitious in drawing upon a variety of disciplines, and it presents an abundance of information. It offers a history of business, labor, ethnicity, class, politics, and community. But its success is diminished by its unsatisfying ending. One wishes that the author had offered a more detailed explanation of how the decline of the glass industry in the three towns fits into the broader context of the region's subsidence into poverty. Overall, however, this work contributes interesting ideas towards a reconsideration of Appalachia's twentieth-century industrial path to poverty.

H. Tyler Blethen
Western Carolina University

Rosemary Feurer. *Radical Unionism in the Midwest, 1900–1950.* (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. xix, 320. Cloth $65.00, paper $25.00.

Rosemary Feurer's account of the rise and demise of District 8 of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (UE), led by avowed communist William Sentner, explores the anatomy of social movement unionism as it played out in St. Louis, Missouri, where it was based, and in several nearby states during the 1930s and 1940s. Reaching deep within community archives and other sources, Feurer has pieced together several of the networks that provided the foundation for the formation of radical unionism in the Midwest in the first half of the twentieth century, illuminating the world of electrical workers as well as manufacturers. We gain a sense of the experiences, expectations, and visions on both sides of the class divide as Feurer follows Sentner's footsteps and the politics of anti-union bosses in electrical manufacturing plants (Emerson, Century, and Wagner). In the process, Feurer's solid scholarship and fluent narrative style reveal the structural underpinnings that led to the heyday of "civic unionism" in District 8, transforming the vision harbored by workers of union, community, and democracy.

Feurer's close rendering of events reveals how Sentner, who grew up in St. Louis as the son of Russian Jewish immigrants, could gain a solid following even as he remained a loyal Communist Party member. Sentner's appeal, Feurer argues, was based on the attention he paid to the needs and hopes of workers. What he witnessed in St. Louis was the need to "link workers' struggle with community-based mobilizations" (p. 43). He deflected anticommunism by directly challenging employers' control of the shop floor and the entire labor market of the community, anchoring his philosophy in a call for industrial democracy. But for Sentner and District 8 radicals it was the concept of the union as a civic organization "in the context of a local as well as a national contest for power" (p. 74) that set them apart. Community was vital if the union was to act as a movement for social transformation. Thus, Sentner and other District 8 organizers declared open season on all aspects of life in St. Louis. They addressed housing issues, made alliances with the clergy, challenged racist cultural practices, confronted gender matters, and developed youth programs. Sentner summed up his approach at a 1945 UE District 8 Convention when he told the delegates: "[One] brother told me that Communists are clever. They do things that you are in favor of" (p. 179).

Feurer also illuminates the origins of Sentner's vision of unionism, which grew out of his involvement in the early 1930s with the Unemployment Councils, John Reed Club, and the union drive among black nut pickers. Of the three, the defining experience for Sentner was working with black women nut pickers and their white sisters, organized by the Food Workers Industrial Union (FWIU), an affiliate of the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL), as they struck the Funsten Nut Company for equal wages and union recognition in the spring of 1931. Tapping into networks of personal support within the black community, including ministers and churches, the Funsten strike mobilized the larger community, inspiring organizers and providing a model for future challenges to the political economy of control. The ten-day strike brought "the workers nearly all their demands except union recognition, including doubling of their pay and equal pay for black workers" (p. 38).

African American women were central to the development of Sentner's approach, and the experience of intersecting work and community shaped Sentner's leadership of the electrical workers as he ushered in an era of radical unionism (p. 40). Feurer's analysis is a welcome corrective to portrayals that often leave out local legacies that helped give birth to successful Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) organizing drives during the mid and late 1930s.

During World War II, Sentner cried out for a government investigation of acts of race discrimination, particularly in the U.S. Cartridge plant. Success came when Sentner and the union, greatly aided by black workers in the plant and the community and drawing on the power galvanized through the March on Washington Movement in St. Louis, forced U.S. Cartridge to hire black workers for its production line. What appeared to be a united front between black workers and the policies and practices of District 8 had its flaws, however. The union often risked losing the votes of white workers by insisting, for example, on integrated social events during organizing drives. By refusing to conceal the warts in the relationship, Feurer's racial analysis rings true.

Finally, Feurer suggests that despite Sentner's keen appreciation for industrial, grass-roots democracy, his control over the union loosened when he veered from his guiding principle to think globally but act locally. Sentner and District 8 hoped that their version of civic unionism would transform the local and be a step on the way toward a sea change in labor relations at the national level. Sentner continued to embrace his allegiance to what was increasingly thought of as an "alien"

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party, despite signs that global war had dramatically transformed the world at the local level by 1946. District 8 collapsed in 1955 as a result of the anticommunist attacks of the mid and late 1940s. Nevertheless, Feurer clearly hopes its legacy will help workers and activists seeking a way out of the dismal future unions face today.

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Wayne State University

SHARON E. KINGSLAND. *The Evolution of American Ecology, 1890–2000*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 313. $50.00.

In 1891 the stunning neo-classical New York Botanical Garden opened its doors, marking a highpoint in the popularity and influence of American botanists and demonstrating with weighty architecture and credentialed researchers the arrival of the United States on the stage of big science. Under the determined direction of the remarkable Nathaniel Lord Briton, the New York garden became a center of modern biological research and, Sharon E. Kingsland argues, the birthplace of the discipline that later became known as ecology. Thirty years after the publication of Donald Worster's landmark study, *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (1977), Kingsland offers readers a compelling new history of American ecology with a special emphasis on the professional and ideological struggles of the optimistic botanists like Briton who sought to created a discipline of great historical and contemporary significance.

In recounting the lives of little-known protagonists like Briton and his equally intriguing colleague, Daniel Trembly MacDougal, Kingsland raises important questions about the motives "behind the pursuit of ecological knowledge" and the very existence of ecology as a distinct discipline (p. 3). Kingsland rejects the idea that ecology's rise to prominence in the late twentieth century was obvious or inevitable, insisting instead that the transformation of botany into ecology required proponents and practitioners to reconcile their desires for legitimacy through a recognizable disciplinary culture and the imperative to create flexible research practices able to capitalize on opportunities tied to trends in American society and economy. The stories of Briton and MacDougal in particular support the author's fundamental premise that ecology is "an ecological problem in itself," surviving and maintaining scientific authority only as long as its practitioners and their institutions remained as adaptable as the natural systems that were the focus of their inquiry (p. 258).

While the author's emphasis on the prosaic details of disciplinary creation may not seem intriguing, her careful attention to the intellectual struggles, motives, and goals of the scientists and the institutions they created is both critically important and persuasive. By setting ecological science in its "social, economic, and institutional context," Kingsland is able to provide answers to her own important questions about the existence of ecology as an independent discipline, and to explain its gradual rise as a successful "American science" that, in its inherent ambivalence and lack of coherence, reflected particularly American scientific "habits of thought" (p. 258).

Kingsland's careful attention to foundational concerns enables her later in the book to provide new insights into the emergence of ecosystems thinking in American culture during the transformative post–World War II period. Specifically, three concluding chapters explain how ecology developed during the last half of the twentieth century when ecologists, somewhat belatedly, engaged the "new frontier" of urban America and struggled to incorporate humans into their science. It is in these later chapters, and in an insightfully prescriptive conclusion, that the author explores the critical transformation of ecology as it engaged the social concerns and environmental imperatives of the 1960s and 1970s (p. 232). During this time, Kingsland argues, the "human face" became a central concern for pragmatic ecologists who wanted to use their science to influence human behavior during a time of environmental crisis while realizing pioneering ecologist Eugene Odum's goal of creating a truly integrative science able to show "how human actions were affecting the planet" (p. 179).

While the author wisely cautions readers not to conflate ecology with environmentalism and "the critiques of capitalism that emerged in the 1960s," one is left to wonder about the ways that new thinking in ecology supported the efforts of appropriate technologists and other fellow travelers who emerged out of the same scientific milieu yet embraced small-scale capitalism (p. 4). It would have been interesting to have learned more about scientists who were, for example, using emerging insights from ecology to shape politically engaged citizen science empowered by the National Environmental Policy Act. To a certain degree these ecologists were working to achieve the "social goal" of making "people better activists" by directly relating the insights of ecology to the pragmatic "needs and interests" of average urban citizens that Kingsland identifies as necessary for the discipline to remain relevant as the nation confronts the environmental challenges of the twenty-first century (p. 260).

These are not criticisms. The desire to learn more is a credit to how well Kingsland presents her material and how successfully she relates complex intellectual trends, always grounded in the stories of the scientists who built not just an academic field but a sensibility that transcended the confines of their discipline. Deeply researched and well written, Kingsland's study is likely to become a standard reference for scholars from many fields.

ANDREW KIRK
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ANNA R. IGRA. *Wives without Husbands: Marriage, Desertion, and Welfare in New York, 1900–1935*. (Gender

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and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 175. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

This book looks at the plight of deserted Jewish women in New York in the first third of the twentieth century and the attempts of Jewish charities to assist them. Anna R. Igra has studied a sample of 300 case files of the National Desertion Bureau, the agency created to address a problem that established American Jews saw as an unfortunate import from Eastern European culture. Desertion was a situation that not only caused family suffering but potentially cast a blight on the reputation of the Jewish community as a whole. The solution, according to the National Desertion Bureau, was to find the erring husbands and ideally to reconcile them with their families or, at a minimum, compel them to make regular support payments. The Desertion Bureau executed some impressive private detective work, hunting down missing husbands in the city, the state of New York, and well beyond its boundaries.

Igra contends that this policy of reunification was ill advised and resulted in very little real assistance to deserted families. It was, she argues, an evidence of the Bureau's essentially American thinking that they should pin such hopes on the husband as breadwinner. In practice, most poor families patched together a family wage from the earnings of husbands, wives, and working children. It was unlikely that even the most stalwart of husbands could keep the family going on his income alone, and the men pursued by the Bureau were typically anything but stalwart. Occasionally, Igra shows, couples did reunite after the husband was brought back by the Bureau. More typically, the courts would order them to pay support, but the files show that for most families, the support given was often less than ordered and of short duration. Further, many families did not seek reconciliation. Many of the case files give evidence of abusive behavior toward wives and children, although the response to this problem in the courts and among social workers seemed tepid at best. What families really needed was financial assistance, but they had no prospect of material aid unless they were willing to participate in an active search for the departed husband. Mothers' Pensions became policy in New York in 1915, but there was a distinction made between the unequivocally "worthy" widows who received pensions and deserted spouses who had to participate in a search for their husbands before any financial relief was granted.

Ultimately, Igra shows, deserted women got only minimal help and were expected to do a considerable amount of the legwork in the search for husbands. The disapproval so clearly felt toward irresponsible husbands spilled over to the treatment of their abandoned wives, who were criticized for slovenly housekeeping and poor attitudes. Further, the constant concern that generosity would encourage desertion shaped policies and meant that aid, though needed immediately, was seldom delivered quickly.

Why did anti-desertion reformers persist in a program that was so ineffective, legally complicated and ultimately expensive? Igra sees the benefits as largely symbolic, establishing the reformers' credentials as "responsible stewards of the immigrant working class" (p. 121) and giving them the opportunity to educate the new immigrants in American values like the standard of husband as "breadwinner."

Igra has set her work into a broad context, not only connecting earlier attitudes to recent welfare reforms but also bringing many historians' insights on immigration, class, and gender to her work. This inclusion gives the work depth, but it also seems overwhelming at times, compared to the fascinating and very concrete stuff of the case studies. Igra's commitment was "to find not only the architects of welfare policy but also their clients" (p. 5), and this she certainly does, retrieving from "rows of rusting file cabinets" (p. 6) many poignant stories that illustrate once again the enduring reality that the poor are as likely to be punished as helped once they are caught in the toils of the social welfare system. It would have been interesting to hear more from the front-line case workers, to learn whether or not they had doubts about implementing a system that seems so abundantly flawed to observers seventy odd years later.

This is a brief book but one rich in provocative analysis and especially interesting for the look it gives into the lives of abandoned families, the difficulties that they faced, and the contradictions and ironies forced on them by a system determined on the one hand to assert the notion of women as essentially dependent, while on the other hand fearing above all the creation of dependency.

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JOHN LOUIS RECCHIUTI. *Civic Engagement: Social Science and Progressive-Era Reform in New York City*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. 311. $59.95.

The next time you need to give a lecture on social science and public policy in the Progressive era, you will do well to turn to this book by John Louis Recchiuti. Here you will find an able summary of the efforts of the men and women who attempted, with mixed success, to bring social scientific knowledge (as they understood it) into policy debates from the end of the nineteenth century up to the election of 1912 and, in so doing, to create an "activist government" that "would shield the weak from exploitation by the strong, regulate the nation's new industrial economy, and advance racial equality" (p. 1). Chapters on the emergence of modern philanthropy, settlement houses, municipal reform, child welfare, labor, and race are enlivened with compact but illuminating biographies of social science activists: from familiar faces like Florence Kelley, Charles Beard, and W. E. B. Du Bois to lesser known figures such as George Edmund Haynes (the African American sociologist

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who founded what became the National Urban League), Edward Devine (who led the influential Charity Organization Society and established the nation's first school of social work), and Crystal Eastman (who worked at Greenwich House, earned degrees in sociology and law, and helped revolutionize employer liability law). We also learn a bit about developments within various disciplines (sociology and social work, especially) and sketches of policy history show how reform proposals were pushed from the realm of charity into the public arena. Although the book ventures to other places, Manhattan retains center stage.

Since much of this material is familiar, it is fair to ask what insights emerge by focusing the argument primarily on the city, beyond those available from the work of, say, Thomas Bender. Although early chapters trumpet the role of New York as a "laboratory," the metropolis comes across more as a headquarters: an extraordinary locus of activity linking universities (Columbia in particular), settlement houses, reform organizations, and state-building efforts. What emerges most clearly, therefore, is the "cross-disciplinary associational . . . social science scholar-activist network in New York City" (p. 235). Thanks to this approach, it becomes evident just how a small group of people had such influence over intellectual life and public policy: by training new generations of activists, supporting each others' causes, providing expert testimony during government investigations, and generating new knowledge of social conditions to bolster so-called radical ideas about state activism.

Recchiuti tries to link these subjects with the old theme of expertise versus democracy: the "unresolved tension between science as an elitist enterprise and science as a democratizing force" (p. 13). The big conflicts in the book demonstrate, however, that the real battle occurred between the experts and the vested interests: "politically conservative trustees and presidents" (p. 39) disciplining professors for their antiwar activism or views on labor; the Rockefeller Foundation "imposing restrictions" (p. 121) on the way the Bureau of Municipal Research conducted its work and reducing social scientists there to "white slaves of philanthropy" (p. 118); and Samuel Gompers condemning the American Association for Labor Legislation for meddling with his brand of craft unionism through their efforts to establish policies amenable to mass unionism. Fortunately, the emphasis on scientific elitism fades as the argument proceeds and the struggle against "the entrenched and aggressive power of the wealth-elite" (p. 19) becomes clearer. In this regard, Recchiuti and University of Pennsylvania Press are to be commended for including in an Appendix the "Social Science Platform" from the 1912 National Conference of Charities and Correction, which was adopted by Theodore Roosevelt's fledgling Progressive Party later that year. The Platform calls for a startling range of welfare state measures—among them a living wage, a child labor prohibition, the eight-hour day, "the right to a home . . . at a rental not to exceed 20% of the family income" (p. 239), and a land tax inspired by Henry George—demonstrating just how visionary social science could be. As Recchiuti notes in an effective final chapter, although the Progressive Party did not survive past 1916, it was through such efforts that the ideas of social science activists became "common currency" (p. 208), providing one important source of legitimacy for the redistributive state, truncated though it was, that emerged fitfully over the next sixty years.

KEITH D. REVELL
Florida International University

MICHAEL A. LERNER. *Dry Manhattan: Prohibition in New York City*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. 351. $28.95.

This book is not only a finely grained study of New York City as the chief bastion of wet resistance to the Eighteenth Amendment; it is the best history of prohibition enforcement in an urban environment yet written. Michael A. Lerner has a discerning eye for the effective anecdote (he opens with the mayor of Berlin innocently asking on a 1929 visit to Gotham when the prohibition law—already in force for nearly a decade—would take effect) and a gift for compelling historical prose. These qualities have already drawn popular interest to the book. Historians will be impressed by the thorough research supporting the smooth, if sometimes glib, narrative. Grounding his analysis in municipal archival sources such as the district attorney scrapbooks and magistrates reports, manuscript investigations and social surveys from the Committee of Fourteen and the Social Science Research Council, memoirs, and newspaper sources ranging from *Variety* to the *Amsterdam News*, Lerner provides a street-level view of the policing, politics, and culture of prohibition in New York. He is particularly thorough in laying bare the tensions between the understaffed, corruption-prone, and sometimes brutal federal Prohibition Bureau and a city police force unenthusiastic about prohibition enforcement. In turn, the police, compelled by the Mullan-Gage state law to crack down on prohibition violators, were undercut by judges and city officials hostile to prohibition until city representatives in Albany forced the repeal of Mullan-Gage in 1923. Lerner also provides a richly-textured analysis of New York's speakeasy and nightclub culture. He reveals ethnic and working-class drinking and club life, the festive climate of high-end nightclubs such as Texas A. Guinan's 300 Club, and the interracial encounters of Harlem nightlife. Supplementing studies by Lewis A. Erenberg, George Chauncey, and Kathy Peiss with extensive primary research, Lerner examines the transformative possibilities for recreational, sexual, gendered, and racial change embedded in speakeasy culture, as well as the persistence of exploitation, especially notable in the white practice of "slumming" in Harlem clubs.

Above this dense recreated cityscape, Lerner constructs a straightforward interpretive arc. The politically sophisticated but culturally narrow-minded Anti-

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Saloon League, led in New York by the talented, ruthless William H. Anderson, engineered through the Eighteenth Amendment a national regime of alcohol prohibition despite the overwhelming resistance of New Yorkers and other city-dwellers. Determined to make an example out of America's wettest city, drys pushed for repressive enforcement of prohibition in New York and denounced the city's working-class, ethnic, Catholic and Jewish population in harshly bigoted language. New Yorkers, both prominent and ordinary citizens alike, defied prohibition and, in the process, crafted a more cosmopolitan, diverse, and tolerant vision of American society that ultimately triumphed over the restrictive concept of American nationalism embodied in prohibition. At first, through drinking and speakeasy culture, New Yorkers developed a celebratory cultural alternative to the dry regime, represented by the "nightclub mayor," James J. Walker. By the later 1920s, however, spurred by prohibition-related crime, Herbert Hoover's renewed enforcement efforts, and the challenge from United States Attorney Emory C. Buckner to "vote as you drink" (p. 159), wet New Yorkers took serious political action that transformed the party orientations and gender assumptions of Americans. New York's Alfred E. Smith, in his gubernatorial career and his 1928 presidential run, helped reorient the Democratic Party into an urban, wet institution. Fellow New Yorker Pauline M. Sabin exploded the myth that American women uniformly supported prohibition by building the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform (WONPR) into a mass movement demanding an end to the dry experiment. New Yorkers inspired and led the repeal movement that ended prohibition in 1933 and reformed American democracy.

Specialists in temperance and prohibition history have reason to criticize details of Lerner's interpretation, even though his general position conforms to widely held views concerning prohibition. Although Lerner is aware of the literature on the temperance movement developed over the last generation, he does not engage its findings. In contrast to his nuanced analysis of speakeasy society, Lerner presents prohibitionists as one-dimensional bigots and fanatics blind to the failure of their reform. Anderson's anti-Catholicism and flamboyance invite caricature, but nativism, religious bigotry, and even the insistence on stringent enforcement as against educational efforts were contested issues within the Anti-Saloon League, not shared qualities of all drys. Lerner's narrative, which suggests increased drinking under prohibition, avoids evidence that alcohol consumption remained below pre-prohibition levels for forty years after repeal or that the gender-segregated, brewery-owned saloons died with prohibition. Lerner also inflates Sabin's leadership of repeal over the efforts of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment (AAPA), despite David E. Kyvig's careful reconstruction of the AAPA's significance in the mechanics of the Twenty-First Amendment. Still, even on these issues, Lerner makes important points that will advance scholarship. Recreating the life of a city that under prohibition remained far from dry is an incontestable achievement.

Thomas R. Pegram
Loyola College

Mary Frances Berry. *My Face Is Black Is True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2005. Pp. xiv, 314. $26.95.

When Pauli Murray wrote in her autobiography, *Song in a Weary Throat* (1987), that one woman and one typewriter made a movement, it was easy to imagine, given the nature of autobiographical writing, that her observation was a bit of an exaggeration. But at the end of the nineteenth century, Callie House, a Nashville seamstress and domestic worker who was born a slave around the start of the Civil War, indeed made a movement. The story of her movement, the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty and Pension Association, is the subject of Mary Frances Berry's book.

Mrs. House had two goals in creating the Mutual Relief, Bounty and Pension Association: to provide assistance to members of the organization in their times of need, and to cause the Federal government to pass legislation in support of pensions for former slaves. Officially chartered in 1898 in Nashville, the organization thrived for almost twenty years, when intensive efforts of Federal government officials finally succeeded in convicting House of using the mail to defraud. Prosecutors never found evidence, substantial or circumstantial, of fraud, or that she used any funds she raised for personal advantage; the conviction was based on the premise that because there was never any chance that the Federal Government would pay pensions to ex-slaves, the organization was inherently fraudulent. House went to jail in November 1917 and served eight months of a one-year sentence.

Although the story of the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty and Pension Association is the heart of this book, Berry fully contextualizes the tale. She traces efforts to provide compensation to former slaves from the "forty-acres-and-a-mule" proposal to current-day reparations activism. As much attention as the volume gives to House's and her colleagues' heroic efforts, it also pays attention to the larger black community and its failure to support (or even to notice, it seems) this important working-class movement. Berry folds in parallel activism taking place among the middle class as well as relevant local, state, and national policy developments. Ultimately the book shows that House's organization was much more than a self-help or mutual aid society; it was a very important, dynamic movement whose leaders, for twenty years, worked to meet immediate local needs and to achieve the ultimate goals of national reparations and federal accountability to all citizens.

Given the longevity and the intensity of House's efforts, one has to wonder why she remains unknown to most of us. To be sure, House is an unlikely candidate

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for the kind of fame her jail mate, Emma Goldman, enjoyed. House was a poor black woman with very little formal education. The significance of House's efforts, however, goes far beyond the race, class, and gender norms we tend to think about, all of which she clearly defied. One should also consider that this was "the age of Booker T. Washington," a time when the idea of "black rights" would have been something of an oxymoron. Yet, House insisted that not having broken any laws, she had a right to use the mail; that black people had a constitutional right to petition the government for redress of grievances and the right to sue the government when that right was denied; and that the former slaves had earned and should receive pensions. Although her efforts made her the constant target of harassment from the Treasury, Justice, and Post Office Departments and the Bureau of Pensions, not until she went to jail did House give up.

Berry's book is both social history and political history, and neither is limited to its usual bottom-up or top-down approach. Social scientists will find the book as useful as historians. And especially if one reads the footnotes, the volume presents detailed case history of the First Amendment, the Fourteenth Amendment, governmental immunity, equitable liens, and administrative jurisdiction. Still, the book remains highly accessible. Students from secondary to university levels, academics (in a variety of fields) as well as general readers will appreciate this book. Although it is grounded in both primary and secondary sources, academic readers, in particular, may still wish for some analysis of the organization's membership rosters, which House sent to government officials in a rather naïve effort to prove her innocence. And, along those lines, it would not be unreasonable to wonder if the working class and the middle class were as rigidly divided as Berry's book indicates. Although both questions go beyond the goals of this volume, Berry's work suggests these as potential lines to pursue. This book bridges historical and contemporary activism for mutual aid and reparations and presents a new story about House's efforts in the face of the kind of Federal government harassment that we generally did not know targeted black activists before the Garvey movement.

Stephanie J. Shaw
Ohio State University

Francille Rusan Wilson. *The Segregated Scholars: Black Social Scientists and the Creation of Black Labor Studies, 1890–1950.* (Carter G. Woodson Institute Series.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 356. $37.50.

Francille Rusan Wilson's narrative of what she labels "the central theme among black social scientists between 1890 and 1950" (p. 7) is an authoritative and significant contribution not only to the history of black labor studies but also to the histories of African American social scientists (both men and women), reformers (both white and black), and bureaucrats in the federal government. The narrative, strengthened by arduous archival research in every major relevant repository of public and private collections, journals, newspapers, and monographic sources, is the quintessence of a synthesis of the many disparate parts of the history of one of the most important segments of the twentieth-century African American educated elites.

The narrative tells a story on three levels. First, it is the story of how and why W. E. B. Du Bois, in his search for social scientific truth, founded black labor studies at a transitional juncture in his career "in which his ideas about race, class, and political protest were changing" (p. 39). Both Richard R. Wright, Jr., and George Edmund Haynes—disciples of Du Bois—along with Monroe Nathan Work drew on the methodology utilized by Du Bois in *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899) and *The Negro Artisan* (1902) as their intellectual foundation and went on to augment and extend his arguments. During the Great Migration, men such as Carter G. Woodson, Charles S. Johnson, Abram L. Harris, Jr., and Ira D. Reid, through careful and "objective" descriptions of black workers' conditions and through the utilization of institutional structures, transformed black labor studies into a "collective endeavor." Finally, from 1930 until 1950, all generations of black labor experts—including the new government bureaucrats such as Robert C. Weaver and Charles Foreman—rejected the traditional approach, exemplified by the National Urban League's programs of self-help and training, and challenged both the inaction of the federal government and rampant job discrimination.

The second level of the narrative—and perhaps the most innovative—tells the story of black women social scientists. Beginning with an examination and analysis of black clubwomen, such as Ida Barnett-Wells, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, and Victoria Earle Matthews, and black female college students that included Elizabeth Ross Haynes, Grace Hadnott, Sadie Tanner Mossell Alexander, and Eva Beatrice Dykes, Wilson argues compellingly that they were unable, because of race and gender discrimination, to pursue graduate degrees and professional, salaried positions. Wilson, however, is too good a historian to attempt to make vaunted claims for the coherence of their collective research. "The first black female social scientists," Wilson states unequivocally, "were unable to work consistently as social scientists, and thus these women formed more of a cohort of individuals than a well-defined, self-conscious cadre of scholars" (p. 175). Nevertheless, World War I created openings for black women social scientists. Serving as principal investigators for surveys for the U.S. Department of Labor and local service organizations, women such as Gertrude McDougald Ayer, Helen Brooks Irvin, and Emma L. Shields Penn achieved renown in black and white circles as advocates for better treatment for black women workers. For all of the acclaim, these women social scientists were, in most instances, passed over for permanent employment as social scientists. By the 1930s the small number of black

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women social scientists (who were in higher education) seldom studied labor issues.

In her third level of examination and analysis, Wilson treats white professors, reformers, and bureaucrats (both men and women), such as Carroll Davidson Wright, Carl Kelsey, and Mary Van Kleek and institutions such as Chicago, Columbia, Fisk, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, which facilitated and nurtured black labor studies.

This magisterial study, nevertheless, elicits some minor criticisms from this reviewer. Wilson concludes that although, by the 1950s, in the midst of the successes of the black lawyers of the civil rights movement, the black labor experts' "strategy of using scholarship to promote racial progress resulted in fine scholarship," it nevertheless "had had limited results in terms of racial progress" (p. 252). I would argue that Wilson's thesis that black workers were the central theme of black social scientists is overstated in so far as black progress was the overarching theme of practically all studies of the different and variegated segments of the black class structure by black social scientific experts. In short, black labor studies declined, not so much because of the unresponsiveness to its findings, but rather because the small black educated elite and upwardly mobile working class had to turn its arsenal on those who were attempting to redefine their tenuous position in the American social order.

This reservation should not matter; for this is the work of a truly gifted scholar who has provided the foundation and framework for future debates.

VERNON J. WILLIAMS, JR.
Indiana University, Bloomington

AMY HELENE KIRSCHKE. *Art in* Crisis: *W. E. B. Du Bois and the Struggle for African American Identity and Memory*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Pp. x, 284. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

Amy Helene Kirschke's book represents a valuable addition to studies of African American periodicals. With a singular lens on *The Crisis*, Kirschke looks carefully at W. E. B. Du Bois's editorship of the journal from its inception in 1910 to his departure as editor in 1934, with particular interest in Du Bois's employment of visual images to strengthen his deeply engaged editorial messages. She suggests that this body of visual imagery animated Du Bois's project to construct a resilient collective identity and cultural memory for his African American readers amid their experiences of oppression in the United States. Kirschke's retrieval of the visual imagery in *The Crisis* represents an important contribution to scholarship in cultural studies and art history, in which illustrations and cartoons have received especially short shrift and are only recently beginning to be understood as vital components of American art and print culture.

Her first chapter addresses Du Bois's editorial practices within the context of scholarship on cultural memory, drawing particularly on the work of David Blight and other contributors to Geneviève Fabre and Robert O'Meally's important collection, *History and Memory in African-American Culture* (1994). She characterizes Du Bois as a cultural critic who revised romanticized histories of the American republic from an African American perspective and used *Crisis* images to further construct a viable historical memory for his black readers. Her second chapter provides a brief historical introduction to representations of black Americans in cartoons, asserting that earlier stereotypical images were replaced in *The Crisis* with "authentic black characters" (p. 32). While little is known about many of the artists who created the images for the journal, she ends the chapter with very useful biographies of several of them. In her fourth chapter (which would have been more effective as an extension of the first), Kirschke discusses Du Bois's theories about art, reinterpreting his oft-quoted passages on art as propaganda within the context of the visual imagery printed in *The Crisis*.

Kirschke's most informative chapters consider specific *Crisis* images in the light of Du Bois's editorials, and her focus on *Crisis* political cartoons is unprecedented. Chapter three investigates the theme of lynching. She analyzes the intensely graphic photographs of lynched victims that enhanced Du Bois's scathing critique of mob violence. She further identifies strategies *Crisis* illustrators and cartoonists used in depicting the atrocity of lynching: for example, making visual analogies between black victims of lynching and the crucified Christ. Chapter five looks at images of Africa in *The Crisis* as complements to Du Bois's revision of African American historical memory. And chapter six looks broadly at the political commentary shared by Du Bois and *Crisis* image makers, with particularly insightful sections on the themes of education and labor.

Despite Kirschke's contribution to the literature, her reader often misses the opportunity to understand Du Bois's editorship and *The Crisis* imagery in a fuller context. For example, she resists engagement with relevant historiography in American cultural studies and African American studies, omitting reference to the nascent area of periodical studies and never fully situating her book within recent scholarship on Harlem Renaissance visual culture. Most troubling is her assertion that "there is as yet no study of the art, drawings, cartoons, and photography—the visual vocabulary—[Du Bois] used as editor of *The Crisis* magazine" (p. 1). Published well in advance of Kirschke's book, however, Anne Elizabeth Carroll's *Word, Image, and the New Negro: Representation and Identity in the Harlem Renaissance* (2005) devotes a chapter to Du Bois's use of drawings and photographs in *The Crisis* and, in another chapter, draws comparisons between the kinds of images in *Crisis* and *Opportunity*. Further limiting the reader's contextual understanding, Kirschke rarely sheds light on contemporary developments in American and African American print culture, nor does she situate Du Bois

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among the other editors of African American periodicals in Harlem, as for example Charles Johnson of *Opportunity* or Wallace Thurman of the short-lived *Fire!!*, each possessing extremely different editorial practices and aesthetic preferences. Such comparative analysis would complicate and strengthen her interpretive method.

As a final point, Kirschke neglects to sufficiently define and problematize her terminology for *Crisis* imagery, which she sometimes refers to generally as "art," and at other times more specifically as "illustrations" and "cartoons," although she never distinguishes between the latter two types. While in our era of visual culture studies we would want to blur distinctions between high art and popular imagery, these terms were not synonymous during Du Bois's editorship of the journal. As was true of many contemporary American critics, Du Bois maintained hierarchical attitudes toward visual art, which he defined primarily as painting and sculpture, rarely as illustrations, and never as cartoons in periodicals. In denying the effects of these contemporary hierarchies, Kirschke elides the stark disjuncture between the elitist views of art and culture held by cultural critics like Du Bois and the radical work that he and others actually accomplished in employing illustrations and cartoons to great artistic effect in modernist print culture. Acknowledgment of this incongruity would ultimately strengthen and complicate her portrait of Du Bois and the visual production in *The Crisis*.

CAROLINE GOESER
University of Houston

CAROLINE GOESER. *Picturing the New Negro: Harlem Renaissance Print Culture and Modern Black Identity*. (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. xiv, 360. $34.95.

As Caroline Goeser notes in this valuable new study, though there has been a groundswell of scholarly interest in the visual arts of the Harlem Renaissance, comparatively little attention has been paid to the various images of print culture during that era. Instead, much greater emphasis has been placed on painting, sculpture, graphic art, and photography seen primarily in galleries and exhibitions. However, as she also points out, far more people saw the book illustrations of Aaron Douglas and the magazine covers and images of James Wells and Gwendolyn Bennett than attended the various exhibitions and gallery shows. While many black artists of the era, such as Douglas, were somewhat ambivalent about their commercial work, nonetheless, this work provided them with significant financial support and public exposure.

Goeser's book is divided into two parts. The first is, for the most part, a survey of Harlem Renaissance illustration in different sorts of print media and its critical reception, with special attention to the work of Douglas. The second is a series of more or less discrete chapters that take up various subjects relating to that illustration without much transition between the various chapters. The first part is by far the strongest portion of the book. In it, Goeser makes a convincing case for illustrations in print media as the dominant form of black visual arts during the 1920s and early 1930s, doing much to coin a visual language of black modernity. She not only looks at the illustrations on the dust jackets, covers, and pages of books by "mainstream" (if in those days relatively upstart) publishers, such as Knopf, Harper, and Harcourt, Brace, and the usual suspects of black journals, *The Crisis, Opportunity*, and *The Messenger*, but also seldom-considered African American publishers, notably Carter G. Woodson's Associated Publishers, and small African American magazines, such as the Boston-based *Saturday Evening Quill* and the Philadelphia-based *Black Opals*. Her discussion of Woodson's Associated Publishers and its dedication to the use of black illustrators is particularly good. Goeser also complicates the usual model of interaction between black and white during the Harlem Renaissance. She does point out how white publishers frequently preferred to use the work of white artists, or the Mexican artist Miguel Covarrubias, to accompany the writing of black authors, and that journals aimed primarily at white readers almost never employed black visual artists during that period, and often drew on the iconography of minstrelsy and racial stereotype in the images chosen to publicize work by black authors. However, she also notes that black and white literary and visual artists often had close working relationships in which the black artist sometimes served as a sort of patron of the white artist rather than vice versa. Countee Cullen, for example, championed the work of his white illustrator Charles Cullen (no relation) in the face of objections from his editors at Harper and Brothers.

The second part of the study also contains much of value. Goeser's readings of the homoerotic and gender-bending illustrations of Charles Cullen and Richard Bruce Nugent are insightful, covering largely new ground—although she could have said more about the way Charles Cullen's images bring out the sexual dimension of Countee Cullen's poetry. However, chapters in this section dealing with gender, religion, sexuality in Charles Johnson's *Ebony and Topaz* anthology, and minstrelsy do not really cohere in the manner of the first section. Rather they read like a collection of essays addressed rather loosely to the general topic of visual art in Harlem Renaissance print media. The conclusion, too, could have done more to tie the chapters together. Also, the book would have been a bit stronger if it had considered the iconography of African American nationalism a bit more. Goeser declares the use of ancient Egyptian and Ethiopian motifs by Douglas and other black artists to be a sort of revolutionary break with minstrel images and white primitivism and orientalism. While this use of Egyptian and Ethiopian iconography certainly broke with minstrelsy and white primitivism, it had been typical of much black nationalism and nationalist-influenced journals and newspapers for some time.

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However, despite these caveats, this study is a welcome addition to work on the visual arts in the Harlem Renaissance by such scholars as Richard Powell and Martha Nadell. Again, it makes a convincing case for the importance of the print media in the circulation of black art and in the promotion of such important artists and cultural organizers as Douglas, Bennett, Wells, and Nugent in their work to make modern (and modernist) black visual art.

JAMES SMETHURST
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

MARY G. ROLINSON. *Grassroots Garveyism: The Universal Negro Improvement Association in the Rural South, 1920–1927.* (The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 286. Cloth $59.95, paper $22.50.

Marcus Garvey's rural southern constituency is an intriguing and important subject. Mary G. Rolinson appears to have researched the topic as thoroughly as possible and offers fascinating glimpses into heretofore hidden corners of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), but a paucity of primary sources leads her at times into the realm of speculation.

The author rightly notes that most scholarship on Garvey's UNIA emphasizes its northern, urban base. Her fresh approach is based on the fact that the majority of UNIA divisions (chapters) were in the South. Although many early Garveyites were politically militant West Indians, by 1921 the majority of members were more conservative southern-born Americans, including migrants to northern cities. Rolinson finds much of Garveyism's mature ideology rooted in nineteenth-century southern values, particularly racial uplift, self-determination, separatism, and the redemption of Africa promoted by the black church and figures like Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and Booker T. Washington.

The most original part of Rolinson's scholarship begins with identifying all of the UNIA's southern divisions. She then plots them geographically, finding the earliest ones established in 1919 in tidewater Virginia. By 1921, the southern UNIA was firmly rooted in the Black Belt, with the most significant concentrations in south Georgia, Mississippi's Delta region, and eastern Arkansas along the Mississippi River. Remarkably, Garvey never visited these places. For the most part, state recruiters or local individuals established the southern divisions, many of which were in remote farming communities. Only seven members were required to charter a division, but some rural divisions enrolled hundreds. The inspirational weekly *Negro World*, whose front page always carried a Garvey editorial, was the ideological conduit into the remote South. Strong local figures, some of whom Rolinson is able to profile, provided able leadership. Even after Garvey's incarceration, many southern divisions kept contributing to the African Redemption Fund and mailing petitions to the federal government seeking a pardon for their leader.

Why were black southerners—landless tenant farmers as well as small landowners and even members of the urban middle class—attracted to the UNIA, and why did they remain loyal, even after Garvey's naïve meeting with a Ku Klux Klan leader? Here Rolinson has less documentary evidence, and her analysis relies more on conjecture. For example, "Garvey's visionary plans all involved great optimism, patience, and perseverance. The leader acknowledged that his solutions could not be achieved quickly. Farmers required these basic qualities to make a living and were able to call on these virtues in deciding to support the Garvey movement" (p. 125). She explains the UNIA's strength in Phillips County, Arkansas, site of the bloody 1919 Elaine "riot," as grounded in Garvey's emphasis on self-defense and independence from whites. That may have been the case, but there are no primary sources to support the conclusion. Rolinson is on more solid ground in demonstrating that rural members' loyalty reflected their support for the UNIA's Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World. That document and parallel editorials in the *Negro World* condemned lynching and the sexual abuse of black women by white men, and were often quoted in southern members' correspondence to the parent organization.

The final chapter attempts to link Garveyism to the Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), arguing that because of the UNIA's alleged "universal popularity" (p. 162), both groups "benefited from the groundwork laid by the Garvey movement in the southern countryside" (p. 163). Yet Rolinson emphasizes the overall weakness of southern NAACP chapters, and her suggestion that there may have been significant dual membership in the UNIA and STFU in the 1930s is not supported by sufficient evidence.

Rolinson ends with the charge that "most American historians continue to make the mistake of dismissing Garveyism as predominately a back-to-Africa scheme rather than the seedbed of modern black ideology" (p. 190). Certainly this is not true of anyone familiar with recent scholarship, or even with no more than the well-balanced American Experience video, *Marcus Garvey: Look For Me In the Whirlwind* (2001). The author is on more solid footing in emphasizing that Garveyism, deeply rooted in southern life and values, was not "an aberration or a short lived cult of urban blacks, or even simply a watershed moment in the development of black nationalism, but . . . a core component of black thought bridging the Jim Crow era and the integrationist discourse of the modern civil rights movement" (p. 191).

This book is a welcome addition to the Garvey literature. That it argues more than it can prove reflects the absence of documentation that might reveal more precisely why rural southerners supported the UNIA and

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its leader, whom they knew, for the most part, only through the pages of the *Negro World*.

THEODORE KORNWEIBEL, JR.
EMERITUS
San Diego State University

JACK TEMPLE KIRBY. *Mockingbird Song: Ecological Landscapes of the South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 361. $29.95.

Jack Temple Kirby's book is easy to read and savor but difficult to pin down for a conventional scholarly review, because it is "[n]either a text nor a comprehensive survey nor a specialized monograph" of southern environmental history. Instead, Kirby's eclectic "narratives attempt to foster understanding by presenting the poetics, politics, and portions of the sciences of the human relationship with the rest of nature in what is called the American South, from earliest habitation to approximately the present" (p. xiv).

Kirby has been probably the most vocal proponent among his generation of southern historians for an environmental approach to the study of a region usually defined by questions of race and class. His studies of southern society and culture, including *Rural Worlds Lost* (1987), *The Countercultural South* (1995), and *Poquosin: A Study of Rural Landscape and Society* (1995), have consistently displayed a true sense of place and deep interest in human-nature interactions with strong (although non-orthodox) environmentalist undertones. Much of Kirby's former scholarship delightfully comes together here.

For over two decades, Albert E. Cowdrey's *This Land, This South: An Environmental History* (1983) remained the sole courageous attempt to squeeze the heterogeneity of southern environmental experience between the covers of a single scholarly work. Not surprisingly, Cowdrey's trailblazing effort has sometimes been criticized for certain superficiality as a result of trying to cover as much ground as possible. Kirby's bookdoes not strive for such a comprehensive, synthetic treatment of its vast subject but rather offers glimpses on how and why humans in the South have shaped the region's landscapes over time. Kirby's definition of what constitutes the South as a region, however, remains surprisingly vague. However defined, the contemporary South faces the due cost of centuries of rampant economic growth based on increasingly efficient utilization of finite natural resources, and the underlying moral question of Kirby's narrative is "what really constitutes necessity, and especially the consequences of accumulating [material] delights" (p. xv).

Kirby's writings have constantly displayed a highly original style reminiscent of storytelling with pronounced disdain for neat outlines and orderly chronologies. Thus it is no real surprise that the prologue weaves together Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings's twentieth-century Florida experiences, the evolution of storm tracking, exotic species introductions, and William Bartram's eighteenth-century travels. The chapter on Native Americans is perhaps the most traditional in form, if not always in content. Beginning with a discussion of Elvis Presley's possible Cherokee ancestry, it also addresses more familiar topics such as Hernando de Soto's bloody swath across the South and the evolution of Native American agriculture. A study of the "fire-eating" Edmund Ruffin's reformist side challenges conventional stereotypes of the planter class, while a fascinating chapter called "Commoners and Commons" examines the history of open range and common spaces in the South. Kirby's portrayal of the region's "plain folk" has always been sympathetic, and here he emphasizes the evolutionary connection between fencing and poverty. "Middle-class" hog herders turned into "white trash" as a result of the closing of the southern range. The history of southern forest use is illustrated by examples from naval stores production and "cut out and get out" lumbering, with special attention paid to the Appalachian landscape. Kirby's intriguing discussion of forest fires in the South advocates the idea that arson became the commoners' retaliation for displacement.

Biographies of Audie Murphy and Alvin York initiate a discourse on southern masculinity and marksmanship, leading Kirby to examine connections between social power and the hunt. The chasm between the sportsmanship ideals of the ruling class and the subsistence of plain folk becomes evident, while the narrative promptly moves on to the rise of the modern chicken and pork industry, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), and the treatment of animal wastes in modern agribusiness. The question of obesity in the South somehow transforms into a treatise of pellagra, gardening, Zora Neale Hurston, and the idea of equilibrium in scientific ecology, while the topics in a chapter on urbanization include the rise of West Point, Virginia, yellow fever epidemics, and petroleum-based pesticides, to mention just a few. The epilogue addresses southern landscapes in the postmodern era, ranging from the cinematic portrayal of the Yazoo Delta in *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* (2000) to the biological desert known as the modern pine plantation. A discussion of Tom Wolfe's 1998 novel, *A Man in Full*, ends the book in a flash, with Epictetus providing answers for the ecological dilemmas of contemporary southerners.

Obviously, it takes an exceptionally gifted writer to keep such a winding narrative comprehensible, not to mention accessible and enjoyable. Kirby is able to accomplish this task with authority. Despite more than "a few linear diversions" proposed in the preface, the book proceeds effortlessly with unexpected and exciting insights. Seemingly unconnected issues and persons surface from and sink back into the main current of the text, only to reappear with a new significance after fifty-odd pages or so. Kirby's command of southern and environmental historiography throughout the book remains impressive and up-to-date. This book not only represents a commendable distillation of decades of scholarship but introduces important new topics and

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approaches for the maturing field of southern environmental history.

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PETER LA CHAPELLE. *Proud to Be an Okie: Cultural Politics, Country Music, and Migration to Southern California*. (American Crossroads, number 22.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 350. $24.95.

Peter La Chapelle's book looks at the country music scene in Los Angeles from the Depression days of the Dust Bowl migrants to the rise of Nashville, Tennessee, as the center of the country music industry in the 1970s. La Chapelle seeks to complicate the simple narrative of a liberal migrant folk culture becoming an increasingly conservative commercial culture as witnessed in the differences between Woody Guthrie's proletarian *Dust Bowl Ballads* and Merle Haggard's anti-counterculture anthem "Okie from Muskogee." The book nicely demonstrates the varieties of music labeled "country," and the multiple interpretations allowed by such music, while providing a nice overview of the Los Angeles folk, western swing, and country and western music scenes. The focus primarily is on Guthrie (and his radio show partner Maxine Crissman, aka "Lefty Lou"), western swing band leader "Spade" Cooley, and Haggard, each of whom receives extended treatment and analysis intermixed with episodes examining the role of women in country music (as performers and fans) as well as the image, marketing, and consumption of country music performers. In complicating the narrative of Los Angeles country music, La Chapelle argues that southwestern migrants did not "southernize" California political culture, as many scholars have argued; rather consumer culture, especially the mass-mediated radio and television industries, "westernized" the migrants into a conservative culture that took hold not only in California but nationally. Basically, the argument is not over the results—country music, the migrants, and their descendants all become much more conservative—but the means by which this transformation occurred, and La Chapelle makes a convincing argument by looking at the move to suburbs, the wartime economy, the rise of the counterculture, and their effects on country music and its audience. In the same vein, while I agree with his conclusions, how he makes his case is a bit more problematic.

La Chapelle constantly interjects minor historiographical or theoretical debates into his narrative by dropping every name in the cultural studies canon. These interruptions to the narrative mar an impressive collection of research and analysis, and serve no purpose other than to impress the reader with the author's erudition. He also claims to focus on audience reception in his analysis but fails to follow through lacking evidence to support how audiences actually interpreted the music. La Chapelle expertly emphasizes the multiple ways audiences and other performers used Haggard's "Okie from Muskogee" (from being a pro-war, Republican anthem to parodies by antiwar activists) in what is the book's best chapter, but he does not offer similar elaboration for the works of Guthrie, Crissman, and Cooley. Every product of culture is open to multiple interpretations, but products of popular culture are intentionally ambiguous due to the demands of a consumer culture. Multiple interpretations mean multiple audiences which means multiple profits. The desire for consumers limits the ability of all of these performers to maintain a consistent political or cultural message. The complication to the simple narrative of creeping conservatism is primarily consumerism and country music, not country music itself. A tighter focus on the consumption aspects of migrant culture and the country music industry would have significantly strengthened this study.

La Chapelle's book is a fine study of change in Los Angeles and is a substantial contribution to understanding how California moves from the radical politics of Upton Sinclair to the conservatism of Ronald Reagan, and while it does not shed new light on national politics and culture, it should be of interest to California historians and country music aficionados.

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PAUL SABIN. *Crude Politics: The California Oil Market, 1900–1940*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 307. $39.95.

Just how free is the free market? That is the question that in large part motivates Paul Sabin in this book about the political economy of the California oil industry.

Although oil remains the subject of much current concern in the United States, historians have not spent all that much time studying the topic. There have been books about energy history of course. But that said, the most celebrated history of the oil industry—*The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power*—was first published years ago in 1991 and was the work of international energy consultant Daniel Yergin.

Sabin, however, writes in the tradition of legal historian James Willard Hurst. He argues that the price of oil is not simply the result of supply and demand curves alone. Rather, the market for oil resulted from the combined effects of political, legal, and economic history. No truly free market in oil ever existed. Instead, Sabin focuses on the visible hand of the government—the various public decisions regarding property, regulation, and taxation—that created the market structure for this all-important resource.

This is an ambitious book that aspires to contribute to legal, political, and environmental history. As legal and political history, the book is a great success. Sabin examines, for example, the role that the common law played in the making of the modern oil market. In the United States, property law dictated that landowners owned the subsurface rights. (In contrast, national gov-

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ernments throughout the world have tended to retain ownership and control of their oil reserves.) Private ownership rights, in turn, helped give rise to the "rule of capture" in oil extraction. In other words, just like wild animals, oil only became private property when it was recovered. Such legal reasoning virtually guaranteed that oil would be overproduced. Thumbing their noses at the demand curve for oil, companies drilled and recovered oil to establish ownership and to ultimately profit from the resource.

Likewise, passage of the 1920 Mineral Leasing Act helped to fuel the overproduction problem, keeping the price of oil low in the process. This piece of national legislation, as Sabin writes, "rewarded those who aggressively staked their claims, developed their wells, and moved to production as quickly as possible, despite a government land policy ostensibly intended to temporarily halt such activity" (p. 42). Pro-development legal decisions, meanwhile, such as *Boone v. Kingsbury*, decided by the California Supreme Court in 1928, opened vast amounts of coastal land to oil prospecting. What the *San Francisco Chronicle* dubbed a "tidelands oil hunt" (p. 59) followed soon thereafter. Prices plummeted as the California oil industry kept up the drilling, causing the Coolidge and Hoover administrations to scratch their heads over capitalism's classic tendency toward overproduction. So much oil was pumped out of the ground in California that by World War II, the state stood on the brink of becoming a net importer of the resource.

Sabin shows that U.S. petroleum dependence was no accident. In a chapter devoted to tax policy, he reveals that the user-financing system for highways gave automobile travel a comparative advantage over the various forms of mass transit. This system of taxing gasoline, for example, was set up in a way that earmarked the resulting revenues for highways. Railroad and streetcar companies foundered and ultimately lost passenger traffic under such a taxing regime.

Readers interested in the environmental aspects of this important story, however, will be let down. Early in the book, Sabin pledges to examine "the political dimensions of environmental change" (p. 8). The problem is that ecological change is not really discussed in the book. How did the oil fields change coastal habitats? And what were the consequences for other life forms? What unintended environmental impacts grew out of the drilling for oil in California? These questions are never addressed. Passing reference is made to the well-known Santa Barbara oil spill. But otherwise, Sabin offers the reader little insight into the ecology of the oil economy, no detailed, on-the-ground information of how the political economy of oil changed the landscape save for stunning photographs of beachgoers bathing in the shadow of a sea of looming oil derricks. Nor, for that matter, any consideration of how geological forces influenced the emerging oil economy.

And, if the free market is indeed the myth that Sabin says, what ideological purposes have been served over the decades by those who have clamored for it? An answer awaits future studies that will build on Sabin's fine work.

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DUANE C. S. STOLTZFUS. *Freedom from Advertising: E. W. Scripps' Chicago Experiment*. (The History of Communication.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2007. Pp. x, 187. $40.00.

Today journalism and advertising are so tightly linked that it is hard to believe it was ever otherwise. But as Duane C. S. Stoltzfus reminds us, the increasing prominence of advertising in mass-circulation newspapers during the early twentieth century aroused considerable anguish among many editors and publishers, including the press baron E. W. Scripps, who in 1911 established an innovative ad-free newspaper in Chicago. Stoltzfus's book is an account of Scripps's venture, the *Day Book*, and a broader assessment of its significance for the history of American journalism.

Scripps's interest in defying the conventions of commercial journalism was anything but a lark. He began thinking about producing such a paper shortly after 1900, when he came to recognize the new influence that advertisers, particularly large department stores like Marshall Field's, had gained over newspaper editors. Fearful of angering their principal patrons, editors were compelled to suppress or downplay news stories that were likely to offend them. In Scripps's view, advertisers had breached the "wall" that ought to separate the editorial and business departments, and their power made it difficult for newspapers to serve the public interest. Scripps hoped that the *Day Book* would become an appealing alternative to ad-driven journalism, an alternative that might eventually become the norm.

In keeping with Scripps's penchant for secrecy and obsession with thrift, the *Day Book* began quite modestly, with a monthly budget of $2,500 and an initial circulation of less than a hundred copies, all sold by subscription to working-class people who lived near the paper's facility. The plan, conceived by Scripps and the veteran editor Negley Cochran, was to expand circulation slowly through door-to-door sales of subscriptions. Printed as a small tabloid, the paper would mix news and features in the lively, accessible way that Scripps's more conventional papers had pioneered. When circulation reached 30,000, the paper would be self-sustaining, demonstrating the viability of the plan and serving as inspiration for other men interested in establishing similar ventures.

From the start, however, things did not go as Scripps had planned. When readers displayed indifference toward the *Day Book*'s promiscuous blend of news and features, Cochran redoubled the paper's emphasis on news, particularly labor and political news that played on the theme of corruption. But this approach unsettled Scripps, who sympathized with organized labor and favored many other progressive reforms but also frowned at papers that were excessively preachy or downbeat in

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their coverage. Thanks largely to Cochran and a small staff of underpaid but idealistic writers that included the poet Carl Sandburg, the paper's circulation steadily increased, reaching over 22,000 in November 1916. The *Day Book* was still operating at a loss, but its monthly deficit was less than half what it had been during its first year of operation. But a doubling of the price of newsprint forced Scripps and Cochran to double the price of the paper to two cents per copy, a move that led to a steep decline in circulation and an end to the experiment in July 1917.

Despite its commercial failure, Stoltzfus insists that the *Day Book* played a key role in "redefining" metropolitan journalism. As his analysis makes clear, the paper provided hard-hitting coverage of labor issues and was unabashedly pro-union and pro-reform, a significant departure from more conservative Chicago papers like the *Tribune*. He is especially good at examining the campaign that Cochran mounted against the major Chicago department stores for the low wages they paid to their mostly female employees, which not only drew public attention to a mostly neglected issue but subtly undermined the credibility of rival papers who refused to cover it.

But, in the end, Stoltzfus does not do nearly enough to situate the *Day Book* within the main currents of reform or metropolitan journalism. For example, he might have paid more attention to William Randolph Hearst's *Chicago American*, which was a staggering success with the very working-class audience that Scripps and Cochran were trying to reach, providing it with news and features that also were pro-reform and can be thought of as a kind of "commercial populism." Given Scripps's stubborn insistence on limiting distribution expenses, which kept the paper from being as accessible as Hearst's, it is no wonder that many working-class readers chose to buy the *Chicago American*, which, thanks to advertising, offered a lot more of the same kind of fare that Scripps and Cochran were publishing. Indeed, the only real innovation of the *Day Book* was its ad-free format. It was Hearst who redefined the news during the progressive era, infusing it not merely with entertainment values but also with a political sensibility that echoed the hopes, fears, and grievances of many big-city readers.

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Inger L. Stole. *Advertising on Trial: Consumer Activism and Corporate Public Relations in the 1930s.* (The History of Communication.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 290. Cloth $50.00, paper $25.00.

In this well-written, well-researched book, Inger L. Stole explores the contest between consumer advocates and the advertising industry in the 1930s. By examining the records of leading consumer movement groups and advertising associations, as well as key business journals like *Printers' Ink* and *Advertising Age*, she skillfully depicts an intense battle over the responsibilities of advertising in American society, waged both in the halls of Congress and the court of public opinion.

Stole persuasively argues advertisers defended their complete freedom in the marketplace by identifying the practice as fundamentally American. By staking out this position, business interests insured that much of the ensuing conflict centered on consumer advocates' patriotism, instead of their critiques of advertisers. Rather than assuming the role of power brokers, consumer advocates found themselves consistently under suspicion as communists. Indeed, advertisers' red-baiting tactics meant that instead of debating *how* they would be regulated, they were able to turn the tables and ask *if* they should be regulated at all. Stole discovers through a careful reading of consumer organization records that, in spite of their combined economic power, strength in numbers, and reasoned criticisms, the consumer advocates found themselves undone by their own political wrangling. When the Consumers Union of the United States splintered from the Consumers' Research Inc. organization in 1935, the two began attacking each other from the left and right, forming alliances with former adversaries, and generally squandering the opportunity to effect real change for consumers.

It is clear from this book that the consumer movement scared industry leaders, particularly with its calls for regulating advertising. Urged on by the growing economic crisis and in keeping with the New Deal responses, activists suggested that the best response to protect citizens from being swindled was for the federal government to oversee advertisers' activities. Stole argues that legislators and advertisers, who were occasionally one and the same, used crass political machinations to advance their aims. Industry lobbyists managed to gut every measure put forward to protect consumers. Ultimately, their efforts insured that the protections garnered in the culminating 1938 Wheeler-Lea bill were ineffective.

Stole provides detailed sketches of the major consumer organizers who put advertising on trial, and of the corporate lobbyists and legislators who defended it. One of the many colorful figures she considers is Royal S. Copeland, who simultaneously served as a Democratic senator from New York and made commercial endorsements, including those for products under scrutiny by the very advertising reform legislation he was supposed to be overseeing.

While women did play a role in the consumer movement, Stole's examination reveals that their place in the national struggle was peripheral. Women comprised a majority of the consumers, but their influence on the advertising industry regulations seems muted, at best. While women were active as consumer advocates in local movements, Stole's study demonstrates that men dominated both of the major national consumer organizations that developed in the 1930s, as well as the government and business responses to calls for advertising reform.

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Stole's most compelling chapter describes how the advertising industry subverted the consumer movement for good. In the mid-1930s, businesses realized they could stop fighting the consumer movement and instead co-opt its advocacy role. Through a massive public relations initiative, these salesmen refashioned themselves as trusted authorities in consumer research. Most critically, this campaign effectively headed off efforts to broaden or deepen the discussion about the role of advertising in society. By acknowledging that there was a problem, advertisers boldly offered themselves as the solution. Stole's epilogue on the modern-day ramifications of this successful strategy calls to mind the Advertising Women of New York's annual "The Good, The Bad, and The Ugly" awards. Instead of engaging demands for respectful and truthful advertising, businesses learned quickly that by hanging just a handful of companies and their ads out to dry, the industry could claim to be self-regulating and responsible.

Stole also provides valuable insights into the critical role that educators played in fostering a pro-advertising atmosphere. While advertisers feared teachers' skeptical eyes, they learned they could woo them with free dinners, textbooks, movies, and completed lesson plans. Through these perks, the National Association of Manufacturers, allied organizations, and companies infiltrated their pro-business materials and advertisements into the classroom. That legacy is also firmly in place, with corporations paying writers to work Nike sneakers and Oreo cookies into modern-day textbooks. Moreover, Stole found as little public outcry in the 1930s as there is today.

In addition to the strengths described above, the book is well organized and well indexed. Stole also provides two welcome lists in her appendix, offering a brief synopsis of each of the key players and a chronological accounting of the legislative developments. Overall, this is an important contribution to the study of American consumerism.

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SANDY ISENSTADT. *The Modern American House: Spaciousness and Middle Class Identity*. (Modern American Architecture and Cultural Identity.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 327. $85.00.

Sandy Isenstadt significantly extends our understanding of American architecture and social life through his exploration of the rise and commodification of spaciousness and the evolving phenomenon of the small house in the United States. In this lucid and insightful work, Isenstadt begins with a careful definition of terms that contextualizes the extended argument that follows. At the center of his enterprise stands the concept of spaciousness manifest in the small house. The small house is defined through its middle-class associations as much as by its scale. There are no definitive guidelines for what constitutes the small house, but rather the inference of emergent nineteenth-century values concerning domestic virtue, efficiency, and the idealized single-family dwelling. Spaciousness, as part of that formula, is "a new and distinctively modern category for domestic architecture, one that prizes perceptual effects, informs design decisions, comes in time to affect aesthetic regulation of residential neighborhoods, and that intersects with contemporary notions of personal, community, and national identity" (p. 9). Within this formulation, Isenstadt establishes the framework for a compelling architectural and social history about the ways in which architects and designers resolved the paradox of compact dwellings and the desire for openness around the perceptual rather than the physical nature of space. In the process, we discover how spaciousness operates at the level of a naturalized ideology that reifies middle-class identity around residential design.

Beginning with the origins of the small house as an American phenomenon, Isenstadt leads us through the ways in which the concept of spaciousness unfolded as a design principle. In later nineteenth-century middle-class residences, for example, "roominess" was achieved by opening up interior sightlines, widening openings, and simplifying decorative trim. Still, the perception of roominess did not equate readily with continuing notions of spaciousness understood in terms of scale. The problem of achieving spaciousness within the physical constraints of the small house found its solution in the morphing technology and character of windows. Nineteenth-century advances in glass production resulted in larger expanses of flatter, impurity-free glass available at affordable prices. Larger and better windows within easy financial reach of middle-class families commissioning small residences led to an aesthetic preference for design solutions that dematerialized walls and amplified the perceptual nature of spaciousness. As Isenstadt correctly points out, this change was consonant with new attitudes toward nature, healthfulness, and nurture reflected in other modes of architectural design, including decorative finishes and furnishings like mirrors that reflected light and the illusion of space. Isenstadt also makes it clear that the place windows hold in the design imagination was and is constantly changing. Citing the example of the neo-traditional Seaside Community in Florida, he limns the transition from horizontal picture windows to vertical windows that historicize sash and muntins, making windows more visible and in a sense less transparent. The very nature of the imagined view lies at the heart of these changes as coziness is brought into balance with spaciousness and community into accord with landscape.

Isenstadt's book is an important contribution to the importance of materiality in social, design, and cultural history. Materiality, in its most pared down iteration, privileges the thingness of objects, arguing on one level that ideologies, as in the instance of spaciousness, possess the substance of their assertion in the world. Accordingly, materiality studies interrogate the physical and design histories of things, and they draw on those investigations to advance fresh insights into economic,

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political, intellectual, and cultural process. Isenstadt's study of spaciousness is very much part of a bold conversation about the ways in which materiality lends substance and texture to abstract ideas. Thus, his running discussion on windows and other mechanisms for achieving spaciousness is less about architectural features and more about the strategies through which the conflicted terrain of class identity is articulated and negotiated.

Isenstadt's book shines as a model of interdisciplinary writing. The most limited and conservative reading of his arguments might consign this book to the category of architectural history. That would be an unfortunate mistake. Isenstadt provides us with a history of spaciousness that carries expansive implications about how we deploy buildings to signify and enact ourselves. The evolution of the small house in the United States, like the paradox of spaciousness itself, conveys an inherent contradiction concerning how the largest of our possessions operates between public expression of private self. This is a book about how we have understood and articulated our identities around an evolving spatial imagination. And, for all their contributions and creativity, we discover that the architects who designed and commented on spaciousness occupied roles that were as much about the codification of practice and worldview as they were about innovation. Isenstadt's scholarly thoroughness and rhetorical openness make his work a pleasure to read and contemplate.

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JEFF WILTSE. *Contested Waters: A Social History of Swimming Pools in America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. x, 276. $29.95.

Rare is the book that helps us make sense of our mundane daily experiences, such as childhood trips to a local swimming club, by connecting them to a powerful and deeply troubling history. Jeff Wiltse has produced such a book. He traces the transformation of municipal swimming pools from gender-segregated spaces where working-class immigrant boys swam alongside African Americans, to racially segregated pools where white men and women of all ages and classes frolicked. The social segregation of these spaces, first by gender and then by race, was too often maintained by violence.

In the early chapters of the book Wiltse offers a counternarrative to the existing historiography of early twentieth-century commercial leisure. Unlike the "social melting pots" of dance halls and amusement parks, the municipal pools envisioned and built by Progressive reformers reinforced class and gender divisions. While elite men preferred private natatoriums for manly exercise, working-class boys used public pools for play. Reformers promoted municipal pools as a means of Americanizing immigrants, preventing juvenile delinquency, and promoting health through frequent bathing. The young immigrants and African Americans who frequented the pools and brought their own rowdy "swimming culture" with them often subverted these goals. As a result local politicians insisted pools be built in working-class neighborhoods rather than centralized locations like Boston's Beacon Hill or New York's Central Park. And although racial integration was the norm, the pools were strictly segregated by sex.

The heart of Wiltse's book is the gender integration of municipal pools, a process that began in the late 1910s and accelerated in the 1920s. He uses St. Louis's Fairgrounds Park as a powerful example of the link between gender integration and racial segregation. In 1913 St. Louis led a new craze for "resort" pools, large and lavish institutions that often included sandy beaches, waterfalls, and changing facilities. These amenities brought in middle-class swimmers and increasingly teenagers and adults. But when St. Louis's city officials decided to allow mixed-gender swimming, they officially barred African Americans. White women swimming in an era of shrinking bathing suits and a sexual revolution brought fears of racial miscegenation to the fore. Wiltse offers compelling evidence that fear of sexual contact between white women and black men underlay racial segregation throughout the North. Although he has little explicit evidence of this link, the circumstantial evidence is overwhelming.

The interwar period was a "golden age" for swimming pools. In the 1920s economic prosperity, increased leisure time, and a fascination with recreation brought white Americans to the new resort pools. Surprisingly the Great Depression did not disrupt the swimming craze; instead, New Deal programs built a remarkable 750 new pools and refurbished more. In contrast to the working-class boys roughhousing in early pools, interwar resort pools became cultural symbols of a new age of leisure and beauty popularized by Hollywood and supported by municipal and federal governments. These pools also accelerated the celebration of physically fit and sexualized female bodies. But this golden age was deeply marred by an increasing acceptance of racial segregation.

The remainder of Wiltse's book focuses on the decline of racial segregation and the abandonment of pools by white swimmers and local governments. By the 1940s the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) began prosecuting cases challenging segregation in municipal swimming pools. Wiltse's careful analysis of these cases provides provocative evidence that the rapid decline of large municipal swimming pools was directly attributable to desegregation. The NAACP's successes were quickly followed by white abandonment of public pools and retreat into backyard pools or private swim clubs. By the early 1960s city officials simply closed many public pools after years of neglect. Although fears of racial violence during the "long hot summers" of the mid-1960s led to a revived interest in urban public pools, these were not the resorts of the interwar period but small facilities located in impoverished neighborhoods. Americans increasingly viewed urban municipal pools as a locus of delinquency rather than a solution to it. There is a tension

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throughout Wiltse's book between celebrating municipal pools' democratic possibilities and lamenting the social segregation that marked their history. To his credit Wiltse balances these two polarities well, acknowledging the pleasure twentieth-century Americans found in their local pools while demonstrating that this pleasure was premised on exclusion. There is no simplistic celebration of a golden age of public recreation here.

Wiltse's decision to focus only on northern pools is a useful corrective to a popular understanding of Jim Crow as a southern phenomenon, but it also raises questions about a national story of segregation and swimming. What were the connections between the civil rights struggles of the 1940s and 1950s at northern pools and those in southern cities in the 1960s? Given the importance of the Sunbelt for post-1945 American history, to what extent is the privatization of swimming a suburban, rather than a regional, phenomenon? Wiltse's carefully researched and well-written book is a welcome beginning to a national story of public recreation.

VICTORIA W. WOLCOTT
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ADAM GREEN. *Selling the Race: Culture, Community, and Black Chicago, 1940–1955.* (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 306. $35.00.

Adam Green's book is an intellectually rigorous, original work of scholarship that produces two important advances in African American studies. First, the book offers a thick description of mid-century Chicago-based African American cultural production in journalism, the music industry, and public arts. Second, the book posits African American modernity as an emergent process of equivalence between city, or community, and nation. The book hence argues for black modernism as a spatial experience of new social relations produced by and under capitalism. As Green puts it nicely in his introduction, "developments in postwar Chicago led to finer lineaments of association among blacks: engagement with horizontal public fields such as markets or law, affinity for the unique sense of simultaneity engendered by media cultures, gravitation towards more abstract and even anonymous structures of social feeling, alongside more traditional environments of family or church" (pp. 7–8).

Green's most persuasive examples of Chicago's centrifugal place in mid-century black national consciousness are Johnson Publishing Company, publisher of *Ebony Magazine* (1945), and the public funeral of Emmett Till, the fourteen-year-old Chicagoan brutally murdered in 1955 in Mississippi. Green argues that John Johnson's entrepreneurial vision for a national black magazine exemplified "race marketing" as an inevitable result of African American encounter with urban commodity culture in the 1940s. *Ebony*'s glossy images of musician Hazel Scott, film star Lena Horne, author Richard Wright, and comedian Eddie "Rochester" Anderson exemplified African American entrée into Walter Benjamin's "age of mechanical reproduction" while "showing how reference to the authorized self could (and can) ground diverse notions of black agency" (p. 175). Green counters more negative scholarly assessment of *Ebony*'s role in creating a "black bourgeoisie" by situating the magazine within the development of mid-century American liberalism.

A more compelling example of what Green calls "simultaneity" of city and the putative nation are the nationally circulated photographs of the open-casket body of Till displayed at Roberts Temple of God Church on September 3, 1955. Green argues that Till's bludgeoned face become a national icon linking southern brutality and unfinished northern migration. It galvanized 5,000 picketers at Chicago city hall one month after his funeral to protest the racist reactions of white residents at Chicago's Trumbull Park Homes to the arrival of black residents beginning in 1953. Green's book is as its best and most original in reconceiving the Till funeral as a moment when race entered spectacle society in positively traumatic ways, anticipating both the televisual civil rights era and baser exploitations of African Americans in contemporary mass media.

Green is more materialist in method in his companion chapters on Claude Barnett, founder of the Associated Negro Press, the first African American news service in the United States, and the Chicago music industry. Barnett, Green argues, represented both new school business acumen resonant of Johnson, his fierce competitor, and old school "clientage" evolved from his tutelage at Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute. As a result, Barnett ruthlessly promoted a national, autonomous black public voice in mass media. Trailblazing entrepreneurial Chicago radio personalities Jack Cooper and Al Benson, meanwhile, wrote blues, jazz, and rhythm and blues into the local economic fabric of Chicago by wedding ad markets and consumers through the medium. Green provides the richest account yet by a scholar of the role of radio in constructing a major black urban music market.

Green's interpretation of Chicago as a localized national "community" marked by "hybrid affinities of class feeling" at times runs at cross purposes with his two principal social thematics: clientage and racial uplift. Working class and bourgeoisie, men and women, new migrants and entrepreneurs, business and labor varied widely in what Green calls "black loyalty and civil affiliation" to both the nation writ large and the project of becoming Bronzeville. As Horace Cayton and St. Clair Drake emphasized in their majestic 1945 study of Chicago's South Side, *Black Metropolis*, class stratification, adverse social positioning, labor racism and agitation, and a strong Communist Party presence in Chicago made the South Side one of the most contested grounds for black survival, if not advance, on the heels of the Depression. Green's concentration on imagined communities manufactured mainly by captains of the culture industry at times subsumes these struggles into a narrative of racial self-fashioning. Thus fissures in the

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book's dominant ideological categories—race, nation, community—are sometimes insufficiently tested.

Green's fine book joins recent work like Nikhil Pal Singh's *Black Is a Nation: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy* (2004) in reconceiving black nationalism as the dominant mode of African American civil and civic participation in the twentieth century. More study remains to be done on its legacy for racial *realpolitik* in Chicago and the United States.

Bill V. Mullen
Purdue University

Susannah Walker. *Style and Status: Selling Beauty to African American Women, 1920–1975*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2007. Pp. xiii, 250. $40.00.

In 1968 when Nadinola, a white-owned cosmetic company, took out a full-page ad in *Ebony* that declared "Black is beautiful," it generated attention not only because of its bold political stance, argues Susannah Walker, but also because the product being touted was, ironically, a bleaching cream that had long been critiqued for promoting self-hate. Complexity and contradiction shaped the marketing of beauty products, especially the history of African American entrepreneurial attempts to negotiate both changing perceptions of femininity and the constant threat of white corporate encroachment. Walker adds nuance to a growing body of literature that combines histories of labor, business, and political economy with the intricacy of beauty and subjectivity. Using some personal testimonies but primarily the records of marketing professionals, stories of celebrity icons, and a litany of newspaper and magazine advertisements, Walker finds that beauty culture created a niche for black entrepreneurship, one that was never completely autonomous. Instead, she sees the beauty industry as a paradox that reflected the "limits of black capitalism."

In the 1920s and 1930s African American entrepreneurs saw beauty culture as a means to assert black consumer citizenship. Newspaper and ad agency owners such as Chicago's Claude Barnett were determined to transform the images of established African American beauty product manufactures in hopes that black advertisers rather than white could finance an independent African American press. Barnett and others saw black manufacturing ad campaigns that focused on rags-to-riches stories of company founders easily trumped in the face of more modern uses of glamour and romance to sell beauty products. Barnett and others also confronted white manufactures who continued to stereotype African American consumers as unsophisticated with little spending power. Thus asserting consumer citizenship, especially for black entrepreneurs, seemed inextricably bound to other campaigns for progress and civil rights.

Ironically, the quest for black consumer recognition and more modern advertising campaigns worked too well. Beauty culture products and services for African American women began to flourish but so, too, did the profits of white manufacturers. Mass consumption, Walker argues, meant black consumers found it increasingly difficult to distinguish African American–produced goods from white. Drug stores shelves, for example, began to replace beauty agents, and modern mass advertising techniques made it all the easier for white companies to simply mimic black-run ad campaigns. The problems well-established African American beauty manufactures now faced seemed the fault of parasitical white-owned businesses that propagated appalling race stereotypes and took black consumer dollars without giving anything such as jobs or community support in return. According to Walker, much of the anxiety over white-run advertising campaigns also masked internal problems black entrepreneurs faced as they attempted to carve out their own niches and influence African American conceptions of feminine beauty.

The decades following World War II witnessed a continued paradox. The rise of successful mass-market magazines like *Ebony*, *Jet*, and *Our World* and the tremendous growth of the beauty industry were met with a steady decline of black manufacturers' share of the profits. Black-owned beauty shops and professional organizations flourished, but, Walker emphasizes, Jim Crow created a segmented market. Against the backdrop of an emerging modern civil rights movement, white and black models were frequently featured together with messages of progress, yet these token images of integration were reserved for black publications. In white-run magazines, pageants, and businesses, tokens of African American beauty seemed a means to reaffirm white aesthetics. It was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s that a more militant mood pushed white advertisers to market a range of beauty types. The commercialization of black pride perhaps best reveals the degree to which white advertisers had finally caught on. By the 1970s, corporate embrace of black consumer citizenship was complete, but ultimately it meant black manufacturers' share of beauty industry profits hit an all-time low.

Inadequate resources and racism made competing with white manufacturers a never ending struggle, but selling beauty, as Walker notes, is bound to consumer behavior as well. In her definition of beauty culture, the author nicely includes women who frequented beauty shops, bought lipstick at a local five and dime, or simply flipped through the style section of a favorite magazine. Indeed, the author uses powerful testimonies of intellectuals and political activists who negotiated family tradition and the politics of hair. From the late 1920s and 1930s, Walker also found telling self-descriptions and desired attributes of men and women seeking love and romance in personal ads. At times, however, consumer voices seem muted. The stories of women who dreamed of the latest coiffure as they negotiated shoestring budgets or beauty shop patrons who processed their hair and fought for black power might reveal even more nuance. Nevertheless, Walker has provided an

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engaging history of "style and status" that will influence many fields of study.

JULIE WILLETT
Texas Tech University

STEPHANIE Y. EVANS. *Black Women in the Ivory Tower, 1850–1954: An Intellectual History*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2007. Pp. xiv, 275. $59.95.

In 1850, the year Lucy Stone became the first African American woman to earn a college degree upon her graduation from Oberlin, the vast majority of American black women were enslaved and illiterate. By the time the Supreme Court handed down its initial ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, in 1954, black female illiteracy had fallen to ten percent. More remarkable, black women were entering college at the same rate—one quarter of all eighteen-year olds—as their white sisters. They did so, however, along a parallel track. Apart from the small number who won degrees in northern colleges and universities, most attended college in the segregated South, in schools blacks built themselves. Underfunded institutions such as Mary McLeod Bethune's Bethune-Cookman College in Florida survived only because of outreach to the broader black community. This community involvement had a marked effect on ideas about research, teaching, and service, as Stephanie Y. Evans demonstrates. While white, male-dominated higher education turned increasingly away from its religious roots and distanced itself from reform efforts, black educators, women especially, became ever more committed to issues of social justice, civil rights, and the need for black children to know and appreciate their own history and culture.

Evans begins by laying out the obstacles of poverty, racism, and sexism that black women faced. Ambitious though they were to win higher degrees, few could afford the trip north then necessary to find graduate programs open to them. Since most female black college graduates supported themselves by teaching in segregated southern schools, graduate work almost always had to be squeezed into brief summer sessions, far from home, and balanced against community work and family obligations. Even many years of summer school were not enough in most instances to win the doctorate. Anna Julia Cooper, who fulfilled the credits and dissertation requirement for a Ph.D. in Romance languages at Columbia University before World War I, could not satisfy the one-year residency requirement without risking the loss of her teaching job in Washington, D.C. Small wonder that so few black women earned doctorates in the United States. Not until 1921 did the first three do so. Cooper had to transfer to the University of Paris, Sorbonne, which lacked a residency requirement, to win her doctorate in 1925.

In many ways black educators' careers paralleled those of white women at the time. They both joined countless clubs dedicated to social reform and shared what Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham has called "the politics of respectability" (p. 64). Both sought to remake the black working-class in their middle-class image in what Ula Taylor has dubbed "the iron cage of uplift" (p. 64). But unlike their white peers, whose efforts at uplift were directed for the most part toward people from different national, ethnic, and racial groups, black educators reached out to members of the same race, who faced the same kinds of political, legal, social, and economic obstacles they did. Evans argues that this difference made them less willing to accept the biologically based, hierarchical thinking of the day. In common with an increasing number of black feminist theorists, Evans analyzes her subjects less in the either/or terms of class division and more in the both/and terms of shared oppression.

This analysis is most compelling in Evans's discussion of the writings of Cooper: both Cooper's early essays, published as *Voice of the South* in 1892 and, less recognized until recently, her doctoral thesis at the Sorbonne in 1925, *L'attitude de la France à l'égard de l'esclavage: Pendant la Revolution*, defended and published in 1925. Evans, in common with Vivian M. May, in *Anna Julia Cooper, Visionary Black Feminist* (2007), departs from the traditional portrayal of educated black women as elitist and shows how Cooper used race and gender to challenge elitism. Cooper debunked black male ministers' claim that they could represent the interests of all blacks, criticized white suffrage leader Anna Howard Shaw for excluding Indians from her vision of democracy, and (more than a decade before C. L. R. James published *Black Jacobins* in 1938) criticized the members of her dissertation committee at the Sorbonne for failing to appreciate the centrality of blacks and the slave trade to Enlightenment thought and the course of the French Revolution.

Stephanie Evans's contribution is to set the work of Cooper and other members of the tiny band of black female college-educated pioneers in the context of the broader struggle for black education. Ignored by the larger white society in their time, these women played a key role in educating those who would fill the ranks of the mid-twentieth-century civil rights movement and foreshadowed key aspects of modern black feminist theory, with its emphasis on historical contingency and the intersectionality of race and gender.

ROSALIND ROSENBERG
Barnard College

LEE SARTAIN. *Invisible Activists: Women of the Louisiana NAACP and the Struggle for Civil Rights, 1915–1945*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2007. Pp. 212. $36.50.

Female activists were integral to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and often in the front lines of the civil rights struggle. Commentators on the period, however, have generally ignored the role of these activists mainly because women were not prominent in media reporting on the early struggles for civil rights. Lee Sartain details the activism of African American women, with an anal-

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ysis of gender roles and how they relate to civil rights organizing. He contexualizes attitudes toward gender, class, and race within the framework of the campaign for civil rights in the state of Louisiana.

The author's research is based on a prodigious survey of newspapers, NAACP records, membership lists of various organizations, campaigning pamphlets, and personal letters. In the extensive and fastidiously documented NAACP archives, Sartain presents ample evidence of women at the branches writing annual reports and letters to the national office in New York. Prior to the establishment of the NAACP, African American women were active in auxiliaries to men's groups and also created their own social networks. The NAACP was a beneficiary of social and political groups in Louisiana that transferred their expertise of community building to its branches.

The volume is divided into six chapters, focused on reconstituted biographies of the female activists that shed light on the civil rights work that might have been lost otherwise. The first section examines the recent historiography and issues of leadership surrounding African American women in the civil rights struggle of the twentieth century. Sartain painstakingly traces the history of the development of the NAACP from its organization in 1909, examining its institutional growth and the contributions of major leaders to show the correlation of the institution at the national level and the local branches. Brief attention was given to role models: namely, Mary Talbert, Mary Church Terrell, and Ida Wells-Barnett (p. 17). Terrell and Wells-Barnett were founders and members of the NAACP Executive Committee. Not only was Talbert vice president (1914–1916) and president of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) from 1916 to 1920, she was vice president of the NAACP and a board member between 1918 and 1923. She helped fortify the national influence in the South by organizing NAACP chapters in Louisiana and Texas.

Women in the national office, such as Daisy Lampkin and Ella Baker, emphasizing the "personalist" nature of political activism leaned toward democratic organizing at the grass-roots level while the NAACP was a centralized association whose more visible male leaders pursued a national agenda. This study reveals that women held important official positions in the NAACP, especially in the Depression era; when membership and funds declined, African American women sustained Louisiana's branches. New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and Monroe maintained strong, viable branches throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Women who joined the NAACP in the state of Louisiana were professionals who asserted their rights through the traditional gender conventions while employed in careers in business, the arts, and education. Joining the NAACP was seen as a social responsibility for many female members and it demonstrated a level of race consciousness. Teachers played a vital role as local leaders in the African American communities, and developed a concept of how to foster group uplift.

Sartain concludes that, during the early years of the civil rights movement, the issue of race invariably disguised other areas of social discrimination—namely, sexism. This work demonstrates that women activists struggled against the double jeopardy of racism and sexism. In two case studies the author illustrates the leadership positions of female leaders and the roles women played in the NAACP in Louisiana. Fighting on the frontlines, women were grass-roots organizers and leaders. Mrs. D. J. Dupuy held numerous elected posts in Baton Rouge and used gender concepts to help carve a powerful position for herself in the NAACP. Sartain cites Georgia M. Johnson of Alexandria as a forceful individual who refused to conform to the social and gender expectations of the period. He links Johnson to W. E. B. Du Bois because she, like Du Bois, believed in an elite-led movement. Johnson claimed she was working for "my race," even though as a self-styled elitist she saw this as her "class and Christian duty" (pp. 135–136).

Meticulously researched and carefully argued, this book is vital to any study of the NAACP. Sartain argues that a strict definition of "leadership" within the NAACP has concealed "women's wide-ranging participation in the organization" (p. 2). African American women directed public campaigns and fund-raisers, recruited new members, and encouraged youth participation. As Sartain's award-winning study reveals, women did hold important official posts and were an indispensable part of the NAACP in Louisiana. In the end, these invisible activists were the most crucial factor in sustaining Louisiana's branches of the NAACP.

Floris Barnett Cash
Stony Brook University

Elizabeth Jacoway. *Turn Away Thy Son: Little Rock, the Crisis That Shocked the Nation*. New York: Free Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 477. $30.00.

Americans first became aware of the difficulties of implementing the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision when nine African Americans attempted to enter the all-white Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957. The story of the Little Rock Nine's efforts to desegregate the city's public schools and the fierce white opposition to the attempt became national and international news and is one of the better-known events of the U.S. civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Although we have many accounts of Little Rock, including a number of memoirs by many of the principals in the drama and a variety of reconstructions by both journalists and historians, Elizabeth Jacoway's book provides the most comprehensive and balanced rendering to date of this well-known story. Jacoway, who grew up in Little Rock and was a couple of years younger than the Little Rock Nine in 1957, spent thirty years working on this book, mining every available source and conducting scores of interviews with a wide array of individuals.

Jacoway's essential thesis is that the Little Rock crisis

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demonstrated "the difficulty of extending justice to a historically powerless group in the absence of a majoritarian will to do so" (p. 358). Like other southern states, Arkansas had its share of white leaders who preached massive resistance to the *Brown* decision. Yet in the late 1950s, some of the city's most prominent citizens favored a more moderate response and were resigned to accepting at least token desegregation, including school superintendent Virgil Blossom (the author's uncle), who had aspirations to be governor, and the local business elite, who wanted to preserve the city's progressive New South image. The proposal for desegregating the city's schools, known as the Blossom Plan, limited school desegregation to the movement of small numbers of black students into one school, Central High. The local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) challenged the flawed plan, which eventually resulted in the U.S. Supreme Court case *Cooper v. Aaron* (1958), which held that southern states could not opt out of adhering to the *Brown* decision. The Blossom Plan also highlighted deep-seated class divisions in Little Rock, as lower and middle-class families who lived near Central High refused to go along with even a token desegregation plan that did not touch the children of the white elite, who tended to live in the western "Heights," an area unaffected by the desegregation proposal.

More central than class tensions in fueling white opposition to school desegregation in Little Rock was a devotion to racial segregation, which was "deeply written on the heart" of white culture (p. 362). Like a number of other recent scholars, Jacoway identifies white fears of miscegenation as a primary motive for the entire edifice of white supremacy and the principal reason that white parents in Little Rock, and across the nation, fought against efforts to educate their children in the same facilities as those attended by African Americans. Whites unceasingly intimidated the nine black children who eventually attended Central High during the 1957–1958 school year, both outside and within the school, and Jacoway offers valuable portraits of these courageous school desegregation pioneers, as well as of a number of Little Rock's black leaders, including Daisy Bates, the "key to black unity and success in Little Rock" (p. 194). Jacoway also provides a useful and convincing reappraisal of Governor Orville Faubus, who closed the schools during the 1958–1959 year rather than continue the beginnings of desegregated education. While most observers have followed the lead of *Arkansas Gazette* editor Harry Ashmore, who claimed that Faubus manipulatively inflamed racial passions in Little Rock in order to win a third term as governor, Jacoway offers a more nuanced appraisal of the populist leader, suggesting that in many ways he was more often responding than leading during the Little Rock events.

Faubus's closure of the public schools ultimately created an opening for white moderates in Little Rock to regain the upper hand. The women of the city led the way, creating the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools. The women's group strategically shifted the debate from supporting segregation to saving public education, a stance eventually accepted by the business elite and local politicians. The new elite consensus that emerged pointed out that segregationists were willing to sacrifice public education—and Little Rock's economic future—to maintain racial purity. Although "In the short term, economic self-interest trumped racist values in Arkansas's capital city" (p. 358), Jacoway notes that white supremacy did not disappear and the struggle to integrate the public schools in Little Rock proved less than totally successful.

Jacoway's study should be the starting point for anyone interested in understanding the complexity of the Little Rock school desegregation crisis of the late 1950s. This book is also an impressive reminder of both the struggle for racial equality and the deep-seated white opposition to that effort.

CHARLES C. BOLTON
University of North Carolina, Greensboro

DAVID CIEPLEY. *Liberalism in the Shadow of Totalitarianism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 379. $49.95.

This is a bold and ambitious book. David Ciepley argues that U.S. encounters with communist and fascist dictatorships during the 1930s and 1940s revolutionized American governance, law, and intellectual life, transforming the very meaning of liberalism and of America itself. The rise to political salience of an antitotalitarian ideology that viewed all statism as a threat to individual freedom harkened a shift from a nineteenth and early twentieth-century liberal variant (dubbed "virtue progressivism"), which had reached its apogee in such New Deal initiatives as the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Agricultural Adjustment Act, to a revived strain of eighteenth-century "autonomous" liberalism that, in the postwar period, manifested as the embodiment of freedom a "neutralist" state that eschewed "substantive values" and conceived government as a disinterested arbiter among competing interest groups. This "libertarian" turn in politics toward "moral minimalism" and "hyperpluralism" paralleled a rightward shift in economic thought, social science theory, and especially jurisprudence, as the U.S. Supreme Court effectively "[recast] civil liberty and due process as protections against the imposition of values by government" (p. 25). Ironically, however, while the totalitarian encounter pushed American liberalism toward antistatism, "this has not meant the elimination of authority from American life" but rather the empowerment of those institutions—namely "courts and corporations"—that "do the best job of concealing its exercise" (p. 31). Ciepley's prescription for democracy's ebb (which admittedly has few prospects, given ongoing "culture wars" that reference antitotalitarian ideologies on the Right and Left) is to reignite a "sociology of virtue" to animate a "new progressive era" in American politics. Far-sighted

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twenty-first-century leaders might make good on the promise of a "developmental state" that had nearly reached fruition during the 1930s but was derailed by the rise of fascism and communism and an attendant, paralyzing fear of state power gone amok.

Ciepley's book, by his own appraisal, may "fully please few" (p. 31), given that his capacious synthesis samples from numerous subdisciplines of history, law, and the social sciences, and that it privileges large patterns over discrete events whose intrinsic meanings are contestable. But by pushing readers to contemplate the relationship of intellectual to institutional history, and by exposing the paradoxically antidemocratic consequences of a hegemonic, freedom-based political ideology, Ciepley challenges his readers to think broadly about the ways in which seeming abstractions of academic discourse (like scientific naturalism and legal realism) can shape policy and condition daily life. This is a significant and admirable achievement.

At the same time, the argument itself hinges on several debatable propositions, among them that antitotalitarianism could be taken at face value as reflecting authentic fears of overweening state power. Ciepley's own example of anti-New Dealers mechanically using antisocialist language to prevent federal meddling in the South (p. 95) hints at race and class issues behind the vitriol. But the author's primary sources are mostly published academic tracts and court transcripts that obscure the deeper political purposes behind incendiary rhetoric. Perhaps most notably, Ciepley distinguishes the civilian from the military economy in making his case for the triumph of a neutralist state. He acknowledges that military Keynesianism bequeathed a secretive, expert-driven national security apparatus that functioned as "progressivism's dark alter ego" (p. 176); but he claims that free enterprise underpinned the civilian sector, "supplemented only by a weak 'compensatory' fiscalism and a threadbare social safety net" (p. 84). Yet as Michael S. Sherry has shown (*In the Shadow of War: The United States since the 1930s* [1995]), postwar militarization pervaded America's political economy, blurring the boundaries between military and civilian life, arrogating presidential power, and exposing the neutral state as a chimera. On a related point, it is unclear why the American idiom of freedom, purposefully promoted at home and abroad by U.S. agents throughout the Cold War, ought not be considered a substantive value, especially given the messianic overtone of such appeals. One wonders, too, about the present course of the liberal state. Has the nation recently entered a postneutral phase, with federally funded faith-based charities, the frank accrual of executive authority through warrantless wiretapping and circumvented Congressional laws, and a newly reconstituted Supreme Court that openly validates moral arguments against abortion? Does totalitarianism's shadow now loom in the form of a perceived Islamic theocratic menace that warrants a countervailing state-sanctioned ethos of transcendence? Would the more overtly Christianized republic idealized by some Evangelicals and their allies in government and the private sector satisfy Ciepley's call for a morality-based "sociological liberalism"? Such queries go unanswered; but perhaps this is in keeping with a book that, by virtue of its perspicacity, excites at least as many questions as it provides answers.

Deborah Kisatsky
Assumption College

Benjamin P. Greene. *Eisenhower, Science Advice, and the Nuclear Test-Ban Debate, 1945–1963*. (Stanford Nuclear Age). Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 358. $65.00.

Benjamin P. Greene's monograph is an exemplary study of the interaction of geopolitics, bureaucratic maneuvering, and scientific claims during the Dwight D. Eisenhower administration. The Limited Test-Ban Treaty, curtailing atmospheric and underwater nuclear testing, was signed by President John F. Kennedy, and for decades historians and political scientists have argued over the reasons for its neglect in the 1950s. Did the president support it or not? In the 1956 presidential campaign, Eisenhower heavily criticized Democratic challenger Adlai Stevenson's call for a test-ban agreement with the Soviet Union, and yet Greene persuasively demonstrates that the same campaign reinvigorated Eisenhower's interest in a ban, and he worked behind the scenes to further its realization. The failure to come to a successful agreement was one of the great personal disappointments of his term in office.

There are two main characters here: Eisenhower and Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) Lewis L. Strauss. Greene's Eisenhower is a president who exerted leadership only in a crisis; during relative calm he tended to govern by consensus of advisors. This proved a serious handicap when it came to the test-ban agreement, which required technical evaluation of at times contradictory scientific evidence. Were atmospheric tests generating harmful fallout? How much genetic damage would result? Was a test ban enforceable? Was testing (atmospheric or underground) necessary to maintain the American nuclear stockpile? These questions demanded scientific answers. Greene shows how the discussion and evidence were rigidly policed by Strauss. For most of his presidency, Eisenhower only saw science that Strauss had cherry-picked to buttress his own opposition to any agreement.

Strauss, for better or worse, was one of the most important architects of the nuclear age. A conservative Republican and wealthy financier, he was appointed to the newly formed AEC by President Harry S. Truman in 1946, serving until 1950. During that time he was instrumental in establishing the Long-Range Detection system to monitor Soviet nuclear tests and successfully spearheaded the drive to persuade Truman to initiate a crash program to develop the hydrogen bomb. He was appointed as the third Chairman of the AEC (succeeding Gordon Dean) in 1953 by the incoming Republican administration, and his tenure is remembered for two

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things: his engineering of the 1954 security clearance hearings of J. Robert Oppenheimer, and his vehement opposition to a test ban. Recent scholarship has sharpened our understanding of Strauss's pivotal role in these years, and Greene is to be commended for his detailed reconstruction of Strauss's role in screening pro–test ban information from the president. When combined with Eisenhower's hands-off approach, Strauss's Machiavellian manipulation effectively scuttled any test-ban agreement. When Eisenhower heard evidence supporting claims of genetic damage or verifiability of a ban, it was despite Strauss, and often behind his back.

The dynamic between Strauss and Eisenhower forms one of the strongest parts of this monograph. We see not only why the two men became close (shared distrust of the Soviet Union, the president's affection for self-made men), but also the concrete ways in which Strauss controlled information flow to the White House. The scientific details were murky at the time, and it was quite easy—although certainly disingenuous and occasionally downright dishonest—for Strauss to manufacture a supposed "consensus" against an agreement. (One would have liked, however, somewhat more explication of the scientific claims, and a more textured, less Washington-centric vision of the scientific debates.) This story is replete with lessons of how bureaucratically savvy advisors have been able to stymie well-intentioned but scientifically ignorant politicians from hearing good technical advice (one immediately thinks of the Strategic Defense Initiative and climate change).

How and when did the scales fall from Eisenhower's eyes? Greene offers many suggestions but no smoking gun: "The dominant influence of Strauss and AEC scientists became apparent to other scientists, the press, and even the president himself. As the gap grew between Eisenhower's convictions and his administration's actions, Eisenhower expressed his bitter frustration that his statecraft was becoming a prisoner of the administration's scientists. Eisenhower did nothing, however, to broaden the spectrum of scientific advice that he received until the Soviet launch of *Sputnik* created a national sense of emergency that pressured him to revise the administration's relationship to science" (p. 113). Was the external consensus simply becoming too loud? Did scientific "defeats," like *Sputnik*, discredit his ordinary channels of science advice? Or had Eisenhower simply had enough?

The book comes with thorough endnotes, a helpful bibliography, and clear index. Greene was poorly served, however, by sloppy copyediting, which has left the text studded with typographical errors and repetitive passages. Those distractions aside, the careful research and important arguments of Greene's monograph make it essential reading for historians interested in the Cold War, arms control, nuclear decision making, and the history of science policy.

MICHAEL D. GORDIN
Princeton University

BETH B. COHEN. *Case Closed: Holocaust Survivors in Postwar America*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 2007. Pp. xviii, 223. $44.95.

At first glance, the title of this book seems inappropriate. Far from closing out their life stories as they entered the United States, the survivors of the Holocaust were able to add new chapters to the narratives of their lives. Yet, after reading this affecting and powerful work, it is clear that Beth B. Cohen purposely selected this title for its ironic effect. Her book chronicles the substantial difficulties that survivors faced upon their arrival in the United States, particularly the obstacles thrown in their way by the Jewish social agencies that had actually been created to facilitate survivors' entry into the United States: United Service for New Americans (USNA) and New York Association for New Americans (NYANA). Operating under a philosophy that stressed rapid Americanization and self-sufficiency at the expense of all other values, these agencies provided employment services and funding for survivors for only one year, typically marking their files "Case Closed" as soon as that time had elapsed, regardless of the emotional trauma or financial difficulties that many refugees still faced. Rather than attempting to sympathize with survivors, social workers and agency directors frequently labeled their charges "passive," "neurotic," or "paranoid" (pp. 147, 140, 150) and seem almost to have relished eliminating refugees from their caseloads.

Cohen uses the archives of NYANA and USNA and other Jewish social service agencies, as well as the oral histories of survivors, to paint a portrait of an American Jewish community that was ambivalent about the arrival of so many Jewish refugees from Europe, fearing that their presence in the United States might provoke antisemitism. Following the wishes of the Truman administration, USNA and NYANA officials were emphatic in their desire to move refugees to communities throughout the country rather than allowing them to cluster visibly in New York City, the city where most refugees wanted to live. But the disparate communities to which Jewish survivors were sent—from Denver, Colorado, to Tulsa, Oklahoma—were frequently far from welcoming. The head of the Denver Jewish Family and Childrens' Center, for example, consistently complained that USNA was sending him too many "hard core applicants" that overwhelmed his agency (p. 38). Family members who had sponsored survivors' entrance into the United States were not always able or willing to shoulder the financial responsibilities that sponsorship demanded. And even when refugees were provided with adequate financial help, their relatives and caseworkers were unable to provide the emotional support they needed. Instead, survivors formed their own support networks and commemorated their destroyed hometowns and loved ones by establishing public monuments, holding *Yizkor* (memorial) services, and publishing *Yizkor* books.

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Perhaps the greatest virtue of this book is the author's decision to use archival records to go beyond the publicity claims of success for NYANA and USNA. Letters in case files tell heartbreaking stories and attest to the bureaucratic webs in which survivors became ensnared. Perhaps most astonishing are the statistics reflecting the agencies' paltry success in finding employment for refugees: in January 1950, NYANA had 4,535 active files, but only twenty people actually found jobs with the agency's assistance (p. 58).

Cohen provides a powerful rebuttal to the image of Holocaust survivors arriving on American shores and succeeding against all odds, an image that exists not only in popular but also in historical literature. She uses the insights of Holocaust scholar Lawrence Langer to good effect, rejecting narratives of happy endings among survivors to uncover instead the loss and absence at the heart of survivors' lives in the wake of trauma. Cohen also contributes to a growing body of historical literature demonstrating that, contrary to the work of Peter Novick, the Holocaust was very much present in American life during the 1940s and 1950s.

The book might be stronger with more consideration of the historical moment that shaped American Jews' responses to Holocaust survivors. Cohen offers a bit too much contemporary criticism of her historical actors, rather than explaining the circumstances that constrained their attitudes and actions. She sharply criticizes social workers, for example, saying that their treatment of survivors "could have and should have been different" (p. 153) rather than illuminating for readers the intellectual world in which these social workers lived. During the 1940s and 1950s, neither the term "Holocaust" nor the term "survivor" contained the meanings that they do today. Moreover, the postwar dominance of Freudian psychology prevented social workers from understanding the impact that the Holocaust had on survivors. Cohen, to her credit, notes all of these facts, but she does not always draw out their conclusions.

Nonetheless, this book is an important addition to the literature on the impact of the Holocaust in American life. Cohen provides a gripping and challenging portrait of survivors in a nation just beginning to grapple with their experiences.

KIRSTEN FERMAGLICH
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WESLEY C. HOGAN. *Many Minds, One Heart: SNCC's Dream for a New America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 463. $34.95.

In this book, Wesley C. Hogan examines the birth, development, and final demise of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The book is divided into four parts. Part one examines the beginning of the organization, and the author clearly demonstrates the magnificent complexity of the many personalities involved in early SNCC. Thanks to Hogan's detailed portrayal, these personalities stand out in stark relief against the background of the early organizing efforts that would become SNCC. The author is particularly adept at explaining the inner workings and philosophical underpinnings of the workshops conducted by Reverend James Lawson in Nashville, Tennessee. He goes on to argue convincingly that the influence of the Lawson workshops stretched far beyond Nashville, and they had a profound impact on the establishment and direction of SNCC during its earliest years. The portrayal of SNCC's beginning is not quite complete, however, because Hogan does not put as much emphasis as he should on the black institutions that provided the safe, hospitable, and inspiring atmosphere for these student activists. One of the most important institutions in this regard is the black college, because the vast majority of early SNCC members were enrolled at one of the South's historically black colleges or universities. While not all of these schools were supportive—in fact, some were even hostile—there were others that nurtured and encouraged the young people's fight for freedom.

In part two, Hogan examines the direct connection between the southern black young people in SNCC and northern white student organizations such as Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Not only does the author demonstrate a direct connection between the organizing efforts of southern black students and their northern white counterparts, but he also persuasively argues that it was actually the organizing efforts and direct action activities of the southern black students that motivated the northern white students. Consequently, the southern black students in SNCC had a profound impact on northern white student activists and their organizations during the 1960s. In fact, in this regard, Hogan's book breaks new ground: he has gone further in documenting the link between black student organizers and their white northern counterparts than any previous study.

Part three concentrates on 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge of the all-white regular delegation to the national Democratic Party convention. There has been a great deal written about the events of Freedom Summer, and Hogan's account complements existing scholarship as it effectively explores the serious tensions that threatened to disrupt the summer's activities. Later, Hogan convincingly demonstrates that these tensions were actually the foundation on which SNCC's demise would later rest. At the same time, the author also provides a compelling portrayal of the white recalcitrance that Mississippi Freedom Summer activists faced. The serious danger born of that white recalcitrance had a profound impact on the young people who were attempting to conduct Freedom Schools and assist black Mississippians in their attempts to become involved in the political process. In such an atmosphere, many young activists succumbed to burnout, and the tensions that were lurking beneath the surface erupted into open conflicts, which Hogan carefully documents.

Part four examines the pressures that assailed the young organization coming out of the difficult summer

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of 1964, and it chronicles the final dissolution of SNCC. Thus, Hogan finds that long before that final SNCC meeting at the Peg Leg Bates estate in December 1966, the organization was in serious decline. During that final twenty months of the organization's life, Hogan indicates that strong individuals in SNCC continued to attack a whole range of problems and formulate solutions even though they were no longer working as part of a unified civil rights organization. The author argues persuasively that the issues and tensions that young activists in SNCC were obliged to confront were the same ones that other individuals and organizations involved in the black freedom struggle would have to confront later on. As Hogan sees it, these young people were in the vanguard of civil rights activism: they tried new tactics, wrestled with old demons, and ultimately stood segregation on its head. Even though the organization did not survive, the SNCC activists taught all Americans of their generation a valuable lesson, even as they learned it themselves: "Freedom existed (or did not exist) in one's daily life. It was how one acted every day. It was an inside job" (p. 236).

This book's consideration of the impact of complex issues like race and gender on the black freedom struggle in general and SNCC in particular ensures that it reflects the direction of the most recent scholarship on the civil rights movement. At the same time, it is important to note that the book makes a valuable complement to other institutional biographies such as Clayborne Carson's groundbreaking study, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (1981), and James Forman's insider's view, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries* (1985).

Cynthia Griggs Fleming
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Randal Maurice Jelks. *African Americans in the Furniture City: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Grand Rapids*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. xvii, 217. Cloth $60.00, paper $25.00.

Emilye Crosby. *A Little Taste of Freedom: The Black Freedom Struggle in Claiborne County, Mississippi*. (The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 354. Cloth $55.00, paper $21.95.

These two works represent the latest phase in scholarship on black communities in the twentieth century, both suggesting the continuing engagement of scholars with the problem of race in twentieth-century America. One is a study of a small black community in a medium-sized northern city during the first half of the century, and the other examines black activism in a predominantly black southern county during the second half of the century. Each was a successful dissertation at a leading university, and each is published by a respected university press—arguably the two academic presses that have contributed the most to the large number of historical monographs on American race relations in the last generation. But together the two books reflect some of the more serious shortcomings of scholarship and publishing on race in the past decade or so.

Randall Maurice Jelks examines a tiny black community—less than 3,000 people for most of his period—from the perspective of "respectability," a concern that Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham identified in 1993 as a fundamental preoccupation within turn-of-the-twentieth-century black communities. Focusing on respectability depends heavily on examining the behaviors of African Americans in churches, and Jelks seems most interested in what black congregations in Grand Rapids did. He says from the outset that he is not much interested in the issues raised by Joe W. Trotter on Milwaukee; John Bodnar and others on Pittsburgh; Kenneth Kusmer on Cleveland; Allan Spear, James Grossman, and Arnold Hirsch on Chicago; Gilbert Osofsky on New York; or August Meier, Elliott Rudwick, and Thomas Sugrue on Detroit. One puts this book down without a clear sense of exactly where blacks in Grand Rapids lived in relation to their white neighbors, what they did for living and how their economic lives might have evolved over time, and how the precise nature of race discrimination unfolded in Grand Rapids. Jelks surely has the right to present the book he wants, but he has done so at the expense of connecting what he knows about Grand Rapids to the issues that scholars who went before him have identified as the salient contexts for the northern black experience. What a curious reader might give for a map showing where blacks lived and worshipped or a table or two profiling economic realities. Even if the pursuit of respectability is worthy of being a dominant theme in the history of Grand Rapids, informed readers need to know how respectability shaped blacks' economic opportunities, political rights, and the use of space. This thin effort fails to meet that need, and the underanalyzed content of the commitment to respectability is insufficient to teach us much about black Grand Rapids. Jelks vaguely suggests that the Grand Rapids black community underwent dramatic alterations as a result of the post–World War II migrations, but he does not pursue the specifics, which means he does not connect to the work of Hirsch and Sugrue.

Emilye Crosby undertakes a study of an entirely different kind of black community: a mostly black, mostly rural county in southwestern Mississippi, on the Big Muddy between Natchez and Vicksburg. She covers the years after World War II, but the main events of her narrative center on an economic boycott that took place in Claiborne County in 1966 and 1967. Crosby begins by asserting that the existing scholarship on the civil rights movement has thrust a "broad-based misrepresentation" of the movement as the result of "top-down change" promoted by national organizations and "sympathetic whites" (p. xiv) This is, of course, the all too frequent straw man of young scholars: the broad-based

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misrepresentation of the existing literature in order to puff up the significance of the new contribution. It can hardly be said that the historical literature on the civil rights movement in Mississippi has been written from the top down with any great emphasis on sympathetic whites after the appearance more than a decade ago of the works of John Dittmer and Charles Payne. Civil rights history written from the bottom up—or the "grassroots up," as local activists would have said—began in fact almost a generation ago with William Chafe's 1980 study of Greensboro. Having begun with a false presumption, Crosby then effectively ignores the pertinent literature that should have been the intellectual context for the Claiborne County events. She does not even consider these events in relation to what was happening in Natchez or Greenwood. In many ways the best community studies were presented by J. Mills Thornton in *Dividing Lines: Municipal Politics and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma* (2002), which emphasized the importance of local politics to spurring activism. One gets the idea that this seminal book had little influence on Crosby; it is listed in her bibliography as written by Thornton Mills.

Crosby's work is marred, moreover, by a relentless partisanship about her historical characters. She is intensely hostile to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) leader Charles Evers and one local black minister, and correspondingly apologetic about their opponents, without ever explaining satisfactorily the basis of her biases among black factions. All the whites in Claiborne County were bad racists, and her inability to describe the nuances of white attitudes about the social revolution forced upon them reflects Crosby's neglect of the literature of the civil rights movement that has moved well beyond the "passion play" character of the media's presentation of events. Finally, her narrative of the economic boycott is so dense, partisan, underanalyzed, and littered with pedestrian quotes that its larger significance is lost.

To be sure, these two books appear to be the first real efforts of young authors. There may be a market for any book about race, but to remain healthy, the scholarly enterprise still needs to require that monographs contribute significantly to the body of knowledge.

Robert J. Norrell
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Kent B. Germany. *New Orleans after the Promises: Poverty, Citizenship, and the Search for the Great Society*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 460. $24.95.

Kent B. Germany's book chronicles the way in which local activists leveraged civil rights activism and the War on Poverty to reimagine New Orleans's racial dynamics, class composition, and civic culture. In the popular imagination and most historical accounts, liberalism's high tide, like the civil rights era's heroic period, occurred in 1965. Buoyed by the passage of the Voting Rights Act and the promises of the Great Society, America seemed on the verge of an idealistic new age that would successfully confront the twin evils of racism and poverty. Instead, at least at the national level, poverty wars and dreams of harmonious race relations were thwarted by racial strife, white backlash, Vietnam, and liberalism's failed attempts at social engineering.

Germany's case study of New Orleans challenges the framework of liberal decline after 1965 by investigating the way in which the Great Society played out in the Crescent City. For Germany, the Great Society in New Orleans provided black activists, and progressive whites, an opportunity to transform the city's entrenched poverty, racism, and segregation against long odds. Critiquing the notion that liberalism suffered from a "crisis of victory" after 1965, this book documents the way in which a combination of local activists, anti-poverty officials, and political leaders (both elected and grass roots) utilized the combined power of the civil rights movement and liberal public policy to change power relations in the city.

The book's first part recounts the way in which local black activists utilized a range of Great Society programs—from Community Action to Food Stamps to Model Cities—to advocate an agenda of racial inclusion and political power that centered on bread and butter issues of housing, food, jobs, and political and economic power for the poor. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, a loose federation of activists assumed influence over the "soft state," an amalgam of public and private groups who distributed "upward of $100 million in federal funding (over $512 million in 2006 dollars) in predominantly black neighborhoods" (p. 15). Along the way Germany deftly illustrates the racial tensions that contoured New Orleans's demographic transitions (at the neighborhood and political level) from white to black.

What Germany describes as the city's "democratic moment" dominates the book's second half, which deals with New Orleans's response to black power militants, welfare rights activists, and ambitious black politicians. On the surface, New Orleans in the early 1970s seemed to be an improbable success story; a city headed by a liberal white mayor (Moon Landrieu) put in office with overwhelming black support. Beneath this exterior the city continued to be wracked by racial tensions that came to spectacular head during a series of violent confrontations between police and Black Panthers in 1970. By the mid 1970s the Great Society experiment was coming to an unceremonious conclusion and New Orleans's post–Jim Crow future would embark on an economic decline accelerated by Reagan administration tax cuts. A more fateful, and ultimately tragic, rendezvous with destiny lay ahead with Hurricane Katrina in 2005.

This is a major contribution to the historiography of civil rights and postwar urban history. Well researched and provocative, Germany's case study of the Crescent City illuminates the way in which Great Society liberalism affected City Hall, interracial organizing, and

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community activism at the local level in fresh and innovative ways. The study's second half critically interrogates the way in which black political power in New Orleans reflected the expansiveness and the limitations of Great Society liberalism. Germany's book also pays attention to how local black women shaped the city's political landscape and the way in which a range of black power activists advocated for political and economic self-determination. Dense, nuanced, and at times overwhelmingly detailed, this fresh and invigorating study's scope, range, and ambition are too wide for a short review, but the book will reward the patient reader and deserves the widest possible audience.

PENIEL E. JOSEPH
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ALFRED W. MCCOY. *A Question of Torture: CIA Interrogation, from the Cold War to the War on Terror*. (The American Empire Project.) New York: Metropolitan. 2006. Pp. 290. $25.00.

This is a fascinating if wildly depressing book. Alfred W. McCoy, whose *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade* (1972) is a classic exposé of the underbelly of U.S. foreign policy, has turned to the even darker history of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and its long fascination with and use of torture. As the cover image, with its infamous redoing of an Iraqi prisoner being tortured in Abu Ghraib through sensory deprivation makes clear, McCoy's book shows that the crimes committed by U.S. forces in this prison were not done by a few "bad apples." Instead, dishonor goes up the chain of command to President George W. Bush, who told his counterterrorism staff on the evening of September 11, 2001, "I don't care what the international lawyers say, we are going to kick some ass" (p. 113). But the trail goes beyond a president who favored harsh, unilateral actions, ones that had the CIA "reviv[ing] the use of torture, making it Washington's weapon of choice" (p. 12). No, the crimes that followed were an extension of torture methods that the CIA had studied and relentlessly propagated throughout the Cold War era. The history here is long and damning.

The book is at its best when it discusses the origins of the CIA's actions regarding torture. The chapter on mind control, for instance, details how the CIA's programs were based on both fascist and communist methods for breaking prisoners. The CIA was particularly fascinated with Joseph Stalin's show trails of the 1930s, where a prisoner would speak in a monotone voice about crimes he allegedly committed against the Soviet state. This and other forms of torture led the CIA to duplicate the Communists' "success." The history includes a variety of psychological torture programs, with the MKUltra Program's use of LSD on unsuspecting individuals being the most notorious. This chapter reveals how the rampant fear of communism led the CIA to duplicate its hated enemy's methods. It also makes clear that torture has been a constant tool for any state to maintain power. Sounding vaguely Foucauldian at times, McCoy writes that during the medieval era things were simpler, and a bit more honest: "the Church, of course, sought to purge evil with physical punishment, while the agency [CIA] aims to induce the survival reflex of a near-death experience and thus break the victim psychologically" (p. 59). This sordid history of confusing means and ends gradually involved academia during the Cold War era, including the active participation of leading researchers and scientists at universities throughout the United States and the West.

The chapter entitled "Propagating Torture" details the various ways that the CIA outsourced its torture methods to the Third World. Like the previous chapters it makes for an unremittingly dark tale. From Uruguay to the Philippines, the CIA was busy instructing police forces on the proper, most efficient ways to torture communists or other enemies. This included everything from abusing rural Filipino priests to ever-more ingenious and barbaric techniques like "implanting tiny electrodes" in the brains of Vietcong prisoners. When the latter act of torture proved fruitless, the prisoners were summarily shot and their bodies burned by Green Beret troops (pp. 65–66). This brutal history is but one example of the many detailed throughout this volume. It is of note to mention that the subsequent chapter, "War on Terror," is the most concise account to date of how and why Abu Ghraib became the most notorious prison in the world. One of the cruel ironies here is that if the CIA comes across as some kind of "dark star" within the U.S. government, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) fares much better in McCoy's analysis. He writes, "when real terrorists are captured, FBI counterterrorism agents can, as they have done for decades, question them with legal, noncoercive methods, generating both accurate intelligence and credible evidence that will stand in a court of law—something the CIA's methods have failed to do" (p. 207). It would seem that the CIA still has much to learn from its rival intelligence branch on the uses of torture.

If this is not an easy book to read, it must have been even harder to write. When people encouraged McCoy to continue with the research and writing of this book, he said that for a time he "always found an excuse, any excuse, to avoid returning to a miserable topic that left [him] depressed" (p. 274). We should all be glad that he persevered.

JONATHAN NASHEL
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ROBERT DALLEK. *Nixon and Kissinger: Partners in Power*. New York: HarperCollins. 2007. Pp. xii, 740. $32.50.

Since the publication of his Bancroft Prize-winning *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932–1945* (1979), Robert Dallek has produced a series of notable books about postwar U.S. presidents. Some have even hit the bestseller lists, an increasingly rare achievement for an academic historian. Dallek's latest

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effort, a joint biographical approach to the foreign policy of President Richard M. Nixon and National Security Adviser Henry A. Kissinger, will likely find another mass audience.

Written in a lively, accessible style, it is replete with telling, colorful, crude, profane, and occasionally bizarre quotes and anecdotes drawn from recently declassified Nixon White House audio recordings and Kissinger telephone records. The book dwells at length on the personal ambition, ego, intrigue, double dealing, cynicism, pettiness, and paranoia that its author believes drove the administration's foreign policy during an unusually sordid chapter in U.S. history. Dallek argues that the personal flaws, ambitions, and self-serving motives of his principal actors exerted a significant impact on the making of American foreign policy between 1969 and 1974. The two men, in his recounting, formed a curiously symbiotic relationship. Based not just on a common strategic vision but on mutual need and insecurity, their partnership was also marred from the outset by abiding mistrust, envy, and resentment.

This irresistible story is not a new one, of course. Nor are Dallek's central themes particularly fresh. Readers of earlier works by Stephen Ambrose, Walter Isaacson, William Bundy, Jussi Hanhimäki, Melvin Small, Jeffrey Kimball, and others will find little here, in terms of interpretive framework or overarching argument, that is either surprising or truly original. If anything, most of Dallek's interpretations range from the conventional to the bland to the self-evident. After making the case for the importance of Nixon's and Kissinger's personalities to U.S. diplomatic priorities and behavior during the 1969–1974 period, for example, Dallek observes that "Variations in circumstances as well as region and country also influenced the outcome of their policies" (p. 103). Could there be a place or time for which such an observation would not be true? "Their decisions and behavior left indisputable marks on America and the world," he intones at another point, "and historians will judge what they did" (p. 86). Dallek calls the Nixon-Kissinger Middle East policy "a mixture of failure and success" and labels détente with the Soviet Union a strategy that "flowed naturally from earlier events and assessments of current realities" (pp. 618, 304). The Nixon-Kissinger partnership, he concludes, led to "some impressive achievements," particularly the China opening, but also produced "notable failures": Vietnam, India-Pakistan, and Chile prominent among them (p. 623).

The strength of the book lies less in its insights or analysis than in its status as the first substantial account of the Nixon administration's foreign policy based in large measure on a set of unique historical records. The Nixon tapes and Kissinger telephone transcripts offer a remarkably candid glimpse into this administration's inner workings. Specialists and general readers alike will relish the naked candor that Dallek finds reflected in those sources. "They hate us, the country, themselves, their wives, everything they do—these liberals," Nixon rants to Kissinger in mid-1970. "They are a lost generation. They have no reason to live anymore" (p. 201). At the height of the Watergate scandal, Kissinger says to Senator Jacob Javits: "with the President facing impeachment, what's been holding things together is my moral authority abroad and to some extent at home. If that's lost we may be really in trouble" (p. 590). When his resignation became inevitable, Nixon tells a confidant: "[Vice President Gerald] Ford has just got to realize there are times when Henry has to be kicked in the nuts. Because sometimes Henry starts to think he's president. But at other times you have to pet Henry and treat him like a child" (p. 610).

Countless examples of equally revealing comments can be found throughout this provocative book, making it recommended reading for scholars of modern America. It proves less a polished work of interpretive history, however, than an early report from the archives. The author's odd habit of referring to Kissinger as "Henry" throughout the text—while never calling Nixon "Richard" or "Dick"—and his use of "we" as a substitute for the United States will be off-putting to many readers, as they were to this one. More serious limitations derive from Dallek's failure to take ideas and ideology seriously, to weigh the structural forces impinging on U.S. foreign policy during this period, or to see Nixon's and Kissinger's actions through non-U.S. eyes. Despite the existence of important memoirs, documentary records, and secondary works that would have permitted Dallek to apply a wider angle of vision, his book remains a relentlessly U.S.-focused, and mostly White House-centered, tale.

ROBERT J. MCMAHON
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MICHAEL B. KATZ and MARK J. STERN. *One Nation Divisible: What America Was and What It Is Becoming*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 2006. Pp. xi, 349. $37.50.

Michael B. Katz and Mark J. Stern perform a neat bit of professional arbitrage with this book. Like political scientists or economists, they exploit the invaluable Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) and Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, but they address a broad and ultimately unanswerable historian's question: what was the experience of being American in the twentieth century? Using quantitative data, they are able to argue with precision why a synthetic view of modern U.S. history should emphasize diversity, inequality, and the effect of government on both. And throughout, they keep an eye on what their book might mean for the American present.

Katz and Stern characterize the early twentieth century as a period influenced heavily by globalization—the operation of world markets in capital, labor, and goods—emphasizing principally immigration. Migration from Europe inspired western movement within the U.S., influenced the growth of the American economy, and contributed to inequality within it. The au-

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thors respect the diversity of immigrant populations, noting that different groups behaved differently; Italians, for example, acted and fared differently from Russian Jews. They note that the multicultural republic of the early twentieth century spanned countryside and city, North and West, but generally left out the South.

Having sketched this map of the American twentieth century's headwaters, the authors move downstream to take up one of their major themes: the paradox of American inequality—which is to say, even as individuals belonging to minority groups have made gains, the relationship among groups has remained more or less the same: "poverty among blacks has declined dramatically even though the ratio of black to white poverty remains about the same or is worse. Women have demolished one gender barrier to work after another, but still earn much less than men" (p. 64). The authors tell a series of "inequality narratives" that show how women could have entered the workforce in such numbers while staying on unequal terms: automation of industry created more low-wage service jobs at a time when more women were seeking work. Likewise, the expansion of public employment in the middle of the twentieth century played a key role in helping African Americans out of poverty, while putting black workers in a relatively low paid section of the economy—not to mention one dependent on the whims of elected representatives.

Katz and Stern then devote a chapter to shifts in family structure, using the microdata from IPUMS census samples to create a picture of how Americans went, in a hundred years, from living in households with big families and boarders to living in ever smaller family configurations. Federal policy, including for example Social Security and the GI Bill, played a key role in this story, by allowing the invention of the retiree—i.e., an independent oldster rather than a poverty-stricken elderly dependent—and the suburban classes spread far and wide away from kin.

These three chapters—the country at 1900, the complex tale of inequality, and the story of family change—form the historical basis for a fourth, predictive look at "What America Is Becoming." Here the authors incur the problems of writing present-minded history: not the philosophical ones, but the simpler risks of writing history down to date in rapidly changing times. They note that globalization today depends more on trade than on immigration, and in keeping with other scholarship note that low-paid overseas workers can have the same economic effect whether they migrate or not. Which is true, but it scants the question of immigration's political economy, which has recently been in the news owing to the possibility of reintroducing a class of licensed guest-worker non-citizens. They note that the issue of family is now bound up with the cause of gay rights and strong resistance to it, but they could not know that recent polls show increasing acceptance of gay unions. (They might have made more of the consistently larger share of younger Americans who support gay unions, as they will make America whatever it is becoming.) And it seems too soon to accept the proposition, however current in political discourse, that the "twentieth century ended on September 11, 2001" (p. 222).

But this book is an essay, not an authoritative treatment, meant to provoke, not to settle. I enjoyed reading it despite its many lists (inequality has three eras, six features, and is seen through five lenses) and my impulse to disagree with many of the authors' larger interpretations; I really wish they had made more of the "great compression" in inequality in the middle of the century, and its relation to globalization and government policy. But they frame their argument clearly, present data intelligently (almost all the graphs are self-explanatory), and everyone teaching twentieth-century U.S. history should read their book.

ERIC RAUCHWAY
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ROSEMARY A. STEVENS, CHARLES E. ROSENBERG, and LAWTON R. BURNS, editors. *History and Health Policy in the United States: Putting the Past Back In.* (Critical Issues in Health and Medicine.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 364. $24.95.

This volume of essays by notable medical and policy historians serves to fill in some of the gaps in our understanding of the historical development of health policy in the United States, correct some common misunderstandings, and in some cases provide an overview of existing literature. Most of the essays synthesize existing scholarship rather than present new material, but in doing so they often clarify ambiguity surrounding such troublesome topics as the evolving place of long-term care in the Medicaid program, the development of emergency room care, and the nature of the growth of federally funded biomedical research.

The essays all address several key questions that plague historians of health policy, and which are enumerated by editor Charles E. Rosenberg in one of the book's two introductions. Rosenberg points out that the ambiguous role of markets in allocating health resources, the difficulty of evaluating healthcare outcomes, the "imminence and omnipresence of technological and institutional change, and the problems associated with parallel and uncoordinated systems of government all rise repeatedly in the essays of the volume. While it would be hard to describe the book as having an overarching theme, it is true that these questions and ambiguities arise repeatedly in the book's contents.

If there is a single word to sum up this volume, perhaps it is "ambivalence." Rosenberg sets the tone for ambivalence when he leads off his own contribution by claiming to eschew the word "system" when teaching about the U.S. health system, fearing that the word implies a greater level of coordination and intentionality than is in fact true. Other essays in the book reiterate this idea of ambivalence, whether in describing the historical development of our attitudes toward risk, the

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elderly, the government, the private sector, or even the term "patient." Thus, although the essays take on particular facets of the historical development of various health policies (environmental health, research, long-term care, psychiatric, managed care) rather than trying to grapple with health policy as a whole, they each in a small way add to a picture of an ambivalent nation not sure who should provide medical care, who should pay for it, who should receive it, and how its practitioners and scientists should be trained.

A number of the essays stand out. David Rosner and Gerald Markowitz continue their work on environmental health and toxicology in a nicely written overview of the evolving politics of environmental regulation (particularly as pertaining to lead), while Bradford Gray's article on the demise of Health Management Organizations (HMOs) is the first good scholarly piece on the recent evolution of managed care which acknowledges the profound differences between HMOs as originally envisioned, and the watered down Preferred Provider Organizations (PPO) and Point of Service (POS) networks that we have inherited. And Robert Cook-Deegan and Michael McGeary's terrific essay on the National Institute for Health offers a nuanced look at how federally funded biomedical research has changed and grown since its inception after World War II.

Not all essays are equally strong. An essay by Gerald Grob and David Mechanic on mental health policy to a large degree restates material covered by Grob in his own comprehensive trilogy on mental health in the United States, and Lawton R. Burns and Alexandra Burns's piece on the demise of the Allegheny Health System seems more relevant to the work of a healthcare financial officer than one concerned with healthcare policy. While it is always a pleasure to read Rosemary A. Stevens's work, her essay in this collection largely restates findings from her previous excellent books on medical specialization.

These essays are written for professional medical and policy historians, although a few specialists in healthcare policy may find them interesting as well. As healthcare heats up, again, as an important topic in the 2008 presidential race, it would behoove all of us to gain a greater understanding of how, exactly, we got where we are today.

JONATHAN ENGEL
Seton Hall University

JAMES COLGROVE. *State of Immunity: The Politics of Vaccination in Twentieth-Century America*. (California/Milbank Books on Health and the Public, number 16.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press for the Milbank Memorial Fund. 2006. Pp. xiii, 322. $39.95.

James Colgrove's book is an exceptionally well written and well organized work. It is a pleasure to read a book with introductory paragraphs in each chapter that tell the reader where the author is going, summary paragraphs at the end that review where the discussion has gone, and well-placed internal subheadings that organize the material and break up the narrative. The author also writes in an easily accessible style that keeps the reader's interest.

What holds the narrative together is the author's focus on the continual emergence and re-emergence of a conflict in public health and governmental circles over the use of compulsion versus persuasion as the most effective means to get people to use vaccines to protect themselves, their children, and the wider community from diseases such as smallpox, diphtheria, polio, and measles. There are within American culture strong strains of resistance to government interference with individual liberty, especially when it tries to control a person's health or the health of his or her children. The high value placed on individual autonomy and freedom from governmental interference is often coupled with a belief in one of the many varieties of alternative medicine that vehemently oppose the injection of foreign substances into healthy individuals in order to prevent a theoretical danger from infection. This is an important story and one well worth telling, and the author nicely illustrates the twentieth-century's immunization wars by extensively drawing upon archival sources in New York State and New York City—both bellwether jurisdictions—and supplementing them with material from other states and the federal government.

The book is well researched, with excellent footnotes that demonstrate wide reading in secondary and primary sources. It is a pity that there is no bibliography.

The book, although excellent, is not really a "comprehensive history of the social and political aspects of vaccination in the United States" as the dust jacket claims. It simply is not that broad a study, although it contains a great deal of material that does go beyond the basic coercion/persuasion framework. The year 2007 also saw the publication of Arthur Allen's *Vaccine: The Controversial Story of Medicine's Greatest Lifesaver*, which in many ways fits the "comprehensive" history description better. While that book is a less academic one and its use of secondary and primary written sources is less extensive, Allen supplements those resources with information gleaned from a treasure trove of interviews with everyone who is anyone in immunization. The result is an insider's view of the history of vaccination over most of the twentieth century. If one wants to understand the history of immunization in America, and especially if one wants to teach students about it, the Allen study is the book of choice, with Colgrove's work providing useful supplementary reading.

WILLIAM MURASKIN
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City University of New York

KATHLEEN M. BARRY. *Femininity in Flight: A History of Flight Attendants*. (Radical Perspectives.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 304. $22.95.

Exhaustively researched, rich in insight, and written in a brisk, lively style, this is the definitive historical study

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of flight attendants in the United States. Kathleen M. Barry incisively analyzes the changing work experience and occupational culture of this unique group of workers from 1930, when Boeing Air Transport hired the nation's first "stewardesses," to the far less rarefied post-9/11 era of commercial air travel. She meticulously reconstructs the longstanding but largely forgotten history of female flight attendants' activism in the labor and feminist movements as well.

In the 1930s, the airlines recruited stewardesses—who would soon vastly outnumber the male stewards hired in the industry's infancy—from the ranks of professionally trained nurses. But as Depression labor surpluses gave way to wartime shortages, and as the public became more comfortable with aviation, airline employers quietly abandoned that approach. Indeed, the vital role of flight attendants in ensuring passenger safety was deliberately obscured from public view from the industry's earliest development. The many service tasks stewardesses were expected to perform were also rendered invisible by the carefully crafted commercial image of feminine charm and hospitality which defined the occupation's public face. Paradoxically, then, as Barry argues, among the key duties assigned to the jet age's "glamour girls of the air" was to hide the actual content of their work from passengers. Their services were meant to appear effortless, naturalized, a byproduct of their essential femininity.

Stewardesses were not only paragons of femininity but also, by the 1960s and 1970s, sex objects, most blatantly in advertising slogans like "I'm Cheryl, Fly Me!" Not all women flight attendants found such practices objectionable, as Barry notes. And whatever their views on this matter, at the time they were part of an elite, even iconic industry. Their pay rates were high relative to other "women's jobs" (although far below those men employed in the airline industry earned), and they enjoyed seemingly limitless opportunities for travel and adventure. Barry cleverly conceptualizes these privileges as the "wages of glamour" (alluding to David R. Roediger's notion of the "wages of whiteness").

In part for this reason, many more women aspired to become flight attendants than were hired, especially in the industry's golden age. Employers screened applicants on the basis of bodily appearance and personality, as well as age, marital status, and race. The occupation was lily white until the late 1950s, when the emerging civil rights movement first targeted the airlines' racial exclusionism, and even after that it was many years before more than a few token stewardesses of color were hired. Marriage bars and forced retirement at age thirty-two were routine as well, enduring for decades after they had been eliminated in other female-dominated fields. All these practices were challenged successfully after the passage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act in 1964. Flight attendants were in fact the very first to seek redress through that legislation's prohibition on sex discrimination, although it took many years before they achieved their goals.

Among the contributions of this fine book is to expose the ways in which the efforts of flight attendants in the labor movement as early as the 1940s and 1950s both prefigured and laid the groundwork for later workplace demands taken up by second-wave feminists in the 1960s and 1970s. Seeking professional respect and recognition, and despite the high turnover rates that resulted from the age and marriage rules, stewardesses joined unions in droves beginning in the 1940s. From the outset, they were divided among multiple labor organizations, the largest of which were subordinated to the male-dominated pilots' and transit unions. Nevertheless, flight attendant union activists mounted challenges to sex-discriminatory employment practices from the earliest period. Here Barry's perspective complements that of scholars like Dorothy Sue Cobble (*The Other Women's Movement: Workplace Justice and Social Rights in Modern America* [2004]) and Daniel Horowitz (*Betty Friedan and the Making of the "Feminine Mystique": The American Left, the Cold War, and Modern Feminism* [1998]), adding another large body of evidence to demonstrate the continuity between the efforts of advocates for women in the union movement during the 1940s and 1950s and those in the feminist movement two decades later.

Almost immediately after flight attendants finally succeeded in dismantling many of the industry's most discriminatory practices with the aid of Title VII and the broad cultural and political transformations wrought by the feminist movement, airline deregulation led to a sharp decline in their pay, benefits, and working conditions. The industry slump following the 9/11 attacks brought still further deterioration, although the new fear of terrorism finally enabled flight attendants to achieve their long-sought goal of licensing as safety professionals. On the whole, however, their occupation is both more egalitarian and more proletarian in the twenty-first century than ever before. Barry's book is an excellent guide to understanding just how that came to pass.

RUTH MILKMAN
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VICKI HOWARD. *Brides, Inc.: American Weddings and the Business of Tradition*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. 306. $34.95.

Historian Vicki Howard vividly charts the transformation of American marriage rituals from homemade and community-based folk and regional traditions to the current dominant model of the big, white, consumerist wedding. This transformation was part of the broader development of mass consumer culture, which began in the early twentieth century and flourished after World War II. (Indeed, industry painted the big, white wedding as a symbol of what the soldiers were fighting for.) Howard argues that businesses not only played a central role in transforming wedding rituals, but in many cases they actually created them. She shows that success in inventing or changing traditions relied on both new

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business techniques and the ability to build on dominant gender and class perceptions of authority.

The book begins by depicting the diversity of wedding traditions that predated mass consumption, the advent of modern consumerist traditions, and early criticism of modern weddings. The origins of the modern consumerist wedding can be traced back to the norms of nineteenth-century white, middle-class marriages in the northern United States, which involved a sedate ceremony showcasing a virgin bride in white, whose family paid for the wedding dinner. As these ceremonial traditions became more materialist, expanding to include giving gifts to the bride, public disapproval increased. Some critics were concerned that women would marry for money, not love, or that the obligation to purchase a gift pushed people to spend beyond their means. Even businesses that may have profited from the new wedding rituals were uneasy about marketing to families organizing weddings.

Case by case, Howard examines the businesses that invented and transformed wedding rituals. She brings together narratives of the rise of the diamond cartel, the establishment of bridal salons in department stores, the specialization and emergence of wedding magazines linking individual businesses to a broader wedding industry, the transition from artisanal dressmaking to wholesale white wedding dress production, and the move from home-cooked wedding dinners to reliance on the catering industry. Businesses vertically integrated and horizontally combined, giving some sectors considerable influence over the development of wedding rituals. These companies created many of the wedding "traditions" we know today: department stores created bridal registries, jewelers promoted the two-ring wedding ceremony, wholesalers established the dominance of the white bridal dress, and caterers streamlined the available selection of wedding cake designs. All of these new traditions were massively advertised, frequently with movie tie-ins, and were trumpeted as the proper and even patriotic way to tie the knot.

Early criticism of consumerist weddings frequently drove businesses to cloak their innovations in allusions to vague historical traditions. Significantly, most taste professions like etiquette guide authors, bridal consultants, and wedding magazine writers endorsed these new wedding innovations as being entirely in keeping with tradition. Their authority came from three sources. First, these arbiters of good taste frequently had experience in some area of the wedding industry. Second, most of these professionals were women, which purportedly gave them an innate notion of what all brides needed. Lastly, some came from elite backgrounds, which gave the impression that they must know what proper wedding etiquette ought to be and how it might be tastefully adapted.

Howard shows that consumers frequently rejected extravagant new traditions. In fact, sometimes "new traditions" flopped entirely. Male engagement rings, for example, never caught on in the 1920s, despite repeated jewelry industry advertising campaigns. Sold as a gift for women to give to their fiancés, the male engagement ring failed because men had traditionally been cast as the actors in the engagement process: "Men proposed, women got engaged." Howard also shows that parts of the big, modern, white wedding were adopted and adapted by the American working class to fit more modest budgets. But not everyone was targeted as a potential wedding market consumer. For example, some department stores refused to allow African American women to try on wedding dresses. Consequently, a parallel African American wedding industry was created after World War II. Howard also explores the big-business, same-sex wedding industry, which now offers its own spectacular range of goods both at trade shows and on the Internet, where the wedding industry has achieved a new level of "synergy."

Clearly, this book is a fascinating read that has much to offer historians of business, labor, and culture—not to mention anthropologists and specialists in gender and cultural studies. "Marrying" the symbolic concerns of new cultural history with the material concerns of business history is one of the book's considerable strengths. The book's one drawback lies in its organization. Because it is divided into a series of different industry case studies, there is a significant amount of case-to-case repetition that might have been avoided. At the same time, it may be said that these overlapping industry-to-industry findings also underscore the overwhelming strength of Howard's highly cogent arguments.

JARRETT RUDY
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CHRISTOPHER D. MCKENNA. *The World's Newest Profession: Management Consulting in the Twentieth Century*. (Cambridge Studies in the Management of Global Enterprise.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xxi, 370. $30.00.

The title of Christopher D. McKenna's book suggests a send-up. But readers expecting this book to lampoon business gurus as prostitutes are in for a disappointment. McKenna does show that, just as cynics believe, consultants have often sold their chastity. He hopes, however, that management consultants will adopt professional standards and begin to protect their virtue.

The virtue of consultants lies in their offering an inexpensive means of transferring knowledge. McKenna draws on economic theory to argue that corporations' transaction costs for buying knowledge from outside consultants are often less than the cost of acquiring it through their own managers' experiential learning. He demonstrates consultants' economic utility with a detailed account of how they supplied Lukens Steel with vital strategic knowledge at relatively low cost in the middle decades of the twentieth century.

America's anti-trust laws make consulting a legally less problematic way of transferring knowledge than interfirm cooperation. McKenna superbly shows how the

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legal defeat of Franklin D. Roosevelt's National Recovery Administration and its implicit vision of an associative, corporatist state was a triumph for management consulting. Moreover, by mid-century the Truman administration tilted toward buying knowledge from external consultants rather than developing knowledge internally in the civil service, launching today's "contractor state."

Equally lucid is McKenna's account of how managers of non-profits came to rely on consultants, of how American consultants internationalized the consulting market, and of how, when the world market for strategic and structural knowledge seemed saturated in the 1980s, McKinsey and Company invented a new management tool to sell: the now omnipresent idea of corporate culture. One of McKinsey's consultants carried the nebulous idea of culture change to his new role as a senior manager at a now deceased but infamous energy company in the 1990's. Jeffrey Skilling's and Enron's misdeeds, along with the collusion of the Arthur Andersen consulting firm in covering them up, inspired the separation of auditing and consulting functions by the 2002 Sarbanes-Oxley Act. That legislation only increased the need for management consultants to advise firms on how to obey the new regulations.

McKenna concludes that we would all be better off if consultants adopted a professional ethic. He rightly dismisses claims that professional standards can be no more than window dressing for the amoral operations of power. He would have done still better to point out that recognition of that danger provides the only safeguard against it. It would also have been an improvement to have told this fascinating and often sordid story with a lighter touch. Nevertheless, this is an excellent and important book.

JAMES HOOPES
Babson College

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

NICHOLAS A. ROBINS. *Native Insurgencies and the Genocidal Impulse in the Americas*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 289. $39.95.

Nicholas A. Robins's carefully constructed book analyzes three cases of subversion against the Hispanic colonial government in America that occurred in very different periods. The first was the uprising in the year 1680 of the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico. The second case, which is studied in more detail, is the Great Rebellion whose initial leaders were the mestizos Tupac Amarú and Tomás Catari. That rebellion was initiated in 1780 in the highlands of Peru, today shared between Peru and Bolivia. The last uprising analyzed here took place in Yucatán, Mexico, in 1847.

Robins associates these three uprisings, separated by distance and time, because according to him they all possess a millennarian character. "All of them were millennially inspired, subaltern exterminatory movements that responded to a history of antagonistic interethnic relations, severe socioeconomic disparity, and pressures that threatened the well-being or very existence of the cultures and peoples who led or participated in them" (p. 164). Robins notes that millennarian sentiments are common to all revolutionary movements and thus do not constitute a major novelty. He does not stop here, however, also proposing that the millennarianism of the three uprisings possessed "genocide" or "ethnocide impulses."

From this point of view, the book is without doubt a polemic. It clashes with the most commonly accepted idea that the colonization of Hispanic America was largely carried out through an intense process of miscegenation between Europeans and Indians. The result of this process was a hybrid population, both physically and culturally. It is hard to believe that a society with this composition would have dealt with internal tensions through genocidal or ethnocidal violence. The evidence of miscegenation is too important for Robins to ignore, and he falls into constant contradictions between the thesis he advances and the documentary material he uses to support it.

Unfortunately Nicholas does not discuss the most relevant aspect of these three rebellions: the source of their millenarian tendencies. This is regrettable, mainly because during the last decade the discovery of important documents has clarified several questions related to the Great Rebellion of 1780. Andes millenarianism can be traced to the proselytization of the area by the Society of Jesus. Tupac Amarú, for example, was educated by Jesuits. Moreover, books like the well-known chronicle of Garcilaso de la Vega were based on material propagated by the mysterious Jesuit Blas Valera, a character related directly to the highly controversial "Naples" or "Miccinelli" documents. While the theory of clerical/Jesuit influence on the Great Rebellion is widely accepted, however, in the other two rebellions Robins studies, such influence is less evident, which undermines the author's argument.

In conclusion, this book poses a polemical thesis regarding the character of Indian rebellions in colonial Hispanic America. It would have gained in depth and significance if Robins had investigated and discussed the recent historiography on his subject.

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Universidad de Alcalá de Henares

STEVEN TOPIK, CARLOS MARICHAL, and ZEPHYR FRANK, editors. *From Silver to Cocaine: Latin American Commodity Chains and the Building of the World Economy, 1500–2000*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. 377. Cloth $84.95, paper $23.95.

Thisis a collection of twelve original essays focused on Latin American/Caribbean export commodities. As the volume's three editors note in their introduction, the study of export economies is hardly novel, yet few subjects have sparked more debate among both scholars and non-scholars. In many ways, contemporary strug-

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gles over "globalization" represent the latest manifestation of a long-running conflict over the nature of Latin America/Caribbean's relationship to the world economy. The key contribution (and unifying concept) of this volume is the use of commodity chain analysis to reveal the historical connections among producers, distributors, financiers, and consumers. Largely an outgrowth of world systems theory, the commodity chain concept uses goods, rather than nation-states, as units of analysis. By tracing the elaboration, transport, and end consumption of tradable goods, the volume largely succeeds in its objective of integrating the dynamics of production (i.e., supply) and consumption (i.e., demand). In so doing, the authors challenge dependency theorists' tendency to view Latin American/Caribbean commodity producers as dancing to a tempo determined exclusively by international markets. At the same time, the evidence presented calls into question (neo-)liberal assumptions about "free markets" by demonstrating that, for all of the commodities examined, state actors and policies—in both producing and consuming societies—played crucial roles by regulating tariffs, taxes, labor markets, resource use, and quality standards. Governments often considered to be models of free trade liberalism, including late nineteenth-century Mexico and Brazil, selectively preserved tariffs and provided subsidies even as they courted trade and foreign investors. Finally, by situating the commodities in the context of the world economy, the essays enable readers to appreciate how geographically dispersed activities, including sugar beet production in Germany, coca production in Java, and sisal plantations in Tanganyika, along with changing consumption practices in Europe, Japan, and the United States, shaped "Latin American" economic history.

The commodities examined span the colonial (four chapters) and national (eight chapters) periods of Latin American/Caribbean history. Colonial-era exports tended to be non-perishable goods that offered high monetary returns on what by nineteenth and twentieth-century standards were low-volume shipments. Spanish American silver dominated the colonial period, in part because silver, as Carlos Marichal notes, was both a commodity and an instrument of exchange in Europe and Asia at a time when many different mediums of exchange existed. He argues that the near universal acceptance of Spanish-American pesos resulted from their high quality (debasement was a common practice elsewhere) and stable exchange rates. Marichal also calls attention to a key paradox: very little metallic currency circulated in Spanish America; the vast majority of colonial subjects relied upon other mediums of exchange. Chapters by David McCreery on indigo and a short, suggestive chapter by Marichal on cochineal examine two commodities that merit far more scholarly attention than they have received to date. McCreery's three-way comparison of indigo production in El Salvador, South Carolina, and Bengal reveals important differences in labor mobilization and control, state-producer relations, and access to capital. In contrast, production techniques varied little over time or space. Laura Nater's chapter on tobacco, the first Native American cultigen to gain widespread popularity in Europe and beyond, examines the Spanish monarchy's heavy reliance on tax revenues generated from sales of Cuban tobacco. Nater's analysis is particularly effective in drawing links between the tobacco, silver, and sugar economies in the tumultuous late eighteenth century. For the colonial era, commodity chain analysis serves to reveal that shifting consumption patterns, linked to ideas about taste and "quality," mattered a great deal, challenging rigid notions of state-dominated mercantilist economies.

The nineteenth-century conjuncture of societal transformations throughout the world gave rise to economies of scale predicated on the production, distribution, and consumption of large volumes of low-cost goods. Steven Topik and Mario Samper's essay on coffee commodity chains in Brazil and Costa Rica, one of the volume's best examples of how commodity chain analysis can illuminate the dynamics of production and consumption, demonstrates how both consumers in Europe and the United States, and Brazilian and Costa Rican coffee growers, changed the character of the world coffee economy. Ironically, coffee, the quintessential export crop of the liberal age in Latin America, would be subject to ongoing state interventions to the point that any notion of an open market was largely a fiction during the twentieth century. Mary Ann Mahony's analysis of the rise of cacao production in Bahia, Brazil, simultaneously uses commodity chain analysis to link local and global processes, and critiques the framework for its tendency to marginalize other goods and forms of livelihood that are often vital for understanding how and why people in a specific region decide to produce a given commodity. In the case of Bahia, soil conditions, government forest policies, and regional labor markets all influenced local people's decision to cultivate cacao. Chapters on bananas, cocaine, fertilizers, henequen, rubber, and sugar offer both valuable syntheses of these important trades and nuanced applications of commodity chain analysis that cannot be done justice in the space allotted to this review.

This collection holds together better than most edited volumes in terms of style and content. Specialists in commodities will be familiar with some of the storylines and arguments presented, but the inclusion of both commodities whose histories are little know (e.g., Paul Gootenberg's chapter on licit cocaine), and novel perspectives on familiar goods (e.g., Horacio Crespo's analysis of cane and beet sugar trade regimes), make this a particularly valuable collection. The editors were unable to commission a chapter on animal-based commodities. This is a noteworthy omission since cattle (probably the most diffused commodity in Latin American history) and sheep production formed the basis of Argentina's once-massive export economy. The absence of a chapter on petroleum leaves readers uninformed about the commodity that literally drives contemporary globalization. The weakest link in this

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otherwise strong chain of commodity histories is the far-too-brief conclusion that largely fails to discuss reverberations and dissonances among the individual chapters, or consider the overall strengths and limitations of the conceptual framework.

Taken as a whole, this collection of essays confirms that there is still much to be learned via commodity histories, particularly when scholars employ malleable frameworks that link production and consumption and do not confine themselves to national economies or individual firms. The volume marks a shift in economic history toward greater consideration of the cultural dimensions of consumption. Unfortunately, it also underscores the dire need for Latin Americanists/Caribbeanists to close the gulf between economic and social/labor historians. In many of the chapters, the significance of the people who performed the work necessary to produce and distribute the commodities is all but ignored. There is a similar marginalization of the ecological dimensions of commodity production and consumption. Consequently, the contributors to this volume say very little about two of contemporary Latin America/Caribbean's most pressing sets of problems: income disparities and environmental degradation. However, this comment should be taken less as a criticism of the work under review than as a reflection on the general state of Latin American historiography. This book is an important contribution to the study of commodities, a must-read for graduate students in Latin American/Caribbean history, and a valuable resource for instructors of undergraduate survey courses.

JOHN SOLURI
Carnegie Mellon University

RUSSELL R. MENARD. *Sweet Negotiations: Sugar, Slavery, and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2006. Pp. xvii, 181. $39.50.

"The concept of the sugar revolution is perhaps the most important idea in Caribbean historiography" (p. 124), but, argues Russell R. Menard, we need to treat this idea skeptically. This is the core of Menard's short but pithy monograph, whose title is taken from the Barbadian planter Richard Ligon's *True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (1673), one of the first published accounts to address the "sugar revolution." Menard challenges the conventional concept of "revolution," most recently expanded by historian of North American slavery Ira Berlin into arguments for the "plantation revolution" on the American mainland. His key argument is that sugar did not bring slavery and plantation agriculture to Barbados but "quickened, deepened and drove to a conclusion" a process already underway when sugar emerged as the island's main crop (pp. xii–xiii). Hence, he suggests, the term "sugar boom" is more appropriate.

In developing his arguments, Menard initially examines the Barbadian economy in the 1630s and 1640s and suggests that sugar emerged not out of depression but "a diversified export boom" (p. 3). Additionally, he queries whether there was a distinct Barbadian path to slavery and refutes the "myth" of the dominance of Dutch finance of a sugar revolution. This myth, he claims, has underestimated the performance of the Barbadian economy before sugar was introduced and understated the role of English merchants in bringing sugar to Barbados. For instance, the four Noel Brothers from London, two of whom came to Barbados in 1647 to develop and manage the firm's island investments, played a key role in developing Britain's American empire (p. 54).

The latter part of the book focuses on the Barbadian sugar industry after the boom. In examining the organization of the sugar industry, Menard challenges Eugene Genovese's contention that Caribbean planters were backward-looking feudal "seigneurs." Rather, he argues, Barbadian planters had to be forward looking and innovative to survive and were the pioneers of the large scale integrated plantation (p. 81). Barbados was the "cultural hearth" for British colonies in the Americas (p. 6), particularly South Carolina and Virginia, and the influence of Barbadian planters was also evident throughout the British Caribbean, spreading the institutions and ideas of the sugar boom. Throughout Menard has enriched his argument with well-chosen illustrations and relevant quantitative data clearly presented in tabular form. There are also a detailed bibliography and index.

Menard is eminently qualified to tackle these issues relating to the origins and expansion of sugar production. A historian of the "Chesapeake school" of scholars of colonial America, he has authored numerous publications on early American economic and social history and is an experienced and respected scholar. In this new book he demonstrates enthusiasm and originality, writes clearly and directly, and maintains an accessible style without losing academic depth or rigor.

Perhaps the key strength of this book is that, in addition to the "sugar revolution" it addresses a number of broader historiographical debates about the nature of sugar production. These include the rise of the "integrated plantation complex" and the slave gang labor system, the role of planter absenteeism, and the profitability of slavery and its contribution to the industrialization of Britain. Menard thus engages with a number of seminal works on Caribbean and American slavery in developing his arguments. In particular, Menard acknowledges the important contribution of conversations with Barbadian historian Hilary Beckles. In his research he found that his own preconceived assumptions (based on the existing historiography) were challenged, reflecting the important intellectual processes that, as historians, we constantly go through when prompted to shift our positions in the light of new evidence.

His book will be a success, argues Menard, if it persuades some scholars to look at the idea of the sugar revolution more critically (p. xiii). He should achieve this aim. As a non-economic historian I found his arguments plausible and thought provoking, but they will

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certainly elicit mixed responses from specialists in the field, particularly economic historians, and stimulate further debate about the origins and expansion of the plantation system. Menard's concept of "sugar boom," as opposed to "sugar/plantation revolution," also raises central questions about how these terms are defined. In sum, this is a gem of a book that should prove essential reading for students and scholars of the Caribbean, and, more generally, the Americas.

BARBARA BUSH
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ASTRID CUBANO IGUINA. *Rituals of Violence in Nineteenth-Century Puerto Rico: Individual Conflict, Gender, and the Law*. (New Directions in Puerto Rican Studies.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2006. Pp. x, 199. $59.95.

Violence, in its many manifestations, was and is a constant in Caribbean life. In this book, Astrid Cubano Iguina looks at individual violence in everyday instances of conflict in the context of the adoption, contestation, and transformation of modernity and the rule of law in Puerto Rico. Streets, taverns, homes, and workplaces become scenes of violent contention as men and women engage in a "plot of tensions and resolutions." Cubano Iguina convincingly argues that "gendered violence is based on archaic notions of male prestige; it is a subproduct of specific conceptions of masculine honor prevalent among dominant, officially white men in a colonial society where African slavery was legal. . . . [It] also constitute[d] a form of private justice or privately administered punishment, and as such it must be studied in connection with state-building processes" (p. 1).

The book looks at a complex society in which domestic violence and ritual violence among men coexisted with the establishment of new codes of law and the increasing reliance of both the rich and the poor on a new criminal justice system. Cubano Iguina takes us through the district court files of Arecibo, Puerto Rico, exploring the meanings of narratives—sometimes contradictory versions—that fed a judicial investigation. She examines court files in a comprehensive way, analyzing not only what she found, but what she did not find in the records. Silences are as important in this work as the voices of people. The region comprised sugar cane plantations in coastal areas, coffee farms in the mountains, cattle ranches in the western hills, and a major port city surrounded by eight towns. By tracing individual lives in particular microcosms, Cubano Iguina explores alternative narratives in contraposition to the changing legal framework of the declining Spanish government and the advent of the North American new colonialism. In the process the book uncovers how the gendered violence involved in men's fights and the forms of violence against women—in particular rape and domestic violence—were related to dominant ideas of white masculinity and conceptions of honor and privilege shared by different sectors of society, including lower-class or darker-skinned people. These prevalent sociocultural understandings served to insert common men and women into the new colonial legal framework, which incorporated notions of domesticity and men's possession of women's bodies as powerful means of fostering modernity.

This book makes an exceptional contribution in at least three broad spheres of knowledge. While it historicizes domestic violence and rape as crimes against women for the first time in nineteenth-century Puerto Rican historiography—in itself an accomplishment—it is a story of masculinity, of male sharing rituals independently of class and race, of learned expression and recognition of prestige, of gendered power. It is also a thorough analysis of the legalization process within a colonial setting, a story of how people began trusting the law and how the law shaped colonial subjects. But in its broader sense, the book is also a story of the expanding "police powers" of the state, incorporating violence into the "modern," socializing citizens across class divisions into the new legal structures of the twentieth century. On the whole Cubano Iguina tailors a study of modernity at the bottom that bridges and explains in an enlightened way how people in a broad spectrum of social and economic levels contested, negotiated, and changed the rule of law. She portrays the rich and the poor, landlords and their workers, "modern" men and women from below who refined the legal system, breaking the old codes of silence.

By providing both a study of the nature of crime in everyday life and an analysis of the passage from violent defense of honor to reliance on the law in defense of honor, Cubano Iguina positions herself at the a vanguard of Latin American legal historians. Her carefully crafted study presents Puerto Rico as an exceptional case in the context of what Carlos Aguirre and Ricardo Donato Salvatore have called Latin America's failure to establish an effective universal legal system. At the same time Cubano Iguina's work represents an outstanding example in the growing field of law and society in Latin America by guiding us through a complex path of appropriation and transformation of the legal by common people in their everyday experience and showing the transforming character of their interaction with the state to produce a new legal system. It is also a social study of law and society: how the law is appropriated, interpreted, and reconstructed by its use in a rapidly changing society. On balance, as Cubano Iguina concludes, "Puerto Rico seems to provide an interesting case study in which the state-led campaigns of control were able to produce a large level of convergence with local needs" (p. 155). By deconstructing concepts such as domestic violence and rape, the book contributes to the understanding of gendered politics in nineteenth-century colonial practice. "Gendered and racially coded violence permeated the key process of the native liberal elite's ascent to power and contributed to shaping political culture" (p. 158). Conceptually rich and anchored in first-class historical research, this book ex-

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pands our understanding about how people know about the law.

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JEFFREY M. PILCHER. *The Sausage Rebellion: Public Health, Private Enterprise, and Meat in Mexico City, 1890–1917.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2006. Pp. x, 245. $29.95.

Jeffrey M. Pilcher breaks new ground in this book on Mexico City's meat supply. The author of the highly regarded and sweeping study's *Qué Viván los Tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity* (1998), Pilcher shifts his focus to a specific commodity and time frame to provide a deep history. This tightly focused study blends political, economic, social, and cultural history to explore the inner workings of meat supply and distribution in Mexico City from the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz to the early revolutionary period. The result is an important study that contributes not only to the new food history of Latin America but also to the burgeoning literatures on public health, urbanization, and business history.

Based on archival research, the book is organized into five substantive chapters. The first chapter consists of a social history of the industry from the colonial period to the late nineteenth century and a discussion of government regulation. The second and third chapters explore the business history of the industry, efforts to modernize the Mexico City meat supply, and resistance to this modernization. Pilcher demonstrates the close relationship between business and the state by showing how the politically connected cattle-ranching Terrazas-Creel family came to control the largest Mexico City slaughter house.

Among the book's important contributions is its exploration of the role of foreign capital in Porfirian Mexico. While nationalist historians initially argued that Porfirio Díaz was captured by foreign capital, over the past few decades a more nuanced portrait has emerged. Nevertheless, Pilcher shows that personal connections with the Porfirian elite yielded significant results. In chapter four, we are introduced to the fascinating story of John W. DeKay and his Mexican National Packing Company. DeKay, trained in U.S. meatpacking technology and strategies, hoped to modernize the Mexican industry by creating a series of meatpacking houses and shipping meat to Mexico City via refrigerated railcars. DeKay and his London backers, after several missteps, won the trust of key members of the Porfirian elite and following the economic recession of 1907 acquired Mexico City's principal slaughterhouse. The DeKay company was positioned to modernize Mexico City's meat supply.

The story culminates in chapter five, "The Sausage Rebellion," where we see that modernization and its efficiencies came at the expense of merchants and butchers while not solving meat shortages and price hikes; this ultimately doomed Dekay's plans. The National Meatpacking Company's control over the Mexico City meat supply was challenged by cross-class mobilizations after the fall of Díaz in 1911. With Díaz gone and a weak central government, there was no central arbiter to stop the popular assault. Without financial resources, DeKay bartered with the government of Victoriano Huerta to sell the Mexico City slaughterhouse to the state. Over time, an authoritarian corporatist system developed in which merchants and butchers gained market security and consumers continued to get fresh meat—but at higher prices. Hence, economic modernization was thwarted by popular, though not democratic, nationalism.

Pilcher's book elevates Mexican food history to a new level by uniting trends in the literature. While many of the early works on food commodities addressed issues of price, production, and supply, they tended to ignore issues of consumption. By contrast, the new food history of Latin America that Pilcher helped to pioneer centers on food, consumer culture, and culinary history. In doing so, it often separates food consumption from the politics of food production and supply and the persistence of hunger and malnutrition. Pilcher links these two approaches, yielding critical insights into the ways that politics, business, and social struggles interact with consumer taste.

Yet, this work's contributions go well beyond food history. Pilcher contributes to the growing literature on the Porfiriato by examining how the system worked in an important but often overlooked arena. While food prices and politics have long been discussed as short-term sparks of the Mexican Revolution, few have examined how the Porfirian elite sought to address these shortages and the resulting problems that ensued. By linking his analysis to social struggles, business history, modernization, and consumer politics, Pilcher treats his readers to a riveting story of how foreign-imposed modernization can go awry.

This engagingly written study reconfirms Pilcher's place as a leader in Latin American food studies. It deserves a broad readership and will be of particular interest to scholars and students of modern Latin American history as well as those interested in food history more broadly.

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JOCELYN OLCOTT. *Revolutionary Women in Post-Revolutionary Mexico.* (Next Wave: New Directions in Women's Studies.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 337. Cloth $79.95, paper $22.95.

Jocelyn Olcott has given her book a remarkable title: it conveys the volume's contents and argument so clearly that no subtitle is required. Throughout the monograph, Olcott continues this rhetorical strategy, eschewing colorful flourishes in favor of clarity and accuracy. The "revolutionary women" of the title would have been easy to romanticize, but Olcott avoids that temp-

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tation. Instead, her analysis of female radical activism in Mexico, from a feminist conference in 1916 through the 1934–1940 presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas, relies on carefully structured comparison based in rigorous research to make its case. Olcott argues that specific initiatives by women activists often failed, but by remaining active in local and national politics, these women redefined the meaning of citizenship in Mexico even as the Mexican Revolution's seemingly infinite possibilities gradually narrowed into a rigid populism.

Scholarship on Mexican political history in the aftermath of the armed phase of the revolution has tended to the binary: either the revolutionary generals were radicals, or they were pragmatic moderates; either Mexico's rulers were honest, or they were corrupt; either the revolution was nationalist, or it was socialist; either Mexicans were patriots, or they were dupes of the United States; either Mexicans were revolutionaries, or they were staunch Catholics. The great wave of revisionist historiography has added nuance to these black-and-white images, of course. Often, though, historians manage this by turning away from national-level politics to concentrate instead on detailed examinations of ordinary people's responses to new policies in a very limited geographical region, or by falling into semantic debates, asking how to characterize policies and politicians. (Scholarly argument over the Cárdenas era exemplifies both trends.) Olcott's research design, comparing activists and activism in five regions over a relatively long period, enables her to build on the best of this scholarship while tackling the biggest questions in the study of modern Mexico: questions about the nature of the state and Mexicans' relationships with it, about how Mexico's economic and cultural transformation was connected to seeming political stability, and about how Mexicans understood themselves, their revolution, and their nation.

Olcott paints a complex picture. The activists she studies sometimes succeeded in setting the national agenda, but more often—especially around the crucial issue of votes for women—they failed. They sometimes focused their efforts on bringing practical improvements to most women's daily lives, but sometimes their energies went into more abstract causes, and sometimes their issues had little or no obvious gender component. Sometimes these activists opposed elements of the national government or its local representatives, and sometimes they were eager to declare their affiliation with one or the other or both. Eventually, all this contradictory detail coalesces into Olcott's underlying argument about "revolutionary citizenship" as a "contingent, inhabited, and gendered" practice (p. 25)—a process rather than a thing.

This is not a perfect book. It is so uncompromising in its refusal to essentialize or romanticize the women it depicts that it misses some opportunities to generate narrative interest by detailing activists' lives and deaths. It is so tightly focused on Mexican political history that it offers only tantalizing hints of women activists' participation in international movements, whether feminist or communist. For example, chapter three opens with this sentence: "In late 1933, Concha Michel returned from the Soviet Union committed to promoting grassroots mobilizations by encouraging rural Mexicans . . . to demand that the revolutionary government intervene on their behalf" (p. 93). This gets right to the point, admirably, but I would have appreciated a bit less authorial self-discipline here. Olcott left me wondering how Michel got to the Soviet Union, what she did while she was there, and what difference the journey made in her life and politics.

But these are minor flaws. Olcott has made an important contribution to the study of Mexican gender history and enriched our understanding of the Mexican Revolution's institutionalization, and her study has implications for historians' thinking about gender, citizenship, and revolution anywhere in the world.

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Todd Hartch. *Missionaries of the State: The Summer Institute of Linguistics, State Formation, and Indigenous Mexico, 1935–1985*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2006. Pp. xxi, 245. $39.95.

This monograph is a careful and interesting look into the development and activities of the controversial Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), a religious/political/scientific organization that became entrenched in the Mexican countryside after its establishment there in 1933. Todd Hartch searches for the reasons that President Lázaro Cárdenas not only permitted but encouraged a Protestant missionary organization, and one from the United States at that, to become involved working with Mexico's indigenous population only a few years after the end of a revolution that was anticlerical in nature. The answer, he finds, is a combination of goals and strategies. First, the nationalistic Mexican government wanted to make use of the organization's offer to learn native languages, develop alphabets, and write primers for teaching so that the groups so served might be brought into a more homogenous, unified nation. Its religious nature was not necessarily a plus, but not much of a minus, as the powerful Roman Catholic Church was the target of its concern rather than the less threatening and, in domestic political terms, almost totally powerless organization studied here. And second, the original founders of the organization, Cameron Townsend and L. L. Legters, severed all ties with religious institutions in the United States, in particular the fundamentalist Central American Mission, before trying to gain the permission of the Mexican government to work there. Third, the founders were shrewd about making important connections within the Mexican government, initially through the leading American scholar working on Mexico, Frank Tannenbaum of Columbia University, and then on their own. Fourth, they offered a service that the Mexican government officials believed was crucial but that, in

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the years of rebuilding after the revolution, they could not afford to undertake themselves. It was, in effect, an offer they could not refuse. These important considerations and mutual interests and needs kept the SIL operating in a reasonably comfortable relationship with Mexican administrations for many years. While the SIL eventually became involved with the Wycliffe Bible Translators in providing indigenous-language versions of the New Testament, evangelization was not heavy-handed. Still, it sometimes had profound consequences as communities became religiously and politically divided.

The SIL remained in Mexico, working primarily through the Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP), until 1979. At that time, rumors (unproven) that the SIL was working with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) began to circulate widely, and concerns among Latin American anthropologists that the organization was damaging the integrity of indigenous communities were heatedly discussed. In September, the SEP canceled its agreements with the SIL. Yet only a little over a year later, the leaders of its Mexican branch met with President José López Portillo and obtained assurances that the problem would be solved in a quiet way. Thus, the SIL's activities were removed from the political furor raised by the new generation of professional anthropologists. By the 1990s, it was back to full strength in Mexico, and by 2002, it had over 5,000 of its members working as linguists in more than fifty nations.

One of the most important contributions of the book is a careful discussion of the attack on the organization led by the generation of Mexican anthropologists coming to the profession in the 1960s and 1970s during the Vietnam War. Concerns about U.S. policy in the Third World were related to attacks on SIL activities in Vietnam. It was accused of having a connection with the CIA in particular and being a sponsor of the growth of world capitalism and its evils more generally, leading to overly hysterical accusations regarding its activities in Mexico. Hartch, in his conclusion, carefully considers these charges. He believes and shows that the SIL, rather than operating as an imperialistic tool of the United States, has been quite deliberately pro-Mexican. Still, he acknowledges that its cooperation with Mexican state objectives has not always been entirely favorable for the communities with which it worked. He convincingly argues, as well, that the "immutable essence" of indigenous culture that the SIL was accused of damaging was illusory; rather he concludes that indigenous culture "had the strength and dynamism to adapt to changing situations" (p. 179). Hartch has given us an evenhanded understanding, based on careful historical research and analysis, of the problems, benefits, and consequences of the involvement of a U.S. religious organization willing to help with a crucial national problem in Mexico.

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CHRISTINE EHRICK. *The Shield of the Weak: Feminism and the State in Uruguay, 1903–1933*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 282. $39.95.

This book is an extremely important contribution to political history and women's studies in twentieth-century Latin America. Christine Ehrick undertakes a sophisticated and knowledgeable engagement with ongoing debates about gender and the welfare state, and takes those debates in new directions. She shows that unlike what has been argued for most places in Latin America, and indeed many other places in the world, Uruguay's welfare state emerged not in the aftermath of the 1930s depression, but within the context of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century concern over "the social problem" of poverty and labor radicalism that accompanied early industrialization. She compellingly proposes that feminist movements played a significant role in shaping the remarkably progressive nature of the Uruguayan state, which granted universal male suffrage, extended health care to the poor, guaranteed labor rights, legalized no-fault divorce, and promoted women's access to education and employment.

As a study of feminist movements in Latin America, this is one of the first monographs to address comprehensively the many feminist tendencies at work at the turn of the twentieth century, and to place the history of those movements into dialogue with broader arguments about state formation and civil society. Ehrick gives a detailed reading of Catholic feminism, liberal feminism, and anarchist/socialist feminisms. Her attention to the feminist nature of elite Catholic women's movements, and her argument that their militancy sprang from the particularly embattled nature of Uruguay's church, are especially important, since the maternalist and anti-divorce stance of aristocratic Catholics, and Catholics more broadly, have too often been dismissed as anti-feminist or entirely reactionary. Ehrick helpfully reads feminist movements as rooted in partisan divisions and as competing for political influence within civil society and the state. Although the secular liberal feminists are the overall "winners" in this story, and believably so, Ehrick carefully sketches the multiple influences of other feminisms as well: for example, the significance of socialist and anarchist critiques of women's workers' exploitation and calls for stricter labor laws, and the detectably Catholic delay of women's suffrage.

One of Ehrick's most important interventions is her proposal that feminist claims, and the state's reaction to those claims, resulted in the "modernization of paternalism," as distinct from the "modernization of patriarchy" that many other scholars have asserted was at the heart of twentieth-century state formation. Ehrick's preference for "paternalism" usefully draws attention to what she argues was the "Catholic Church model" for Uruguay's welfare state. Despite the strict secularism of the Batallista government, its welfare policies reinforced rather than overturned gender and class hier-

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archies, and, in particular, maintained the longstanding corporatist Catholic emphasis on the need to "protect the weak." Ehrick wonderfully underscores the continuity between feminist demands that the state protect women from exploitation (including Catholic, liberal, and socialist demands) and the more general claims of the state that it would ensure class peace by compensating the less advantaged for their lesser power. While "compensatory feminism" forced the "compensatory state" to make meaningful changes in women's lives (guarantees to higher education, labor protections, and the astounding proposal for that day that the government give women preference in state hiring), the underlying idea that women, like workers and the poor, needed protection and guidance by their masculine and class superiors remained intact.

Ehrick makes multiple helpful comparisons between Uruguay and other places in Latin America, the United States, and Europe. Thus, while this is a single-country study, it does a very admirable job placing Uruguay into dialogue with histories of state formation in Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Germany, Britain, and the United States. Ehrick also repeatedly draws on, and makes important contributions as a historian to, the substantial theoretical literature about states. Overall, her book makes a forceful case for the "devil in the details"—the importance of the specificity of state formation within particular national contexts—at the same time that she demonstrates the continuities among modernization projects happening throughout the world. Uruguay emerges in this book not as a peculiar exception to the more well-known histories of "bigger countries" but as a crucial place were transnational processes played out in ways that would matter for other parts of the Americas. As Ehrick concludes, Uruguay created a European welfare state within the context of America's frontier conditions of weak civil society, and feminist movements were crucial to this process.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

Massimiliano Vitiello. *Il principe, il filosofo, il guerriero: Lineamenti di pensiero politico nell'Italia ostrogota*. (Hermes-Einzelschriften, number 97.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2006. Pp. 284. €54.00.

Massimiliano Vitiello's monograph presents a clear and penetrating analysis of the political thought of the Romano-Gothic kingdom in Italy in the first half of the sixth century. Although Vitiello's focus is very specific and deliberately limited to questions pertaining to political thought (pp. 11–12) and its characteristics and developments after the death of Theodoric, his monograph offers an interesting contribution to the larger study of cultural integration between Romans and Goths by studying the phenomenon of integration with respect to ideals of kingship. According to Vitiello, "in Ostrogothic Italy the attempts at romanizing the figure of the king encountered a strong and steady opposition" and ultimately failed, thus preventing a real "integration of the Germanic with the Roman element." The final break with the Roman past was introduced by the Gothic war, which marked a real break between the two periods (i.e., Roman and medieval), and Vitiello boldly concludes that the Roman Empire died then, when "Byzantine Italy stopped to look back and accepted the reality of the present."

The tripartite and polythematic structure of the book is both elegant and easy to follow. As the title indicates, the book is divided into three main sections, and each section is devoted to a Gothic ruler who represents—and is represented in the sources as—the incarnation of different ideals of kingship, both Roman (Theodoric = *princeps*, Theodahad = philosopher) and Gothic (Vitiges = warrior). Moreover, the thirteen chapters that make up the book explore a series of different but complementary themes that illustrate the ideological background of the different models of kingship and the importance of neoplatonic thought in the formulation of the criteria according to which the various rulers are judged.

Vitiello is well aware of the danger that his investigation, based mostly on Cassiodorus's writings and on "Roman" sources, might produce a distorted image of the Gothic kingship in Italy as "too Roman and little Gothic" (p. 13). But he persuasively argues that the myth of Rome and of the Roman past exercised a strong and concrete influence on the Gothic monarchy and played an important role in shaping its policy, thus showing that ideals such as *civilitas* and *humanitas*, which play a prominent role in the sources, cannot be dismissed as pure rhetoric (whatever that means) or empty propaganda.

The first section of Vitiello's monograph (pp. 22–110) is, in the opinion of this reviewer, the most successful and offers a solid basis for the rest of his investigation. Vitiello proposes a compelling reading of the sources and explains how and why the image of Theodoric evolved over time. In the *Excerpta Valesiana*, a somewhat contradictory biography of Theodoric, the Gothic king is presented as a wise and just leader (*sapiens*), but relatively uncultured (*illitteratus*). This image is perfectly consistent with the image of the "best ruler" (*optimus princeps*) dear to Roman imperial propaganda, and, in fact, Theodoric is often compared in the sources with Trajan, the *optimus princeps* par excellence (pp. 22–50), thus establishing some continuity with the Roman past. But the more interesting depiction is found in several letters written by Cassiodorus on behalf of Athalaric, from which an entirely new image of Theodoric emerges (pp. 28–35). As Vitiello demonstrates, the image of Theodoric as the "emperor-philosopher" (*philosophus purpuratus*) of (neo)platonic memory does not find any confirmation in the documentation of his reign, but is an original creation of Cassiodorus. Even though it is not historically accurate, such a depiction of Theodoric should be understood in

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the context of the disagreement at court over the education of the young Athalaric, his grandson and successor. In contrast with the more conservative Gothic faction, which favored the traditional Gothic education based on military discipline and training, Theodoric's daughter Amalasuinta wished to raise her son in conformity with the (neo)platonic (and, in this sense, "Roman") ideal of the just ruler, lover of wisdom and knowledge. The creation of the image of Theodoric as "*philosophus purpuratus*" offers some interesting insights into the philo-Roman perspective that would eventually prevail at court with the ascent of Theodahad, and that constitute the object of Vitiello's analysis in the second section of his monograph (pp. 113–222). The third and final section, by far the shortest (pp. 225–249), examines the change in the ideology represented by the choice of Vitiges and the rejection of the Roman ideal of the philosopher ruler in favor of the Gothic ideal of the warrior king.

The monograph is well researched, as demonstrated by the ample and up-to-date bibliography. Vitiello's prose is usually clear and easy to read, but his excessive use of the exclamation mark is a bit perplexing. Also curious is the incorrect use of some correlative conjuctions (especially "sia . . . che" instead of "sia . . . sia"), acceptable in a colloquial context but odd in a scholarly monograph.

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SUSAN WOOD. *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 1020. $199.00.

A proprietary church is one that is treated as property. The term is a somewhat awkward translation of the German *Eigenkirche*, which Ulrich Stutz proposed in 1894 as a key concept for understanding the Investiture controversy. Stutz argued that the law governing church property in Germany differed significantly from canon law elsewhere in the West because its roots were Germanic, not Roman. From earliest times, Stutz contended, by Germanic law the founder of a church possessed it as his personal property, and as such it could be enjoyed, bequeathed, loaned, or sold as he saw fit. By the eleventh century, however, these private property rights were being threatened by the crown, which was acquiring them for the state, converting them from private to public property, and thereby replacing the *Eigenkirche* system with a unitary state church or *Reichskirche*. This policy was understandably opposed by those whose personal property was being diminished, and accordingly many of them supported the papal reformers, who were seeking to break the emperor's control over the greater churches, both bishoprics and monasteries.

Stutz spent the rest of his life elaborating that thesis, although he never came close to completing his ambitious history of ecclesiastical benefices. Forty years ago, however, Susan Wood took up the challenge to survey the whole history of the proprietary church from its beginnings in the Roman Empire down to its demise ca. 1200, when it was replaced by the canonically correct system of patronage. Wood's project was enormous. Her bibliography (pp. 934–980) lists over 500 sources and 700 secondary works. Her scope, like Stutz's, includes every part of Western Europe for which evidence survives: Germany, Italy, France, Spain, and England, and also occasionally Ireland, Iceland, and Scandinavia. The result is this formidable, fascinating, actually readable book, which "after much cutting" (p. vii) still runs to over a thousand pages.

Before describing the work, let it be said that Wood completely undermines the political aspects of the Stutz thesis: the greater churches of the empire were not proprietary, and the emperor was not creating a quasi-proprietary *Reichskirche*. Although all this is thoroughly demonstrated, it is secondary to the author's primary purpose, which is descriptive and analytic rather than controversial. Indeed, she rejects a nationalistic approach to institutional history and moreover strenuously resists the legal historian's reductive temptation to interpret perplexing documents in conformity with the systematic principles of either Roman or canon law. "Probably no historian now would expect to find a 'Germanic' or a 'Roman' explanation," she declares; "what we have to explain is not a system of law but attitudes and practices taking shape as customary law" (p. 100). As a result, she finds that "Ambiguity, fuzziness, and even paradox may bring us closer to the proprietary church than logic or legal analysis" (p. 739).

For Wood, no one except a bishop could be said to own a church completely, because any other owner's rights were limited by the bishop's exclusive rights to consecrate churches and to ordain the priests who staffed them. Proprietary rights varied greatly, ranging from trivial marks of honor, such as the best pew, through burial and commemoration in the church, a share of the offerings and tithes, nomination of the incumbent priest, and control of the endowment, which included use of the land, renting it out, and—the ultimate mark of ownership—the capacity to alienate the church by pious donation or outright sale. These various rights form a continuum, some proprietors having more, some less, and consequently this history of the proprietary church isolates the several elements and traces the development of each topic region by region within a broad chronological framework.

The beginnings in the Western Roman Empire and the barbarian kingdoms down to about 750 C.E. are treated in part one, which deals with the emergence of lordship, first over secular, then monastic churches (pp. 9–244). The next two parts, which form the central half of the book (pp. 247–726), describe proprietary lordship over churches in its heyday, first over higher churches down through the Investiture contest, then over lower churches until the canonists of the twelfth century whittled proprietorship down to mere patronage. These three parts proceed by scrutinizing the char-

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ter evidence for each topic; the fourth and final part (pp. 729–933) is a selective survey of ideas and opinions about the proprietary church, notably those of Stutz, Hincmar of Rheims, and the canonists.

Wood merits special praise for the clarity with which she introduces and concludes each topic; without her deft summaries, the massive accumulation of detail would be overwhelming. Her pragmatic approach to an essentially legal subject greatly enhances its value for social and economic historians. I would also recommend the book to graduate students as an education in how to interpret and use charter evidence. Finally, although specialists will profit most from this monumental work, those medievalists accustomed to the comparative neatness of the later Middle Ages can learn from Wood, better than from anyone else, how diverse, complex, and evasive institutional history is before the renaissance of the twelfth century.

RICHARD KAY
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BARBARA A. ROSENWEIN. *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 228. $39.95.

In her justly acclaimed earlier work, Barbara A. Rosenwein took dry, overstudied dossiers of early medieval land transactions and breathed new social historical life into them. Her readings of the charters of the monastery of Cluny, and of Berengar I (king of Italy in the early tenth century), revealed social networks of exchange and affiliation largely invisible to earlier generations of scholars—and gave future generations a reason to acquire the technical skills necessary to master these archives. Rosenwein's new book has a similar goal, but a different starting point. Here she pitches camp in the heat of narrative or of epistolary exchange, and looks to move from the human immediacy of the feelings there expressed toward a delineation of historically specific patterns of allegiance in the post-Roman West. The history of emotions, Rosenwein concurs with Norbert Elias, is part of the history of the state; *pace* Elias, she argues, the early Middle Ages have a starring role to play here.

The book opens with a summary discussion of the culture of emotions in the ancient world. This survey of the now rich scholarship on this topic (to which should be added the luminous work of Carlin Barton) rightly observes that classicists have tended to observe traditional periodization, thus colluding with the reflex assumption of modernist colleagues that the "Middle Ages" constitute an unfortunate gap in the development of languages of emotion and identity. The presumption is that in the Christian Roman Empire the "passions" of ancient philosophy were reclassified as "vice": in this view, a rational discourse about human emotions emerges again only at the Enlightenment. Rosenwein's analysis itself falls partial victim here: she suggests that "the Desert Fathers" (considered *en bloc*, and including Evagrius and John Cassian) converted emotions as modes of cognition into "sins of the flesh," thus bringing to an end the Stoic psychological tradition. Gregory the Great (who is discussed separately) is seen to have finished the job by launching a powerful but distrustful discourse of human feeling. One may recall here that Michel Foucault's unfinished *History of Sexuality*, for all of its problems, pointed the way toward a different reading of Christian asceticism as a direct, not a disfigured, heir to ancient philosophical traditions: this path remains to be explored.

The core of Rosenwein's book is a series of four finely turned case studies, centered on late Roman Gaul and early medieval Francia. We are guided through a cluster of funerary inscriptions from Gallo-Roman Trier, Clermont, and Vienne; the warm correspondence between Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus in the late sixth century; the more formal literary exchanges at the court of King Clothar II (d. 629), under the puritan aegisof the monk Columbanus; and finally a shadowy group of texts at the end of the seventh century, expressing political anger through a series of martyr *passiones*. In Rosenwein's hands, these different contexts reveal a palette of affective styles and what she calls "emotional communities." She notes the fluctuations in court fashion from Gregory of Tours onward—from sweetness, to restraint, to self-righteous release—but resists the temptation to draw together a linear narrative of seventh-century Frankish politics. The sources, it is scrupulously observed, are too unevenly distributed; instead, these pen portraits are offered as an incitement to readers to take up the project of medieval emotional history themselves.

Only for the court of Clothar II do we have enough evidence—a dense enough group of letters—to speak with full confidence of an emotional community. Here Rosenwein argues that a male monastic ethic of emotional restraint was punctuated by female outbursts of feeling, such as that evinced in the letters of Herchenefreda, mother of Bishop Desiderius of Cahors. Tentatively, Clothar's court is delineated as one of the sites at which the fateful association was made between women and excessive emotion. What this evocative suggestion does not consider is the possibility that such apparent "excess" was in fact licensed outburst: the role of a bishop's mother may have been to play Monnica to her son's Augustine. Early medieval courtly style was, perhaps, more playful and ironic than we are prepared to consider.

All scholars of the early Middle Ages will want to fall in behind Rosenwein's measured but lethal critique of the infantilizing stereotypes of Dark Age Europe disseminated by scholars of other periods (including the high Middle Ages). Those who accept her invitation to pursue work in this field may want to take their cue from literary scholars such as Michael Roberts (cited, but perhaps underused here), or Joaquín Pizarro, who have shown how to parse the aesthetics of the late and post-Roman periods, and also from specialists in jewelry, weaponry, and treasure. So armed, we can look forward to the time when our sense of the court styles of Brun-

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hild and Dagobert is as well honed (and, for all its risks, as highly commodified in popular culture) as it is for Henry VIII and Elizabeth I.

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DAUVIT BROUN. *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain: From the Picts to Alexander III*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 314. £60.00.

Shibboleths are always monumental obstacles in the revision of history, especially where those almost mystical constructions are themselves ancient. Among the most fixedly ingrained of Scotland's historical traditions are ideas about its ancient independence and the nature of its relationship with England. The foremost contemporary scholar of these issues is Dauvit Broun, whose forensic, almost archaeological methodology in documentary analysis reveals, among many other things, the intellectual evolution of Scottish concepts of identity and independence. Broun's assaults on cherished icons of national identity and articulation of new prescriptions, formulated in over two decades of research and publication, have stimulated academic debates too long left dormant, and underpin much of the current revision of the history of pre–Wars of Independence Scotland. In this volume, he has united key components of his research in an effort to produce a coherent articulation of the strands from which his thesis has been constructed.

As we are warned in the disarmingly frank preface, this book is the end product of many articles through which Broun has developed his theme. It is not, however, a textbook offering a digested overview, nor is it a seamlessly flowing discussion of the central questions of identity, independence, and sovereign status. It is not either, however, merely a gathering of earlier essays, for material has been reworked, extended, corrected, or discarded, and areas of potential overlap have been removed to produce a relatively fluent text. Nevertheless, the book remains essentially a series of linked essays that address aspects of a theme rather than an equally weighted, overarching analysis produced by synthesis and expansion upon earlier work. As a consequence, there are frustrating elisions (for example, what does David I's relationship with Stephen, Matilda, and Henry of Anjou reveal of his views of and aspirations for his kingdom's status?) and, in some areas (e.g., discussion of ecclesiastical independence) the reproduction of originally discrete elements stalls the momentum in the argument at points that satisfied the particular issue or chronological parameters set in the original article but that do not work satisfactorily here. This is most evident in the effective drawing of a line in the discussion of ecclesiastical developments with the provisions of the papal bull *Cum universi*, which gives the misleading impression that the independence of the Scottish Church was established in 1189 and unthreatened thereafter and, more importantly, that the ecclesiastical contribution to theories of Scottish independence moved in different directions thenceforward.

For this reviewer, perhaps the most frustrating void in an otherwise compelling argument concerns the reign of Alexander II (1214–1249). Our understanding of the pivotal importance of this reign has been advanced hugely by Broun's published research on that king's succession, so its effective omission here is both puzzling and disappointing. Chapter seven begins with the proposal that by 1249 "Scottish sovereignty was already well established" in the minds of the kingdom's secular and ecclesiastical leadership (p. 189) and ends with the suggestion that the closing years of William I's reign and the early years of Alexander II's perhaps saw "the uncertain dawning of a new idea: that Scotland was a sovereign kingdom" (p. 206). Neither the manifestations and implications of such a notion in the first half of the thirteenth century, however, nor the process that led from "uncertain dawning" to "well-established" belief are elaborated upon beyond the brief discussion from the original essay of the changes in charter diplomatic traceable from 1221–1222 and the king's simultaneous request for a granting of the right to coronation from Pope Honorius III. Something of seismic proportions had happened in the intervening thirty-five years but you will have to look elsewhere than this volume for discussion of what that was.

Where, then, is the value of this kind of product? It is most emphatically not an undergraduate textbook, although it could all too easily be used as one. Far more, it is a state-of-the-debate presentation, where the author is able to draw together the strands of a prodigious output of work and to reject, revise, or reaffirm components of a still-evolving but essentially mature argument. It is also a book that must be used in conjunction with wider discussions of kingship, political, and ecclesiastical institutional developments and, above all, non-Scottocentric studies of ideas of Scottish independence and the idea of Britain. That may seem grudging praise when there is no doubt that the scholarship represented by this volume is of the highest order, but there is no intended equivocation, for the vision and scope of the work is truly magisterial. In its present form, however, it remains an unfinished oeuvre that tantalizes and frustrates as much as it satisfies, and we must eagerly anticipate Broun's completion of the immense task he has set himself.

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CATHERINE SANOK. *Her Life Historical: Exemplarity and Female Saints' Lives in Late Medieval England*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 256. $55.00.

Until relatively recently saints' lives ranked among the most derided and mistrusted of medieval sources. However, in the last decade or so they have undergone a re-evaluation and rehabilitation that has seen their recognition as important sources not just for religious his-

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tory, but for its social and cultural versions too. In relation to late medieval England, however, it is ironic to note that the vast majority of the historicizing work on saints' lives has been produced by literary scholars, who have shown the ways in which hagiography can be used to shed light upon the society in which it was written and read. In relation to Middle English hagiography the best and most influential work to have appeared in recent years has focused on the lives of female saints. Catherine Sanok's excellent study grows out of this established scholarship to further enhance our understanding of female saints' lives and their utility as sources both for and about women.

Sanok offers astute original analysis of saints' lives' status as texts that, as well as being part of devotional practice, constitute expressions of some key social and political concerns in late medieval English society. The notion of exemplarity is central as she explores the ways in which authors used hagiographic narratives to create models both of history and community. The emphasis that Sanok and others have placed on female saints' lives does run the risk of marginalizing male saints' lives, which are long overdue the kind of nuanced critical approach applied here. However, the focus on female sanctity and a feminine readership clearly reflects a medieval preoccupation, which, as the author shows, is to be found in the circumstances of composition, the evidence of surviving manuscripts, and their ownership. For these saints' lives construct a feminine audience, very often addressed explicitly as such, and proceed with the expectation that women will model their own behavior and practices on those of female saints. Arguably this tactic was largely prescriptive and sought to mold women along approved devotional and moral lines. However, as Sanok shows, the constructed feminine audience for these texts is mirrored in women's increasingly visible role in Middle English literary culture. She notes that there was a particular association between lay women and the patronage of vernacular hagiography and questions why it is that saints' lives have therefore not been considered more substantially in studies of medieval women's literature. Her book goes a great way toward addressing that omission with a lucid discussion of the relationships between the audiences imagined by the texts and the responses of audiences to them. Sanok contends that the medieval women who actually read or listened to these texts did not do so passively, but actively engaged with the contents. Whereas these texts have often been written off by scholars as misogynistic, Sanok argues that they provided women with the opportunity to question some of the regulatory fictions which governed their lives. Such an undertaking could be problematic and even dangerous, as her discussion of Margery Kempe shows; despite being enjoined to imitate these paragons of Christian virtue, when women actually did so their behavior could be interpreted as highly threatening to the social status quo.

The chief sources for this study are largely texts familiar to the student of medieval women, including Julian of Norwich's *Shewings*, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Osbern Bokenham's *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, and Geoffrey Chaucer's *Second Nun's Tale*. But Sanok provides new and fluently argued insight into issues such as their structure, ethos, and import. She also highlights a much less well-known text, Henry Bradshaw's *Life of St. Werburge*, written at the abbey of St. Werburge in Chester. While I disagree with the date she assigns to its composition, and would want to place more emphasis on its status as propaganda intended to uphold the abbey's rights against the encroachment of city authority, nonetheless Sanok makes a very convincing case for the ways in which it contributed to contemporary discourses of national identity. In this fashion she takes issue with the oft-voiced contention that "the nation" is a post-medieval phenomenon. Other medievalists have been making this point with increasing frequency of late, but Sanok is among the first to consider in depth the crucial role that the vernacular lives of Anglo-Saxon saints played in this development in fifteenth-century England.

This book will be of great interest not only to those interested in devotion to saints, but also those seeking to understand the operation of gender ideologies within a particular society, their textual iteration and social negotiation. Above all Sanok demonstrates amply that saints' lives are rich and fascinating sources, and it is a matter for regret that historians still seem reluctant to employ them to improve understanding of later medieval England.

KATHERINE J. LEWIS
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KAREN JONES. *Gender and Petty Crime in Late Medieval England: The Local Courts in Kent, 1460–1560.* (Gender in the Middle Ages, number 2.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 242. $85.00.

The relationship between gender and crime has long been of interest to medieval historians, and Karen Jones's monograph adds much to our understanding of how both criminal activity and the law functioned in response to and as conduits of gendered behaviors. Jones's principal sources are the records of the ecclesiastical and secular courts in Kent: these survive exceptionally well for the local courts of Fordwich, Canterbury, Sandwich, Queenborough, and Romsey for both the later Middle Ages and the early modern period, and collectively they allow Jones to consider a range of issues with regard to the history of petty crime. In particular, these records are very ably mined for what they reveal about patterns of crime, types of crime, and responses to crime as they relate to understandings of gender. Jones brings recent scholarly interest in masculinity to bear on the sources just as much as she considers how women participated in and were affected by criminal activity. This balanced approach to gender is one of the real strengths of this book, and Jones shows quite clearly that although the court records indicate how women continued to be excluded from political

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and social power across time, men were just as affected by the weight of social expectation (or "status anxiety" as Jones, following Alain de Botton, would prefer) based on control (p. 208).

The book opens with a careful introductory chapter that sketches the relevant historiography, the particular sociocultural circumstances of Kent during the period under consideration, and an outline of the sources. Some sensible cautionary comments are included here in relation to the pitfalls of quantifying incomplete data (although Jones in fact does a very good job of providing as much quantification as she can). The second chapter deals with property offenses ranging from felonious property offenses to petty larceny, hedgebreaking, receiving, and illegal fishing and hunting. Jones finds that women were not prosecuted for theft as frequently as men and that both men and women were rarely treated with the severity that the law promised to deliver for these offenses. When Jones considers acts of physical violence in chapter three, however, firmer conclusions based on gender are elicited. Jones finds that minor female assaults were often ignored (unlike female scolding or unchastity) and that female brawling was not often classified as assault. For men, however, physical violence was a means of asserting masculine identity, even if the courts defined violence as illegitimate, and Jones argues that this accounts for the frequency of prosecution even in cases where injury did not ensue.

The interesting examples of scolding and defamation are considered in chapter four, where Jones finds that scolding, a gendered offense, was equated with male minor assault and served to "discourage women from using the only instruments they had for their defence—their tongues" (p. 128). Likewise, categories of sexual misconduct reinforced societal and cultural norms of gendered behavior. In chapter five, Jones argues that although there is no evidence in either the secular or ecclesiastical courts of a double standard in the treatment of male and female adulterers and fornicators, the consequences of these offenses differed for men and women. Sexual reputation continued to be enormously important for women throughout this period and Jones shows that although some claims have been made to argue that the same was true for men, the court records reveal that it was much easier for male offenders to recover from a sexual scandal. A double standard did operate in the case of harlots and bawds, who continued to be mainly female and prosecuted for crimes around prostitution much more frequently than men (including male clients of prostitutes). Chapter six deals with specifically gendered crimes, including witchcraft (female), Sabbath-breaking (male), unlawful games (male), and vagabondage and idleness (male). Jones relates these gendered offenses to labor, arguing that women were rarely prosecuted for nonobservance, idleness, and gaming because their work was always "invisible and taken for granted" (pp. 194–195). The mostly (but not entirely) female crime of witchcraft suggests, according to Jones, "an expectation that trouble was more likely to result from women's utterances than men's" (p. 195).

The strength of this book lies in its solid empirical approach. Jones sticks closely to the sources throughout and demonstrates an impressive understanding of the data generated by the Kent courts. The book locates itself within a range of historiographies and is founded on a good understanding of gender history, both as it is reflected in the historical record and as it is practiced by modern historians. Although it is clear in places that the book was originally a doctoral thesis, this in no way hinders the reader from learning much about the intersections between gender and crime in late medieval England.

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DOUGLAS BIGGS. *Three Armies in Britain: The Irish Campaign of Richard II and the Usurpation of Henry IV, 1397–1399.* (History of Warfare, number 39.) Boston: Brill. 2006. Pp. xxi, 295. $137.00.

In recent years there has been a great deal of interest in the deposition of Richard II and in how his usurper, Henry IV, established his regime in England. Given that the coup was, at least at the outset, bloodless, relatively little attention has been given to its military aspects. Yet the subject is worth studying in this context. How was it possible for a crowned king, who had raised an army of over 3,000 in the early summer to campaign in Ireland, to be overthrown by his cousin who returned from exile in France with 300 supporters at most? The question is sharpened by the fact that Richard had left as *custos Anglie* his uncle Edmund, duke of York, who was able to draw on the defensive obligations of royal retainers, nobles not serving with the king in Ireland, and the shire levies, as well as a network of royal castles. As Douglas Biggs has already shown, York was certainly not inactive in his efforts to counteract the threat Henry posed, gathering an army of 3,000 for this purpose. In the present book Biggs explores the military factors at play in the summer of 1399, weaving together the "three armies" of his title.

The construction of the book is skillful. Biggs gives ample space to the recruitment and personnel of the armies, drawing extensively on unpublished royal financial records in the National Archives. This results in useful lists of those involved in military service as well as providing "hard data" on army sizes and composition as correctives to chronicle narratives. Biggs also maintains a robust chronological narrative and gives full attention to historiography. He takes us through the movements of each of the armies and their leaders, up to the denouement of Henry's seizure of the crown. He sets these military considerations against a succinct yet well-elucidated political background. This extends into Anglo-Irish relations through explanation of Richard's reasons for his campaign in what Biggs calls (over-poetically) the "Emerald Isle," as well as into discussions of the motivations of Richard, Henry, Duke Edmund,

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and their supporters. What emerges most strongly is the key role of these supporters. As Biggs points out, Henry was lucky that there were relatively few "Lancastrians" (meaning retainers and officials of the recently deceased John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster) in Ireland with the king, and that the favorites to whom Richard had given Gaunt's estates had not yet placed their own officers within them. So, for instance, Duke Edmund had to cope with resistance from Sir John Pelham at Pevensey castle as well as prepare to move north against Henry. Although he kept Pelham penned up through the shire levies and loyal knights in Sussex and Kent and secured London and the south for the king, the castles of the duchy of Lancaster and others held by Henry's supporters in the north, midlands, and Welsh marches moved quickly into a state of defense to disrupt the royal government's lines of supply and communication. England may have been a small country, but it was impossible to defend both internally and externally. There were also fears of a Scottish invasion and of French attacks on Calais and even England itself. But internal loyalties and defections were equally influential. As Biggs shows, York's army "melted away": as a result, there was no battle with the Lancastrians but simply minor skirmishing until the duke came to an agreement with Henry before the altar of St. Mary's Church in Berkeley on July 27.

Twelve days earlier Henry had likely reached another agreement with the Percies at Doncaster—the castle and honor of which were part of Duke Edmund's own patrimony but which had put up no resistance to Henry. Biggs follows the line that the Percies sought to exploit the situation to their own advantage by playing the role of broker. He downplays the number of troops they brought to Henry's aid, arguing rather that Henry built up his forces by focusing his progress on the Lancastrian heartlands in the midlands. Success bred success, and many nobles rallied to him. By the time Richard returned Henry was "the master of the country." Too few ships were available to bring enough of Richard's army home with the king. Nonetheless, Biggs argues that Richard's response, establishing a base at Milford Haven and then marching north through Wales, demonstrates "a display of one who possessed a sound grasp of political and military strategy." This is the least convincing part of his argument since, as Biggs himself admits, the king failed to raise an army in Wales and Cheshire, and even his household defected to Henry.

The value of this book is that it demonstrates just how much a military conquest the usurpation of Henry IV was, but that the existence of armies does not necessarily lead to war if logistical and political elements dictate otherwise. Biggs's book is an important contribution to the study of 1399, so much so that one can forgive the occasional odd spellings and expressions.

ANNE CURRY
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ANA ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA. *Caballeros en la frontera: La guardia morisca de los reyes de Castilla (1410–1467).* Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educacíon a Distancia. 2006. Pp. 315.

Through much of the fifteenth century the kings of Castile maintained a personal cavalry guard consisting of practicing Muslims and converts to Christianity from that faith. The existence of such a company in Christian Spain on the eve of the culmination of the so-called "Reconquest" and the reign of the Catholic monarchs might seem surprising, but it is merely another manifestation of a venerable Mediterranean practice in which rulers recruited regiments from among members of religious minorities or outsiders. The tradition has particularly deep roots in Iberia, where it can be traced back to *al-khurs* or "silent ones," the bodyguard of Frankish and Slavic slaves who had been employed by the Umayyad princes of Córdoba as early as the ninth century, and forward to the Moroccan *regulares* whom that fascist would-be crusader, Francisco Franco, used with such brutal effectiveness in the Civil War of the twentieth century. Ana Echevarría Arsuaga's book examines the "Moorish guards" of the Trastámara dynasty, who served under John II (1406–1454) and Henry IV (1454–1474). It is a study based primarily on a single archival fond, the "Raciones moriscas" or account books recording disbursements to members of the guard and to other Muslims who were employed by the royal court. Armed with this data, the author sets out to investigate what she characterizes as a privileged elite within the *mudéjar* (native Muslim) population that existed within an environment of "continuous interchange and *convivencia* with Christians" (pp. 14–15), and promises both to contextualize the "Moorish guards" within the broader Mediterranean tradition and to compare Christian and Islamic practices of outgroup military recruitment (p. 16).

The first chapter, "Cristianos, mudéjares y granadinos: tres caras de una realidad política," presents historical snapshots of the crown of Castile, its *mudéjar* communities, and the Kingdom of Granada in the period in question. With the exception of the brief second part, which confines itself to generalities, these consist of narrative political histories recounting in detail the *res gestae* of the kings and nobility. They are based heavily on previous studies and comprise a sort of extended introduction. This continues through most of "Los caballeros moriscos, de la frontera a la corte," the second chapter, which focuses in minute detail on the comings and goings, raids and retreats of the Christian and Muslim nobility along and across the frontier with Granada, and the various intrigues and disputes which plagued the Madrid court. It is out of this environment that the "Moorish guards" emerged, although, as the author acknowledges, Christian kings had been employing Muslim mercenaries for centuries.

The third chapter, "La Guardia 'Extranjera' del Rey," begins with a discussion of the transformation of royal armies in fourteenth-century Europe from beingad hoc feudal enterprises to regimented, professional standing forces. The author holds that the foundation

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of the *guardia morisca* reflects this trend. There follows a discussion of the command structure, equipment, and number of troops, along with information relating to their salary and to special dispensations they received. Members of the guard, whether Muslims, Christians, or *conversos*, wore Muslim-style outfits and arms, a fact the author relates not only to the exigencies of their particular character as light cavalry, but to her assertion that the corps served as a "vehicle of conversion" (p. 137) to Christianity. In the fourth chapter, "La conversión de los Caballeros Moriscos," Echevarría Arsuaga engages with the subject of the study, effectively tracing the careers of various members of the corps: individuals and families spanning not only the Christian-Muslim divide but the frontiers of Granada, Castile, the crown of Aragon, and the Maghrib as well. The author distinguishes between members who converted out of opportunism and those who may have been genuinely religiously moved. By way of conclusion, chapter five, "La disolución de la guardia morisca," describes the abolition of the *guardia*—a victim of the struggle for power between the crown and the nobility, it seems, as much as from any religio-cultural concerns. Finally, a documentary appendix contains editions of extracts from the "Raciones moriscas" that form the basis of the study.

The book provides a well-documented and thoroughly researched look at an intriguing episode of Muslim-Christian relations in late medieval Spain, but suffers from a lack of overall coherence. The detailed early chapters do not clearly build an argument, and often lengthy comparative digressions are not revisited subsequently. Some of these comparisons, such as the repeated equivalence of the *guardia* to Muslim *mameluke* regiments, are awkward. Nor is the relationship between service in the guard and conversion and acculturation clearly theorized. Iberianists will appreciate the material the author has provided for consideration, but the reader is, for the most part, left to draw his or her own conclusions, both over the course of the book and at the end.

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Joël Blanchard. *Philippe de Commynes*. Paris: Fayard. 2006. Pp. 584. €28.00.

Joël Blanchard has already done well by his subject, having published *Commynes l'Européen: L'invention du politique* (1996), an edition of Philippe de Commynes's *Lettres* (2001), and an edition and translation of Commynes's *Mémoires* (2001, 2004). These works represented Commynes acting on or reacting to his world; the present book studies him as the subject of that world. Blanchard's remarkably rich picture is based on Commynes's writings, the events of his busy career, and the records of about forty civil actions telling about his property relations; still, most of the book is inevitably a narrative of political history. There are maps, genealogies, pictures, an index, and a fine bibliography, but no notes, which is a serious defect in what is otherwise an excellent scholarly monograph. It is also a hard-to-read monograph, not because of its style, the limpid French of yesteryear, but because its intensely detailed account of actions narrated with inadequate organizing generalizations tends to overwhelm a nonspecialist reader.

Born 1445 in Renescure in Burgundian Flanders to a family of ennobled patricians, Commynes served first the dukes of Burgundy, then King Louis XI of France, as councillor, official, diplomat, and agent. His offices, the pensions and lordships that he received, and a rich marriage made him an important man in his own time, but his main interest to historians lies in his memoirs (he invented the genre), which make an immediate impression of penetrating realism, analyzing actions in terms of interests and calculations rather than through the *topoi* of late chivalric culture. Some critics have impugned the memoir's veracity, but Blanchard argues that modern scholarship has vindicated its data and that in general "it is an unchallengeable source for the political, economic, and military history of its time" (p. 445). At the same time it shows "an interest in such values and notions as public utility and public interest, the same ones that animated the texts familiar to the Burgundian intelligentsia" (p. 32). For while Commynes did not know Latin, he would have absorbed these ideas directly or secondhand through the several legal and philosophical treatises and "mirrors of princes" then available in French translations, a number of which were in his very respectable collection of books, often with marginalia showing that he read them (p. 445).

We see him in action, however, not as a reader but as at first an all-purpose courtier at the court of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy at Lille in 1464, when he was nineteen years old and assigned to serve Philip's son, the future Duke Charles the Bold. Later Commynes held important offices, went on diplomatic missions, and played a prominent role in several of the tense, sometimes dangerous relations between Charles and the king, in the course of which, in August 1472, he switched sides from the one to the other. Much later, from 1489 on, he would compose his *Mémoires*, with an account of the years 1464–1483 in books 1–6, finished 1493, and a narrative of the Italian campaign of King Charles VIII in books 7–8, dictated 1495–1498. He died in 1511.

A crucial point in Commynes's life was his passage from ducal to royal service. It has been seen as a breach of faith, arguably the view of Commynes himself, who would have constructed his *Mémoires* to show that his decision was justified. Blanchard (p. 101) sees this as a simplification. Charles the Bold had been acting against his suzerain Louis XI, whose life he had just come close to threatening, and this would have justified vassals of the duke in deserting him for the king. Indeed, such shifts of allegiance were common "in a time of transition when the bonds of direct suzerainty were loosening while in France an absolute monarchy was emerging

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and the idea of the nation state was getting stronger" (p. 111). This is perhaps an exaggeration but it points in the right direction. At the same time, of course, men calculated benefits. If Commynes lost all his Burgundian positions and revenues, they were more than made up for by the generosity of Louis XI, and the king was moreover a better lord: Charles the Bold was subject to rages and fits of cruelty, while Commynes's Louis was not the devious plotter of, say, Sir Walter Scott's *Quentin Durward* (1824) but a mild and unassuming man, always decent and generous in his treatment of his officials.

There is vastly more in this book than I have been able to indicate—about Commynes's array of lordships and properties, about his judgments of men and affairs, and about the structure of his world, which is treated judiciously and aptly in a rich fifty-page conclusion that a reader in a hurry might want to begin with.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

Conal Condren. *Argument and Authority in Early Modern England: The Presupposition of Oaths and Offices*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 399. $95.00.

Conal Condren, an accomplished scholar of early modern political thought, has now taken as his subject seventeenth-century English understanding of, and reactions to, offices and office holding. As he puts it, the book "is intended as a change of direction for, and an exploration of the implications of, the literature on early modern office" (p. 2). This statement is deceptively modest, for Condren's subject has far-reaching implications for our understanding of the politics and the political thinking of the early modern world.

Condren's book is a challenge on more than one level. First, unfortunately, it challenges readers not well versed in the language of political philosophy. Even in their contexts, sentences such as "Thus, the postulation of, as it were, a quasi-deontological office acted as a counter to the implications of a world defined by the diverging ethical expectations of different offices, implications that if left unchecked might terminate in a Carneadean moral skepticism" are difficult to unravel (p. 85). Your common or garden-variety Ph.D. in history might be inclined to turn tail and flee this jungle in search of the sunlit uplands of historical narrative. But doing so would be an error, for Condren's work is a challenge in another, far more rewarding way: it challenges much current wisdom about early modern politics and thought.

Condren takes aim at scholars who too frequently impose anachronistic interpretations on their subjects. "Whenever evidence is silent, the past is easily assumed to nod in agreement with our priorities or assumptions" (p. 247). This he is determined not to do. The question, as he puts it in his epilogue, is "how far what is presented is a mythic misconstrual of something else we have come near to forgetting" (p. 352). Particular targets of the book are scholars purporting to uncover liberalism, or a "public sphere," or individual moral autonomy before the eighteenth century. In particular he offers a respectful but vigorous critique of Michael Braddick's work on state formation in England. These scholars do not, he argues, fully appreciate the seventeenth century's understanding of oaths and offices.

This might seem an arcane—and not very interesting—way to approach early modern politics. But Condren argues that understanding the concept of office is fundamental because "an official perspective on the world was pervasive" (p. 20). Everyone in seventeenth-century England held an office of some kind, from servants to sovereign. This is a much broader definition of the term than we would accept today, encompassing categories well beyond magistrates, bureaucrats, and members of Parliament. It included the "office" of peer of the realm, priest, as well as wife, husband, son, daughter, and servant. Every individual's relations with everyone else was a function of their particular office. All officers had privileges: masters with servants, fathers with sons, wives with children. All officers had duties and responsibilities both to their superiors and inferiors. The value of this worldview is that it provided a means of fixing everyone in his or her place within a hierarchy of office, suppressing individuality and supporting order.

Where there was conflict—and of course the seventeenth century saw plenty—it centered "in disputes over office, who might rightly claim it, or suffer its imposition, and how its vocabularies of justification and accusation might be deployed" (p. 22). Condren does not see an old-fashioned dialectic in which early modern England moved by stages from absolutism to liberalism. In fact he argues for an extended "long seventeenth century" "marching boisterously past 1715" (p. 321).

Parts one and two of the book focus on the nature and language of office holding, but part three shifts ground, considering oaths and their significance. Condren is most interested in coronation and loyalty oaths, for they illustrate some of his arguments about "office talk." Coronation oaths represented a means of describing the nature of sovereign power, and as such they became loci for conflict, as different actors sought to define sovereignty in their own way. Loyalty oaths were "attempt[s] to shore up trust in society," but they were also meant to bind broken parts of the hierarchy together. The stress upon oaths is an important one; Condren's focus on their significance in political thought also suggests that oath-taking (and breaking) might be more important for our understanding of seventeenth-century society than we in this secular age have realized.

Condren has made an important contribution with this book. His determination to avoid anachronism and to treat the early modern period on its own terms is exceptionally thought-provoking and will certainly

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stimulate debate among historians, political philosophers, and literary scholars.

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GILLIAN DARLEY. *John Evelyn: Living for Ingenuity*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 382. $40.00.

Gillian Darley's book is the first complete biography of John Evelyn (1620–1706) to appear since the cataloguing of the Evelyn archive, acquired by the British Library in March 1995. It makes extensive use of Evelyn's letterbooks (Add. Mss. 78298–9) to supplement the chronological information provided by Evelyn's own accounts of his life, the autobiographical "De vita propria" and the "Kalendarium," which Evelyn worked up from earlier notes and then began keeping as a more straightforward diary, probably from 1684. In general, Darley deploys material derived from Evelyn's letters well to weave a rich and detailed narrative of his life, which is presented in strict chronological order. Relationships with family and with close friends, notably Margaret Godolphin and Samuel Pepys, come to play the predominant part in the chapters that describe Evelyn's mature years, after 1660. This is in keeping with the emphasis of earlier accounts of this period of Evelyn's life, notably those of W. G. Hiscock, Guy de la Bédoyère, and Frances Harris. These writers had access to broadly the same sources as Darley, whose account is fuller but more cluttered than Hiscock's (*John Evelyn and His Family Circle* [1955]) and much less intellectually adventurous than Harris's *Transformations of Love: The Friendship of John Evelyn and Margaret Godolphin* (2002).

Harris indeed represents a hard act to follow. Darley's work shows little sign of the careful contextualizing and sympathetic reading of Evelyn's letters and writings, which were often designed to conceal personality and feeling as well as to communicate details of fact, that is the great strength of Harris's book. She is unable to repeat Harris's trick of rescuing Evelyn from the dull worthiness that dogs his prose and that, taken with his royalism and his piety, helped to secure his popularity with Victorian readers. It is therefore hard to believe that Darley can emulate the popular success enjoyed by Claire Tomalin's 2002 biography of Pepys. Despite their friendship, their shared work for the navy (in which Pepys took the lead), and their common interest in natural philosophy and the Royal Society (where Evelyn was comfortably in the van), the personalities of Evelyn and Pepys were very different. That the witty and sexually adventurous Pepys appeals easily to a modern audience does not make the task of Evelyn's biographer any simpler.

Darley, however, appears insensitive both to issues that would have puzzled seventeenth-century contemporaries of Evelyn and to ones that must bemuse modern readers. It is too straightforward to treat Evelyn's religion as that of "an Anglican of simple tastes" (p. 51). Darley bypasses Evelyn's worship in the 1650s, when the public services of the Church of England were suspended. She largely ignores the contradictions of a man whose faith consisted mostly of practical devotion and anti-Catholicism, yet whose friends included leading advocates of ceremonialism (in particular, John Cosin) as well as many Catholics. She pays remarkably little attention to the surviving books from Evelyn's library, and thus neglects the heavily annotated Bible (Add. Mss. 78360–1), which reveals much about Evelyn's surprisingly apocalyptic attitude both to the church and to scripture. This book was also intended by Evelyn to be a token in his exchanges with Godolphin, had she outlived him. In analyzing Evelyn's personality, Darley might have profited from considering the list of his sins that he drew up on his sixtieth birthday, which began with his failings as an eight year old. Modern readers will require the more detailed exposition of Evelyn's sexually charged spiritual relationship with Godolphin that Harris provides. They may well be puzzled by Darley's paternalistic interpretation of Evelyn's marriage to the twelve-year-old Mary Browne. Darley deals best with Evelyn's travels and intellectual activities in the 1640s and 1650s, and with his career as a public servant from the mid-1660s onward. She is most informative about Evelyn's architectural interests and schemes, especially those for a naval hospital. She is surely right to see Evelyn's work for the navy as a partial fulfilment of the quest for patronage that played a role in his publications as a virtuoso. Even here, however, her perpetual coyness about the state of Evelyn's finances erects obstacles to the reader's understanding of motivations and achievements.

Darley has read Evelyn's diaries and letters with thoroughness and care. Unfortunately, her grasp of the context for his life is weak and derivative. The production of the volume has a hurried feel, since some of the notes are obviously incomplete and every cross-reference is to "p. 000." Clear though Darley's text generally is, it would also have benefited from closer proofreading. Two of the most puzzling errors must stand for dozens of others, since they bear witness to the author's lack of familiarity with her period: the reference to the Rome of "Sixtus X" (p. 220) and that to Evelyn's role in "the fourth" Dutch War in "1680–4" (p. 292).

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PETER MANDLER, editor. *Liberty and Authority in Victorian Britain*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 254. $90.00.

In this welcome, if belated, legacy from the "Locating the Victorians" conference held in London in 2001 to mark the 150th anniversary of the Great Exhibition and the centenary of the death of Queen Victoria, Peter Mandler and nine essayists address the state of play in the debate on the relationship between the Victorian state and the society over which it ruled. They do so in a consistently lucid and interesting manner that en-

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hances our understanding of the central state (the local is not directly addressed) while carefully delineating its variegated impact on its subjects, whether male or female, propertied or propertyless, master or servant, taxpayer or pauper, wage earner or company director.

Mandler briskly sets the tone with a wide-ranging review of debates that have followed that on the "Revolution in Government"/"Victorian Origins of the Welfare State" scholarship of the 1960s, the outcome of which, after several Foucauldian detours, has been to reinstate a predominantly laissez-faire state but also to modify the assumption that such a state was necessarily weak. Indeed, as Peter Baldwin shows, in respect of public health and taxation the British state was far stronger than the supposedly powerful centralist states of the continent. Nevertheless, the volume as a whole reinforces the view of a limited, liberal state (as Baldwin shows, even the British sanitationist approach to public health helped free trade in the broad sense) but one capable of powerful, if selective, interventions in society. Philip Harling, in a model synthesis, thus contrasts the Victorian "unobtrusive framework of government" (p. 48) with "the Edwardian State that was sometimes disturbingly authoritarian in its commitment to social discipline" (p. 49). Yet the explanation of the "weakness" of the state is no longer seen to lie in a simple ideological attachment to notions of laissez-faire and the market but in a complex understanding of liberty, a set of liberal values held in common by elite politicians, radical businessmen, and working-class democrats. J. P. Parry in particular emphasizes the importance to Liberals of their patriotic defense of "English institutions" against despotism, militarism, and socialism but also stresses the centrality of Christian values, whose role within the state often divided rather than united Liberals. E. F. Biagini distinguishes Radicals from Liberals by their attachment to democracy but also notes the importance of Home Rule for Ireland in revitalizing popular radicalism; even so, he suggests that radical Unionist opposition to Home Rule, with its emphasis on the empowerment of the imperial executive, was a more telling route to "true radicalism" (p. 123).

Liberty for women also divided those, like Elizabeth Garrett, for whom the state promised the employment of expert knowledge from those, like Josephine Butler, for whom the state threatened active citizenship and individual responsibility. Moreover, Liberals, while ready to open up some civic institutions to women, could at the same time be markedly authoritarian towards them, as Helen Rogers shows in her detailed account of the Contagious Diseases Acts. Yet, even more paradoxically, as some evidence in this chapter suggests, some of the immediate "victims" of state regulation (in this case, prostitutes in dockyard towns) preferred the light touch of occasional medical inspection by the state to the threatened heavy touch of voluntary moral reform, with the prospect of two years "discipline" in reformatories. For such discipline was also the counterpoint to the weak state, for if Victorian Britain lacked the "bureaus and barracks" of the continent it was replete with agencies of individual moral reform. These were often closely linked to voluntary religion but also to the Church of England, which as Arthur Burns shows in a nicely revisionist essay, retained a greater physical, religious, and social presence than is sometimes allowed.

If religion and moral reform failed, the resources of the law were ever present. As Margot Finn's ambitious essay reminds us, while there was no neat transition from status to contract, legal processes changed fundamentally as summary processes in inferior courts replaced county court actions for the vast majority of offenses, while litigation for civil offenses rose enormously, forty percent between 1847 and 1871 alone. The law, rather than the market, as Paul Johnson shows, also remained fundamental (before 1875) to workplace discipline, while, as some Evangelicals had feared, the introduction of limited liability legislation also provided an escape route for the wealthy from the discipline of market failure.

Finally, to explain why within limits a weak state worked in Britain, the nature of civil society itself is crucial. As Mandler suggests in his introduction, Victorian society may have been unusually "stable, compliant, and well-aligned" (p. 2) with the state's goals. But was more needed? Harling bravely advances the notion of "politically speaking, an era of remarkably good feelings" (p. 33), while Boyd Hilton, with William Ewart Gladstone as his exemplar, approaches the issue of moral disciplines by engagingly dissecting the transition from "the age of revolution" to a "society suddenly more at ease with itself" (p. 242) in the 1850s. In doing so, he intriguingly, but not entirely convincingly, resituates the Victorian crisis of faith in the years before 1850.

These essays offer, albeit sometimes in very different ways, new perspectives on the perennial issue of the nature of the Victorian state while complementing the recent historiographical interest in civil society. Even so, some imbalances survive. The weight of the volume is very much toward the third quarter of the nineteenth century, W. L. Burn's "age of equipoise"—no bad thing in itself, but one which reveals the unwieldiness of a unified "Victorian Britain." This also dictates an emphasis on liberal dominance, and it is surely odd that Conservative approaches to issues of liberty and authority make little appearance alongside Liberal and Radical ones. In particular the suggestion in Parry's essay that as Liberals became more interventionist, so Conservatives took up the theme of liberty might have been usefully pursued. Appropriately for a volume dedicated to the late Colin Matthew, Gladstone rates twenty-seven references in the index, but possibly Lord Salisbury, who ruminated much on authority and liberty, deserves more than one. There is also some uncertainty about whether the empire is being put back in along with the state. For example we have a long and fascinating section on colonial law but nothing on equally pertinent topics such as colonial liberalism or

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the authority of the Church of England in the empire. Inevitably as with any collection that assesses current debates, some of the contributors draw extensively on work already published elsewhere. But as a whole editorial authority and authorial liberty have combined to produce a clear and coherent set of essays that should commend itself to a wide range of readers.

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DANIEL J. COHEN. *Equations from God: Pure Mathematics and Victorian Faith*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Mathematics.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 242. $50.00.

Studies of the interplay between mathematics and religions have increased in recent years. While such relations decreased after around 1750, they remained relatively strong in Britain. Thus it is appropriate that their manifestations in the Victorian era be studied. But chapter two of Daniel J. Cohen's book interrupts the Victorian narrative, for it treats the Harvard professor Benjamin Peirce (1809–1880), who fits by chronology but not at all by geography.

The main strength of the book comes from Cohen's archival research, which provided him with several good sources of information. But otherwise much is at sea. Two issues must suffice here.

First, Cohen emphasizes the place of pure mathematics, but his initial example is the discovery of Neptune (pp. 1–5), a classic example of applied mathematics. His failure to discuss applied mathematics is especially odd, for not only was it the strongest sector of Victorian mathematics but sometimes it also involved factors of religious concern, such as the (pantheistic?) aether. The author correctly notes G. G. Stokes, who gave the Gifford lectures (a religious series) in the early 1890s on "natural theology" and yet left out mathematics almost completely (p. 168). This peculiar abstention is evident in contemporary Victorian Christian applied mathematicians, and is worthy of more attention.

Cohen's failure to consider applied mathematics leads to mistakes. For example, the eighteenth-century Swiss mathematician Leonhard Euler, "though devout, knew . . . that it was ridiculous—even comical—to mix mathematics with his religion" (p. 161). But in mechanics Euler did invoke God, to guarantee the generality of a principle called "least action" and also the stability of the motions of the planets around the sun.

The second issue involves the Victorians' noteworthy contributions to symbolic logic. Their initial interest in logic was due largely to the revival initiated by Richard Whately with his *Elements of Logic* (1826), but Cohen mentions him only twice and his book not at all. Further, in referring always to "mathematical logic" the author overlooks a basic difference. Two of his major figures are George Boole and Augustus De Morgan, who from the 1840s applied algebras of different kinds to logical theory—further explicit examples of applied mathematics. Cohen correctly locates religious elements in Boole's logic, such as the universe "1" associated with Unitarianism. But he is surely mistaken in claiming the American Unitarian William Ellery Channing as a major religious influence (p. 40): this status belongs to the prominent British ecumenist F. D. Maurice, whose portrait was set by the side of Boole's deathbed. The place of De Morgan, "Christian unattached," seems less clear here: his introduction of the logic of relations is largely a secular matter. Furthermore, in 1828 he was not founder professor of mathematics at the University of London (p. 110) but at London University, which was an explicitly secular institution and a university only in name, without a charter.

While De Morgan did introduce the term "mathematical logic," he meant only symbolizations of logic of any kind; terms such as "algebraic logic" have long characterized the tradition to which he and Boole belonged. "Mathematical logic" was reintroduced in the 1880s by the Italian mathematician Giuseppe Peano, and two distinguished practitioners were late Victorians Alfred North Whitehead and Bertrand Russell. The differences between these two logical traditions are fundamental; for example, the mathematical logicians were strictly secular, and they applied their logic to mathematics, not the other way around. They also drew heavily upon the set theory of Georg Cantor (though not his own religious concerns), whereas the algebraists handled collections in the traditional part-whole way. Thus "Cantor also forged ahead in developing Boole's mathematical logic" (p. 163) is maximally incorrect; as well as the type of Boole's logic, Cantor explicitly avoided any logic of his day.

As is suggested by the comments above, this book is littered with mistakes small and big. Some are ludicrous, such as the young Russell in the mid-1890s spending "time in Germany studying with cutting-edge mathematical theorists" (p. 179) whereas he was actually closeted with the Social Democrats. Cohen has read the work of some historians, including "Ivar Grattan-Guiness," but many other historical writings are missing, including those of Karen Parshall, Tony Crilly, Sloan Despeaux, Maria Panteki, Adrian Rice, and Andrew Warwick.

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M. ANNE CROWTHER and MARGUERITE W. DUPREE. *Medical Lives in the Age of Surgical Revolution*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy, and Society in Past Time, number 43.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 425. $120.00.

Revisionist assessments have encouraged historians to rethink traditional progressive narratives of the rise of modern surgery and the introduction of antiseptics. M. Anne Crowther and Marguerite W. Dupree's richly researched study builds on this scholarship but eschews conventional accounts of professionalization and institutions to concentrate on the careers of a generation of doctors who trained in Glasgow and Edinburgh be-

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tween 1866 and 1874, a period when Joseph Lister taught in both universities and exerted a profound influence on the students. Many became "Lister's men," apostles of antiseptic practices; this argument is the central theme of the book under review. However, Crowther and Dupree offer more than an examination of how antiseptic practices were transmitted and evolved. By putting an entire cohort of doctors under the microscope, they skillfully show that their professional lives provide insights not only into the enduring influences of training and networks on medical careers and attitudes but also into the nature of surgical and general practice in Britain and the empire.

Starting with a chronological narrative, Crowther and Dupree examine the social background of their cohort and follow them through their experiences of medical school. If small details of dress, fashion, resources, and family circumstances are not forgotten, Crowther and Dupree balance personal accounts with a sensitivity to wider contexts to document how the common experiences of medical education in Glasgow and Edinburgh, Lister's charismatic teaching and ideas, and the networks established during training, influenced the careers and attitudes of a generation of doctors.

In the book's central chapters, Crowther and Dupree move beyond Glasgow and Edinburgh to address the major career paths followed by these students in both Britain and the empire. If they confirm the findings of other revisionist historians of nineteenth-century medical practitioners, they offer further nuances as they explore the choices members of their cohort made and the influences that shaped their careers, emphasizing the importance of networks, patronage, and the varieties of practices doctors followed in Britain and as agents of empire.

For Crowther and Dupree, the important question of how Listerism was applied offers an easily traceable measure to determine how ideas spread and evolved, mixing an approach that implicitly addresses the "high" and "low" science of the bench and the bedside. If this emphasis on Lister's students as agents in spreading antiseptic knowledge is not new, and is at times is a little heavy handed, Crowther and Dupree focus attention not just on the careers of academics and consultants, which often dominate accounts, but also on the careers and practices of general practitioners at home and abroad. In doing so, they present a much-needed assessment of the nature of surgery outside the walls of the hospital that draws attention to how general practitioners were also engaged in experimentation and the construction of surgical knowledge and practices.

Central to their account is the idea that the late-nineteenth century was a period of change in surgery. For Crowther and Dupree, many members of the cohort became agents of the changes that were occurring and, as "Lister's men," were key agents in the spread of antiseptic practices in both Britain and the empire. However, Crowther and Dupree are sensitive to how context shaped practice be it the bold, often experimental surgery of the hospital or the more rough-and-ready, but still antiseptic-driven surgery undertaken in slum tenements or in the far-flung reaches of the empire. Few studies have managed to combine both approaches or offer such careful readings of the nature of British and colonial surgical practices.

However, medicine was not entirely a masculine profession. Crowther and Dupree also attend to the lives and careers of female students who formed an almost separate cohort around Sophia Jex-Blake. As Crowther and Dupree show, Jex-Blake exerted no less strong an influence on them as Lister did on male students, although their discussion of the careers of these early female doctors largely follow the findings of existing accounts.

How these networks—both male and female—were established, how medical schools shaped socialization, and how "high" and "low" science operated provide anchor points for the analysis, but at times Crowther and Dupree are tentative in exploring how they worked in practice. Nor is there room to provide more than a snapshot of the nature of medical education in Glasgow or Edinburgh or of the nature of colonial medicine. These criticisms aside, Crowther and Dupree masterfully document the complex patterns, networks, and choices that shaped the medical careers and surgical practices of a cohort of doctors from the late-nineteenth century to the 1920s both in Britain and in the empire. The sheer wealth of quantitative and qualitative evidence that informs their book, and their championing of the merits of cohort analysis, deserve to be applauded.

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MATHEW THOMSON. *Psychological Subjects: Identity, Culture, and Health in Twentieth-Century Britain*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. vi, 330. $110.00.

Historical writing on twentieth-century Britain has long privileged supposedly more "tangible" social, cultural, and political history over the mental and philosophical world of values, character, ideas, and psychology. It is from the perspective of this major existing historiographical imbalance that Mathew Thomson's highly illuminating book should be especially welcomed, because it is one of the very first to think big (and broadly) in asserting psychology's relevance to twentieth-century British history as a whole. Thus, while offering much to historians of academic psychology, the book's primary purpose and achievement is to provide valuable reading for all modern British historians by demonstrating how psychological ideas interacted with thinking and practice across British society and politics between 1900 and the mid-1970s.

The book's three parts each house several chapters, the first part charting the range of early century psychological movements existing beyond the frequently noted Freudianism, the second psychology's role within education, industry, advertising, and medicine, and the

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third its interplay from the 1940s onward with war, social democracy, "permissiveness," and feminism. Throughout, Thomson's analysis is subtle and multilayered. His treatment of feminists' responses to psychology from the early 1970s is an example, as he shows how the belief that psychology was an establishment force oppressing women through diagnoses of mental illness that ignored social causes of female unhappiness coexisted with a belief that therapy and talking could be powerful vehicles for feminist consciousness-raising.

A central argument is the convincing challenge to the idea of a sharp break between a Victorian psychology stressing character, values, and service and a twentieth-century one emphasizing emotional expression, individual fulfillment, and introspection. In fact, Thomson notes, twentieth-century psychology continued to address issues of service and the meaning of life, and to suggest remedies to social and political problems. The 1960s and 1970s, not 1900, are seen as the significant turning-points in both changing society's values and reducing psychology's level of idealism, through the "permissive" society's "more fundamental challenge to the centrality of values" (p. 291) and psychology's growing pessimism about how far it could encourage therapy beyond a base of middle-class enthusiasts. This view that the 1960s marked a complete change of direction in values is widely shared, but it merits greater questioning, partly because liberalization and/or individualistic excess had origins in earlier decades and even centuries and partly because there are so many, varied indicators of society's levels of moral awareness and sensitivity. Thomson, in places, hints at challenging the simplicity of this chronology.

While not analyzing the psychological ideas of the majority of the population, given the top-down and scattered nature of much source material, the book shows that a wider range of people had active interests in psychology than is usually thought. But it also helps explain why systematic engagement with psychology remained a minority interest, whether through popular apathy in the midst of seemingly more pressing daily life, competition with it for the place of dominant discipline of the social from sociology, or hostility on the socialist left to the Labour Party revisionist Evan Durbin's attempts in the 1930s and 1940s to demonstrate the political and social importance of psychology (and so, in their eyes, illegitimately downgrade the centrality of economics to socialism). There was also the assumption within the newly formed National Health Service that psychiatry was a specialist service, not an essential part of general medicine. Nor does Thomson neglect the psychological movements that did not survive the march of "modernisation," noting the interwar appeal of Dimitri Mitrinovic, in part due to his personal charisma and guru-like status.

Although this book offers a very broad view of the history of psychology, it is still largely about Psychology with a capital P, about people who consciously saw themselves as interested in psychology, and often of a fairly technical sort. A broader definition still would incorporate more on people's everyday psychological concepts like personality, character, or emotion. It would also probably demand saying more about society's overall philosophical priorities, including the reasons for it often attaching more importance to the material than the psychological. In one respect, though, the book is perhaps a little too ambitious. It attempts both to highlight "big picture" continuities and changes over seventy-five years and to provide detailed discussions of particular psychologists and psychological movements. Although the book's core themes to a degree bind these two aspects together, one does sometimes lose the wood (psychology's shifting overall social roles, status, and resources) as a result of too many individual trees. Nevertheless, overall this book is a very good and important contribution to what one hopes will be a developing attention to the role of psychology (broadly defined) in mainstream twentieth-century British history.

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MICHAEL MAKOVSKY. *Churchill's Promised Land: Zionism and Statecraft*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 342. $35.00.

Sir Winston Churchill maintained a lifelong relationship, almost always positive, with the Jewish people and with Zionism. Because so much has been written on virtually every aspect of Churchill's life, his relationships with Zionism and, to a lesser extent, with the Jewish community have previously been examined by historians including Michael J. Cohen, Norman Rose, and Sir Martin Gilbert. Nevertheless, it is probably fair to say that a nuanced examination of these topics that is both comprehensive and contextualized remained to be written, and Michael Makovsky has admirably carried this out. Makovsky cites A. G. Gardiner's perceptive remark, made in 1913, that "It is the ultimate Churchill that escapes us." Indeed, Churchill is one of the most difficult of unquestionably great and centrally important modern leaders with whom to come to terms or summarize; perhaps no one has so far conducted this summary satisfactorily, despite the library of works about him. At heart, arguably, Churchill was crucially influenced by his joint Anglo-American heritage, and he always saw the hegemony of the English-speaking peoples as central to the satisfactory governance of the world. Yet he also did many unaccountable things; in particular, in politics he lurched violently over a number of events and causes, often in ways which could not readily be predicted in advance: over tariff reform in 1903–1905; over Bolshevism in 1917–1920; over Indian independence in 1929–1931; and, most significantly, over the rise of Nazism after 1933. On each of these issues Churchill went to the barricades in a way that seemed to many to be extreme and unreasonable. Over the Jews and Zionism Churchill was much of a piece: rather unaccountably, given his background, he was a

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lifelong philosemite and supporter of Zionism, in a way that was unusual among upper-class Englishmen of the time with no apparent Jewish links. Yet, as Makovsky makes clear, there were always lapses: Churchill had nothing to say, for instance, in 1917 when the Balfour Declaration appeared, and in 1921–1922, when colonial secretary, he allowed what became Transjordan to be separated from Palestine and closed to Jewish settlement.

Makovsky writes well and has a wide-ranging knowledge of the sources, including very recent scholarship. He is fundamentally aware of Churchill's long-standing pro-Zionism, and is always ready to grant him the benefit of the doubt when his commitment might well be questioned. For instance, in February 1920 Churchill published a highly controversial article in the *Illustrated Sunday Herald*, "Zionism Versus Bolshevism," in which he claimed that the Jewish people were being torn between supporting Bolshevism—founded, in his words, by a "sinister confederacy" of Jews—and Zionism, and that it was therefore altogether in the interests of the West to support Zionism as a counterweight to Bolshevism among the Jews. Makovsky writes perceptively on this matter, noting both the clear insight in Churchill's article and its dubious qualities: he does not regard it, as have some historians, as evidence of antisemitism.

Churchill's support for the Jews came from several sources: the philosemitism of his father, Lord Randolph Churchill; his respect for an ancient, talented people who had been shamefully persecuted; and his curious conviction, made when repeating a remark of Benjamin Disraeli's, that "the Lord deals with the Nations as the Nations deal with the Jews." Makovsky is searching and even-handed, and brings much new material to light. Yet there is perhaps a sense in which he has not fully explained one of the more unaccountable and permanent strands in the great man's extraordinary career. How his views about the Jews might be linked to the wider and broader component of Churchill's underlying worldview still, arguably, needs to be explained. Those who question Churchill's greatness might do worse than ponder his stances on these issues, on which, like so much else, he stood virtually alone.

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NIGEL YATES. *The Religious Condition of Ireland, 1770–1850*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xxiv, 401. $125.00.

In his earlier books on ecclesiastical history, Nigel Yates has ranged across long periods and varied topics. In particular, he has explored nineteenth-century ritual and its settings. He now brings his expertise to an exploration of Ireland's several confessions. His account, utilizing manuscript and printed sources, compares Irish developments with those in Wales, the Isle of Man, Scotland, France, Scandinavia, and England. As Yates makes clear, there is an abundance of primary material—notably visitations, parochial registers, and bishops' correspondence—that hitherto has been sampled only patchily. In writing of the established Church of Ireland, he has had the help of A. P. W. Malcomson's magisterial study of its dominant figure, Archbishop Charles Agar of Cashel (2002). A later giant, Archbishop Richard Whately of Dublin, has also been investigated. Canon John Crawford's illuminating *The Church of Ireland in Victorian Dublin* (2005) presumably appeared too late to be used. This is a shame since it shifts the light away from the leaders to their humbler followers, both clerical and lay. For the Presbyterians, Yates has been able to draw on Ian McBride, *Scripture Politics: Ulster Presbyterians and Irish Radicalism in Late Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (1998) but not on Andrew Holmes, *The Shaping of Ulster Presbyterian Belief and Practice, 1770–1840* (2006). Even the Catholic Church, to which the majority of the Irish belonged, has so far received uneven coverage. Detailed diocesan histories and episcopal biographies, such as Thomas McGrath's two volumes on James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, continue to be published. Thematic approaches have been adopted in Daire Keogh's *"The French Disease": The Catholic Church and Irish Radicalism, 1790–1800* (1993) and the innovative *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland* by S. J. Connolly, which appeared first in 1982 and in an updated version in 2001.

Connolly has sought to shift the history of religion in Ireland toward its social and cultural functions as well as analyzing the more familiar institutional and political manifestations. Another striking example of this refreshing mode is Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted People: Belief and Religion in Early Modern Ireland* (2002), but it is focused on earlier centuries than those covered by Yates. Yates, while not avoiding the challenging themes that absorb Connolly and Gillespie, generally concentrates on institutions and personalities. In these spheres, he makes effective use of unfamiliar primary and secondary sources. Following the trend of several recent accounts, he modifies the caricature of the later eighteenth-century Church of Ireland as entirely torpid and corrupt. New churches were built, schools opened, tithes reformed, the clergy trained more systematically, and bishoprics culled. Introducing the anachronistic language of the business school, Yates likens the administrative innovation of rural deans to "middle management." Through careful examination of the backgrounds and activities of some bishops, he shows how English preoccupations, such as evangelicalism and Tractarianism, were imported to Ireland, frequently distracting from urgent local tasks.

Most of these developments are refracted through the activities of well-known clergymen. Yates devotes comparable attention to prominent Catholic prelates such as John McHale, James Doyle, and Paul Cullen, and to the controversial Presbyterian leader, Henry Cooke. Yet one of the greatest novelties in the book lies in the quantification of fresh building, principally of churches and glebe houses for the established church. This solid documentation certainly supports the argu-

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ment for vitality and renewal within the Church of Ireland. These initiatives can be paralleled among Catholics and Presbyterians. Such intensive activity raises questions about attitudes and responses among the laity. In historical writing, the issues of belief and practice have tended to become intertwined with the influential, but now disputed, notion, most famously propounded by Emmet Larkin in *The American Historical Review* (1972), of a devotional revolution in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland. Puzzles over religious belief and church attendance, and how they may have changed between 1770 and 1850, are fundamental to understanding political mobilization, social and economic dislocations, and cultural shifts. Yates's book documents and measures some of the changes, and as such lays a valuable foundation on which, it is to be hoped, others will now build.

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ANDREW G. NEWBY. *Ireland, Radicalism and the Scottish Highlands, c. 1870–1912.* (Scottish Historical Review Monographs, number 15.) Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2007. Pp. vii, 224. $75.00.

As the existence of a well-attended conference held at the University of Hertfordshire in 2005 suggests, the topic of the possession, distribution, and cultural meaning of land in Britain has taken on new life recently. Historians of land reform movements in Wales, Scotland, England, and Ireland have begun to envision their topics as interrelated, part of an impulse toward broader landownership and a natural right to the soil that did not discriminate on the basis of heritage or language. Andrew G. Newby firmly situates his study within this school, describing land reform in the Scottish Highlands in the late nineteenth century not as an enthusiasm of deprived rural people, but as just one part of a multifaceted, sophisticated, and international radical movement.

Newby's book has two main goals. His first—at which he completely succeeds—is to evaluate the extent of Irish involvement in the agitation to reform landholding in Scotland between the 1870s and the early decades of the twentieth century. Drawing on newspapers and personal correspondence, he traces the interpenetration of the staff of the Irish nationalist movement into the Scottish highlands, and their involvement with Glasgow reformers.

Before the 1870s, mutual prejudices prevented reformers from Scotland and Ireland from working together: religious differences, the fact that many Irish landlords were Protestants from Scotland, and assumptions about the natural opposition between the industrious Scots and the leisure-loving Irish all clouded the picture. But institutional links began to break down these assumptions. A large Irish migration to Scotland put personnel in place; the Irish Land League had an active branch in Glasgow; and the highlands benefited from the presence of an irrepressible publisher named John Murdoch, who produced the reformist *Highlander*. Across the Atlantic, an audience of émigré nationalists stirred by the *Irish World* funded efforts and watched expectantly.

The Land League sent envoys like Edward McHugh and Angus Sutherland into the highlands and islands, where they built on the willingness of the crofters to resist eviction by force. As Newby shows, these agitators' relative successes depended not only on the crofters' level of mistrust but on the different priorities of the speakers—who favored land nationalization and eventually Home Rule—and the crofters, who gravitated toward the milder solution of "dual ownership" and fair rent.

Divisions within the larger Irish nationalist movement also found a stage in Scotland. Michael Davitt, who advocated larger equalitarian social changes rather than the narrow vision of Irish nationalism favored by Charles Parnell, made Scotland his special project, returning for multiple visits and trying to use his successes to increase his stature at home. Nor was this the only way in which the presence of the Irish could be divisive. In the hands of opponents of Scottish land reform, Irish involvement became a way to discredit the movement and its tactics: were not the crofters more loyal and tractable and rational than the Irish, with their plans of campaign and their boycotts?

The turning point in the story of Scottish land reform came with the 1884 Reform Act, which enfranchised large numbers of Highlanders for the first time. Although attempts to elect crofter MPs were only marginally successful, a Crofters' Bill followed soon after. It provided a mechanism for reducing rents on the Irish model, and, having achieved the crofters' first priority, removed much of the urgency from the movement. Surprisingly, however, even though the agitation for land reform slowed, the pressure for Home Rule did not. The long-term presence of Irish nationalists in Scotland created a favorable field for Home Rule for Scotland as well as for Ireland.

Newby is slightly less successful in achieving the book's second goal, which is to illustrate the continuities among earlier land reform movements (Spenceanism, Owenism, the Chartist Land Plan), contemporary radical movements, and the crofters' movement. National and international figures like Joseph Chamberlain and Henry George did tour Scotland, and the Glasgow reformers who favored land reform went on to found a labor party. But, in this project of tracing the movements of nationalist leaders, the discourse of the movement on the ground—which might be used to draw connections and show cross-fertilization—is largely absent. Also missing is evidence from the crofters, who appear from time to time to wordlessly riot or to welcome or ignore a speaker. Did any of them mount the platform, or write to the newspapers in the service of the movement? Did they sing songs, or wave banners, when they engaged in the Battle of the Braes?

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It is hard to know who was leading whom without this evidence.

Despite these caveats, Newby's book is a well-written, well-theorized, important contribution to the burgeoning literature on land reform and radicalism in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, by showing how Irish nationalists and Scottish radicals worked together and sometimes struggled against each other, he decenters the traditional narrative of radicalism in nineteenth-century Britain, with its emphasis on the English and on Parliament.

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M. J. KELLY. *The Fenian Ideal and Irish Nationalism, 1882–1916*. (Irish Historical Monographs, number 4.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2006. Pp. x, 282. $90.00.

Since the apparent conclusion of the recent conflict in Northern Ireland, a distinctive new tendency has become evident in the writing of Irish history. Whereas much academic historical writing produced in the 1970s and the 1980s was vehemently antinationalist, there is now a tendency for historians to write more sensitively and sympathetically about Irish nationalist movements both past and present. M. J. Kelly signals this new atmosphere explicitly in his epilogue, where he castigates (unnamed) "very distinguished historians [of Ireland]" for adopting a contemptuous tone toward the leaders of the Easter Rising (p. 256). Kelly's elegantly written and carefully researched monograph, by contrast, provides an empathetic, subtle, and balanced account of "advanced" nationalism in Ireland during the critical (and under-researched) period between the end of the Land War (1879–1882) and the 1916 Rising.

Kelly's book does not, however, provide a full account of the activities of the Fenian movement in Ireland during this period. Instead, his book should be regarded as essentially a study of separatist thought in Ireland as it was conceived by "advanced" nationalist activists. The book demonstrates that the "Fenian ideal" was complex, various, nuanced, evolving, part of the texture of Irish society, capable of inspiring strong emotional responses, and intertwined with constitutionalism (rather than being its enemy, as is often supposed). Moreover, Kelly is alert to the way in which the various conflicts and contests within Irish nationalism were as much "a battle of ideas" (p. 208) as a battle of personnel, and the book makes a significant contribution to the intellectual history of Irish separatism, and to the way in which separatist ideas were a part of the firmament of Irish society and politics during this period.

One problem with the approach adopted here is the tendency to not fully consider the activities of grass roots Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) members. In particular, Kelly does not seriously address the involvement of IRB activists in a number of agrarian murders in the 1880s, and neither does he discuss the participation of IRB activists in more general agrarian conflicts between 1880 and 1910. If Kelly had examined, for instance, the ideas and activities of the five IRB members who assassinated Walter Bourke, an unpopular landlord, at Craughwell on June 6, 1882, he might have been less inclined to characterize Fenianism in the 1880s as "bohemianism" (p. 39). However, it could be suggested that the aim of the book is not to provide a full account of IRB activism but rather to examine the evolution of republican or "advanced" nationalist thinking during this period. Even so, Kelly surely misses an opportunity to consider the way in which some local IRB activists were capable of influencing the ideas and strategies adopted by the republican movement as a whole, and to consider the creative interactions between local and "national" leaders. In fact, neither "land" nor "agrarian" appears in the index of this book, and the absence of discussion of this aspect of "advanced" nationalist activity is to be regretted.

Interestingly, James Joyce is cited no less than five times in the index, and the book opens with a discussion of the character of Mr. Casey in James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916). In an illuminating introduction, Kelly describes how the Fenian Mr. Casey sobbed when confronted "with Irish realities" (and especially the tragic fate of Charles Stewart Parnell), suggesting the broader frustration of separatists at the failure of the "Fenian ideal" to lodge itself in the sympathies of the majority of Irish people. But Joyce's Mr. Casey was, in fact, based on Tom Kelly, a friend of Joyce's father and a member of the County Kerry IRB who was prominently involved in local land agitation. This excellent book would have been further improved if the author had investigated the life of the real Mr. Casey, and the thousands of other local republican activists like him.

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JASON KNIRCK. *Women of the Dáil: Gender, Republicanism and the Anglo-Irish Treaty*. Foreword by MARIA LUDDY. Dublin: Irish Academic Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 205. $29.50.

Few male historians have devoted sustained attention to the role played by Irish women in the struggle for national independence. F. S. L. Lyons, in his magisterial *Ireland since the Famine* (1971), repeated the bitter jest that the anti-Treaty side was little more than the "Women and Childers party" (in reference to the role of Erskine Childers and female comrades) but said little else. In more recent years, Tom Garvin's *1922: The Birth of Irish Democracy* (1996) concluded that the "'Mammy's boy' syndrome" led to "psychologically intimidated young warriors and politicians fighting a civil war against former comrades" (p. 96). The philosophy of "Cherchez la femme" remains alive and well in parts of Irish historiography. Jason Knirck's study of the involvement of women in Irish parliamentary politics during the crucial years of the Irish revolution and the post-revolutionary settlement goes much further than

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Garvin in providing an explanation for their subsequent exclusion from the public sphere.

In his preliminary chapter Knirck explains his focus on the female members of the Irish parliament because they "consistently positioned themselves as the very embodiment of Irish republican tradition, both before and after the Treaty" (p. 18). It was the response to their arguments that "triggered a gendered response" from the pro-Treaty government, thereby making politics "a more hostile place for women in the early years of the Free State." The focus of the book is therefore on discourse rather than deeds; Knirck's methodology focuses almost entirely on political language.

One problem with this concentration is that there were only six women elected to the Second Dáil, and not all of them were as vociferous as Mary MacSwiney, sister of the martyred mayor of Cork. This means that there is considerable repetition of a small number of speeches as Knirck doggedly pursues his argument. After briefly examining the rise of female politicians MacSwiney, Margaret Pearse (mother of Patrick and William), Kathleen Clarke (widow of Tom), Kate O'Callaghan (widow of Michael), Dr. Ada English (a Cumann na mBan activist and not a bereaved relative), and Constance Markievicz (an officer in the 1916 Rising and not a bereaved relative either), he traces their contribution to the debate on the constitutional future of Ireland, stressing their emphasis on the sacrifices made by their loved ones. Female politicians participated in a culture in which sacrifice was revered. Their entry point was the fact that they had "willingly offered the sacrifice of their sons, brothers or husbands" (p. 30). Their resistance to the Treaty is explained by Knirck thus: "Mothers or wives or sisters who believed sacrifice was the primary virtue of their fallen relations would be far less likely to subsequently abandon the values for which the men had died" (p. 35). In his argument and marshalling of evidence he relentlessly repeats his argument, but is also selective in his presentation. The rousing speech by Markievicz on her ideal of a socialist republic is omitted, for example, as is any sense that Irish women wanted a future society that was very different from what was being offered by the terms of the Treaty with Britain. The debate over the extension of the franchise to women between the ages of twenty-one and thirty is dismissed by Knirck in much the same terms as Arthur Griffith, as a ploy to wreck the Treaty rather than as a genuine effort to ensure the inclusion of a younger generation into the body politic. The mover of the suffrage motion Kate O'Callaghan's early involvement in suffrage is ignored.

The charge of "emotionalism" laid against republicans is explained by the presence of so many prominent women on the republican side. Kevin O'Higgins was only one of the Cumann na nGaedheal leadership to link the "neurosis" of anti-Treaty republicanism with femininity. For Knirck, this is inevitable and legitimate. His conclusion is that the role adopted by the Dáil women provides sufficient explanation for the right-wing nature of the Free State: "through their positions as guardians of memory (they) barred the Free State from accessing the revolutionary tradition" (p. 142). While the book contains felicitous insights—for example, the description of MacSwiney as Antigone—Knirck's interest in gendering Irish historiography would appear to be at the expense of women's agency.

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NADIA CLARE SMITH. *A "Manly Study"? Irish Women Historians, 1868–1949*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2006. Pp. vi, 216. $69.95.

Nadia Clare Smith's book fills a significant gap in the scholarship on women's historical writing, offering a painstaking and carefully researched survey of Irish women historians through a series of case studies. It exemplifies both the strengths and weaknesses of such a methodology. While it offers a more detailed coverage of the research field pioneered by Mary O'Dowd and Jennifer Ridden, Smith has to work hard to produce an integrated overview. Much of the unity of the book is achieved through her focus on exploring her subjects' careers and publications within the context of developments in specifically Irish historiography and politics: she is more interested in them as historians of their country, than as either women historians or historians of women. But that is the direction in which scholarship on women historians and women's historical writing is increasingly turning.

Smith takes us on a fascinating journey which begins with late nineteenth-century Unionist historians such as Mary Agnes Hickson, who intervened in the debate between J. A. Froude and W. E. H. Lecky on the 1641 depositions, the main historical source for the Ulster Rebellion of that year, by producing *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century* (1884), "an inversion of partisan Catholic histories" (p. 18). She then introduces us to nationalist historians of the same period, notably Alice Stopford Green, whose work challenged Unionist representations of the medieval Irish as barbarians in need of English civilization and colonization. The portrait of the politically engaged Green—who supported the War of Independence (1919–1921) and the new Irish Free State, being subsequently elected as a senator—is succeeded by chapters on early twentieth-century academic historians in the National University of Ireland (such as Mary Hayden and Sile Ni Chinneide, largely republican and politically active individuals) and Trinity College, Dublin (such as the moderate southern unionist, Constantia Maxwell). Drawing on Bonnie G. Smith's perceptive analysis of the impact of disciplinary professionalization on academic career opportunities for women, Smith suggests how the emergence of a "scientific" school of Irish historical studies in the 1930s under R. Dudley Edwards and T. W. Moody served to marginalize or exclude women. Accordingly, in chapter five, she charts the role of nonacademic women historians in the mid-twentieth century, such as the socialist

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and feminist republican historian, Rosamond Jacob, author of *The Rise of the United Irishmen* (1937), which won but an "ambivalent" review from Edwards (p. 145).

While Smith focuses on contextualizing her subjects' works within the world of Irish politics and historiography, she does explore how they contributed to a range of historical specialties and approaches in which women historians in general often acted as pioneers or promoters. Following in the footsteps of Joan Thirsk, she shows, for instance, how Hickson and Margaret Cusack contributed to the development of the local history in the case of Kerry. She identifies how Helena Concannon's *Women of '98* (1919)—a series of "biographical sketches of the mothers, wives, sisters, and lovers of famous men in the 1798 Rebellion" (p. 121)—and other works on Irish convents carried on "an older tradition" (p. 120) of women writing female biography that has been explored by other scholars such as Alison Booth, Rohan Maitzen, and myself. She analyzes how Green's most significant work, *The Making of Ireland and its Undoing, 1200–1600* (1908) was a pioneering attempt to write a social and economic history in the tradition of Green's husband, J. R. Green—a great supporter of Victorian women historians—while Mary Donovan O'Sullivan's and Ada Longfield's work on Irish economic history paralleled that of women historians at the London School of Economics such as Eileen Power and Alice Clark. Scholars of women's historical writing have also suggested their role as popularizers of history and pioneers in the development of contemporary history: Smith highlights the significance of textbook works such as Green's *History of the Irish State to 1014* (1925), Hayden's *A Short History of the Irish People* (1921, 1927), and Dorothy Macardle's *The Irish Republic* (1937), a seminal study of contemporary history that pioneered "a new subfield, lacking in academic prestige" and transformed "a marginal, alternative republican history" into "an orthodox, state-sanctioned national narrative" (pp. 137–138). Smith amply demonstrates how the lives, careers, and publications of Irish women historians can be situated within the international context of women historians and women's historical writing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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Jeffrey Schrader. *La Virgen de Atocha: Los Austrias y las imágenes milagrosas*. Translated by Teresa Sans and Fabián Chueca. Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid. 2006. Pp. 237.

Jeffrey Schrader undertakes a challenging subject in his book: namely, the history of a miraculous Spanish sculpture and the church in which it resides. To date, the Virgin of Atocha, a diminutive wooden statue carved by an unknown artist, has escaped serious attention from art historians. Its medieval origins have been obscured by time and obfuscated by accounts of its miraculous creation. In addition, the sculpture has suffered significant alteration over the centuries. Furthermore, as an *imagen de vestir* (an image to be dressed) taken out in religious processions, this image has acquired the status of folk art, despite centuries of royal patronage. It is precisely the sort of object many art historians overlook. To make the topic even more challenging, the church in which the image is housed, near Madrid's Atocha train station, has been rebuilt over the centuries. The current church, in fact, was erected in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, during the reign of regent María Cristina. Nothing of the earlier structure remains. Despite the difficulties enumerated above, Schrader has produced a factually rich study that focuses on Habsburg artistic patronage at the site.

While Schrader concedes that the Virgin of Atocha is scarcely known today, and the cult's early history lost, he argues that the image was especially important during the reigns of the Habsburg monarchs of Spain's so-called "Golden Age," 1516–1700. In fact, Schrader posits that because of royal patronage, the Virgin of Atocha was regarded as the most powerful madonna in Spain during the Habsburg era. A significant amount of documentation, including sources newly mined by Schrader such as histories of the Virgin's sanctuary, supports his case. Complementing his textual sources, Schrader expands his investigation by reference to other miraculous madonnas in Spain and its empire (including those of Montserrat, Guadalupe, Toledo, and Valencia) and the churches in which they were located.

The book is organized thematically. The first chapter traces the history of Habsburg patronage in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, demonstrating that the Virgin of Atocha's cult became particularly important after 1561, when Philip II moved the court to Madrid. This chapter also offers detailed information about the sanctuary treatise, a literary genre that flourished after the Council of Trent. The second chapter provides art historical information on the sculpture itself, as well as reproductions such as medals and prints. The third chapter attempts to reconstruct the church of the Virgin of Atocha as it stood during the Habsburg years, using texts, documents, and plans, as well as by comparison to other similar sanctuaries in the Spanish Empire. This chapter is especially important because it provides careful documentation of Habsburg patronage at the site from Philip II to Charles II. It also enriches our knowledge of royal architects and painters such as Sebastián Herrera Barnuevo, Juan Gómez de Mora, Francisco Herrera the Younger, Francisco Rizi, Juan Carreño de Miranda, and Lucca Giordano. In chapter four, religious rituals associated with the cult are reviewed. Public processions—organized to ensure the health of the royal family, to commemorate royal births, to celebrate military victories, and to give thanks—seem to have increased in the seventeenth century, especially during the rule of Philip IV. Of particular importance to Schrader's argument is his description of the 1643 ceremony in which the Virgin of Atocha was named patron of the Spanish monarchy. The conclusion

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demonstrates that the Virgin of Atocha remained a royal favorite in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This book will be useful to historians and art historians interested in the history of the monarchy and royal patronage, as well as the history of the city of Madrid. It contributes new information to the study of religious art and architecture in early modern Spain, a topic still understudied given the centrality of sacred art at the time. Schrader's other contribution is methodological in nature. In the face of the total destruction of the seventeenth-century church, Schrader creatively attempts a reconstruction based on reviewing the documentation, locating underutilized textual sources, and comparing it to other known structures, thereby providing a model for others faced with similar predicaments.

It is this reviewer's hope that Schrader's book may inspire additional studies of art and religious devotion. Why did the Virgin of Atocha eventually drop from visibility after its Habsburg heyday? What are the links between royal and popular devotion in Spain? Why do certain artworks become the objects of art historical study and others do not? Further work on such issues, in addition to contributing new factual information, will also move scholarship in new methodological and theoretical directions.

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RUTH MACKAY. *"Lazy, Improvident People": Myth and Reality in the Writing of Spanish History*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 298. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

As implied by the title of Ruth MacKay's study of work, and workers, in early modern Spain, any attempt to cast off centuries of mythmaking faces some eminently quotable opponents. The anonymous British author of the *Trip to Spain: A True Description of the Comical Humours, Ridiculous Customs, and Foolish Laws of that Lazy Improvident People the Spaniards* (1705) enjoys the company of a host of French and other foreign observers (including Montesquieu, for whom, in Spain, "Nobility is acquired by sitting still"), as well as a vociferously self-critical array of Spaniards. It is, in fact, precisely quotation—in the sense of the borrowing of discourse—that has raised the greatest barriers to perceiving the more fluid social dynamic that MacKay proposes as "reality."

Rejecting the fetish of the marginal, MacKay underlines the social centrality of the artisanal and laboring classes of Castile, and of Spanish colonies in the Americas and beyond. She questions the presumption that moral indignity and dishonor were perceived as being inherent in manual labor, and repeatedly indicates the self-confidence of workers as litigants. Involuntary poverty was not necessarily a social stigma, she suggests, and the language of poverty could be strategically coopted. In ways that resonate with recent theoretical concerns about the ethical responsibility of the historian, as well as echoing the ethical framework of workers' self-legitimation in early modern Spain and their continual appeals to the common good, she articulates a sense of moral obligation to the dead. "It is bad enough that these people suffered the occasional indignities of their own era, but they have been forced in subsequent centuries to play roles in other people's mistaken productions about the history of Spain" (p. 98).

MacKay's exceptionally resourceful and sensitive analysis, drawing *inter alia* upon the evidence of municipal archives in Burgos, Segovia, Seville, Toledo, and Valladolid, is clearly responsive to a broader revisionist attempt to rehabilitate Spain retroactively as a fully functioning and active member of the medieval and early modern European community. "Castile was not all that different from the rest of Europe" (p. 4), she avers, later dismissing Américo Castro's essentializing interpretation of the Spanish national character, in a manner now conventional among historians. While one might interrogate the claim in light of the political context that shapes such revisionism—Spain's entry into the European Union, and related anxieties about immigration and the relationship with the Maghreb—and question whether Castro really depicts "a happy religious threesome" (p. 252), it is indeed productive to examine Spanish social history in transnational context. MacKay correctly points out that the preoccupation with idleness and vagrancy was shared by Elizabethan England, that sumptuary statutes were paralleled in Florence and elsewhere, and argues persuasively that a supposedly distinctive concern with racial purity has been overstated: "the Spanish state was not a monolithic entity. There was disagreement within educated circles . . . about the justice and utility of limpieza statutes" (p. 185).

One of the most compelling dimensions of this study, however, is MacKay's treatment of the power of patterns of discourse in shaping representation, and particularly in perpetuating what she envisions as *mis*representation. Picaresque literature, with its own distinctive motifs, cannot be approached as a mirror to social tensions; the tropes of travel literature, rather than reflecting reality, actively shapedreality as travelers perceived it: "Sloth was part of the literature, and travelers saw what they expected to see: bad roads, horrific inns, and inert natives" (p. 216). The situation was compounded by a discourse of colonial lethargy which came to be imposed upon (and absorbed by) the peninsula itself as it was subjected to the domination of external European capitalism, and by the verbal barricades erected by Enlightenment reformers such as Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes (1723–1802). Campomanes's conviction in the urgent necessity of economic revitalization, his desire to break radically with an economic context that was spectacularly failing, outstripped his familiarity with the "real" nature of the early modern guild system. Whereas, in fact, neither civic spirit, nor the common good, nor the work ethic

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were discoveries of the eighteenth century, the Generation of 1898 would reiterate a narrative of ancestral social lethargy.

Yet contemporary, "primary," sources, as MacKay points out, are scarcely more trustworthy. Spanish observers of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries operated within (and could not operate without) a discourse shaped by theological inheritances: notions, for instance, of God as divine worker, creating with his hands a universe in which nothing was idle, of Joseph and Jesus following in his image. Equally, the normative treatises on which historians have often relied respond to classical paradigms—Cicero's *De officiis*, especially—which rarely bore much resemblance to what happened on the early modern streets, and were not internalized by the workers themselves. They thus "reflected as much the authors' need or desire to continue an interpretive tradition as it did what they saw around them" (p. 27). The hands of Jacques Derrida, shaping the notion of the autonomy of culture, are clearly at work in the backdrop of this argument—nothing can be referenced outside a textual and linguistic framework—although MacKay's faith in a single, identifiable "reality," confidently counterposed to myth, would perhaps have benefited from further theoretical reflection. Her concern with an accessible social truth, and with conscious, purposeful, individual agency, resonates with Gabrielle Spiegel's work on "social semantics" and "practice theory"; Spiegel makes a brief appearance in the footnotes but is excised from the bibliography. Hayden White's rethinking of the relationship between history and philosophy is rather hastily dispatched, and Luís Morote's "remarkable" suggestion (in 1900) that the first step on the road to national resurrection "is *knowing which historical era truly corresponds to our ideal*" (p. 249) bears comparison with Friedrich Nietzsche's earlier and Beverley Southgate's later aspiration to "a past from which one would wish to have descended." After all, the retrieval of an alternative, and more optimistic, Spanish past is surely not divorced from (post)modern needs or discourses.

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Sherry Velasco. *Male Delivery: Reproduction, Effeminacy, and Pregnant Men in Early Modern Spain*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 209. Cloth $69.95, paper $29.95.

Sherry Velasco treats readers to a dizzying array of cultural products—movies, plays, illuminations, law codes—to explore the many ways and reasons people have fantasized about making men pregnant. This is a fascinating look at "womb envy" throughout time, hardly confining its analysis to early modern Spain. However, it is the seventeenth-century Spanish interlude in which a man becomes pregnant and gives birth, *El parto de Juan Rana*, that serves as the touchstone of Velasco's monograph.

In the first chapter Velasco begins by discussing the many representations of male pregnancy from the ancient Greeks to Arnold Schwarzenegger. The author marshals everything from St. Augustine to Mikhail Bakhtin, the Bible to Joan Rivers, to introduce the cultural trope of men getting pregnant and giving birth. Velasco presents an equally wide variety of interpretations of male pregnancy, from women wishing to see men suffer in childbirth to men desiring to dominate the means of reproduction.

In the next chapter the author delves into the seventeenth-century Spanish interlude that launched her on this quest to understand all things male and pregnant: *El parto de Juan Rana*. The author links representations of a man giving birth on stage in Baroque Spain with male anxiety over paternity. By imagining such a far-fetched possibility, Velasco argues, the play, in part, satisfied the impossible fantasy that men could give birth themselves.

Widening the scope of her investigation further, from simply the seventeenth century to late medieval and early modern Spain, Velasco uses illuminations, law codes, and medical manuals to make the point that men in Spain worked to regulate women's reproduction and ensure legitimate paternity. Over this long period of time, she argues, male anxiety about reproduction increased, reaching a peak during the height of imperial Spanish power. Velasco is not interested in making this argument the primary point of her work, however, and instead relies on and quotes many historians, sometimes at length, to bolster the point.

Velasco goes on to survey early modern literature produced by Spanish authorities that reveals, she argues, fears of widespread male effeminacy in the seventeenth century. *Arbitristas*—Spanish social and political pundits of the age—blamed the decline of Spanish masculinity as a cause, among many, for Spain's political and economic stagnation. This section of the book, in particular, seems more cohesive than much of the rest of the work; but then Velasco again indulges in more presentism, comparing seventeenth-century Spain, once again, to the United States as depicted by Hollywood.

Taken altogether, this book will be of great interest to specialists in Golden Age literature and gender theorists. Because Velasco makes constant comparisons and references to present-day U.S. culture, the book will likely appeal to undergraduate students unfamiliar with seventeenth-century Spain. Such persistent presentism, linking the Spain of three hundred years ago to modern film on the other side of the Atlantic, makes Velasco's analysis attractive to a wide readership. However, this same presentism may aggravate historians. Velasco's analysis mainly ignores historical contexts, purposes, audiences, and consumption of the works she introduces. The author also simplifies and contorts debates about historical change. The historical change that Velasco makes most reference to is the male appropriation during the early modern period of midwifery. On this much-studied topic, Velasco conflates much historical evidence and simplifies conclusions.

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For instance, the author extends the takeover of midwifery by men into the early sixteenth century, citing medical books on childbirth written by men. Even while Velasco acknowledges that there was a clear gulf between male medical writers and the profession of midwifery, she takes for granted that female midwifery was under siege over the course of the early modern period. In Spain, at least, female midwives dominated the practice well into the eighteenth century. Even in England, as Ornella Moscucci argued in *The Science of Woman: Gynaecology and Gender in England, 1800–1829* (1993), male midwives did not begin to monopolize the work of assisting childbearing until well into the eighteenth century. And when they did, Moscucci argues, this was not caused by a male desire to control reproduction but instead came from a desire by surgeons—many of whom could not compete in other areas—to profit from a new medical niche among the wealthy classes. But if the reader, even the historian, can approach this book with a good degree of open-mindedness and humor, it is thoroughly thought provoking and informative.

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BRIAN D. BUNK. *Ghosts of Passion: Martyrdom, Gender, and the Origins of the Spanish Civil War*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 244. Cloth $79.95, paper $22.95.

The causes of the Spanish Civil War, even more than the causes of most civil wars, are inextricably tangled up with over a century of Spanish politics and culture. But the period between 1931 and 1936, and more especially the twenty months between the failed left-wing insurrection of October 1934 and the military uprising in July 1936, is particularly fruitful for analyzing the political failures, position taking, posturing, threats of reprisal, and rhetorical excess that contributed to that polarization. Spain, as a backward agricultural country, experienced enormous difficulty in coming to terms with the social changes ushered in by modern industry, modernity more generally, and the attitudes that accompanied its development. The power of landowners, the Catholic Church, and years of right-wing governments had insured the perpetuation of cruelly harsh economic inequality and dependency. Spain had in many respects a deeply traditionalist culture, and one that those with power were determined to retain, against the growing claims of a democratic movement that had started to gain legitimate power through the ballot box.

Over the course of the last twenty-five years or so, the history and historiography of this period has become immensely detailed and sophisticated, thanks to a new generation of Spanish historians and to historians such as Paul Preston, Helen Graham, Mary Nash, and many others. But the intricate interplay of politics and culture, belief and action, fiction and reality is the stuff of real life, some of which necessarily gets excluded in political or social histories. Its successful analysis requires a variety of qualities: a sharp and sympathetic historical sense, command of a great range of detail, a capacity to detect nuance as well as broad trends, a capacity to work across different kinds of source material, and a very clear sense of the way those sources shape and color the analysis as it develops. Nowhere are these qualities more necessary than in discussion of a polarized and apprehensive society such as Spain in the year and a half before the Civil War, especially when the discussion focuses on what we can learn about that society from certain commemorations and memorials, which is what this book sets out to do.

Brian D. Bunk rejects the Francoist claim that the Civil War really began with the insurrection in 1934, but he sees in the intense atmosphere of recrimination and counter-incrimination that followed it an opportunity for exploring the role played in political discourse by the imagery and representations used by both sides to describe and commemorate the event. He argues that the depth of feeling surrounding these memorials played a key role in triggering the Civil War. Following James Wertsch's notion of culturally specific "schematic narrative templates" that limit the possible ways stories can be told, Bunk examines accounts of martyrdom and memorialization, and representations of the family and of gender, and uses them to show how violence and extremism were promoted at the expense of the middle ground.

The insurrection failed because it was inadequately prepared and found little support in key locations like Madrid, and because there was no clear leadership. In one area, though, the province of Asturias and its capital, Oviedo, workers took over the main centers and retained control for two weeks before they were defeated and subjected to reprisals and terror. Each side used all the resources at its disposal to memorialize, and often to exaggerate, the uncivilized behavior of the other (although it should be said, despite the even-handed approach of this book, that it was the government-sponsored military repression after the events that displayed by far the greater brutality). Bunk's analysis of these texts (and he focuses on a very small sample) is designed to reveal the extent to which they rely on similar notions of martyrdom, and the dehumanization of their opponents, despite the division between the traditionally devout right and the more secular left. But in order to do this, he needs to keep the argument at a relatively crude sociological level, which at its weakest merely restates the obvious, as when he tells us that the attitudes to gender found in the textual responses and commemorations reflect the attitudes of the society from which they emerged. The book lacks any serious engagement with the underlying reasons for the patterns he outlines, as well as the close textual or visual reading that his sources demand. Words are taken very much at face value and treated as if they were counters for real things. There is a deliberate (I assume) detachment from questions of the truth of the testimony he discusses, in favor of the imagery of terms they employ; but the question of truth matters here, where the motivation of writers and readers is an im-

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portant issue. To be subjected both to brutal and disproportionate repression and to systematic, distorted reportage, as the Asturian revolutionaries were, will affect the ways in which an involuntary martyrdom is figured and read.

Bunk follows the story of the public commemorations as far as 1999 and notes their presence on the Internet. With the increasing attention now being paid to these matters, especially in the aftermath of the Spanish Government's designation of 2006 as the "Year of Historical Memory," historians and anthropologists will find some useful material in this worthy but rather unexciting, flatly written book. But overall it is a disappointing treatment of an important and fascinating subject.

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IAN PATTERSON. *Guernica and Total War.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. 199. $22.95.

This excellent study is more than a survey of the Spanish Civil War; rather it examines what, for the author, constituted the first essay in "the idea of total war": the drive to secure military victory through the decimation, or the promise of decimation, of the civilian population in enemy territory by aerial bombardment. This very terroristic stratagem from above (in every sense) subsequently brought trauma for millions of people in Dresden, Hiroshima, London, Vietnam, the Balkans, Iraq, and Afghanistan, to name just a few places.

Yet first came the Guernica carnage, on April 26, 1937, perpetrated by the Luftwaffe's Condor Legion under the command of Wolfram von Richthofen, cousin of the celebrated Red Baron. Guernica marked the introduction (to Europe) of the saturation bombing of a strictly civilian target, a tactic that had previously been reserved for "inferior" peoples in the colonies. As was noted by von Richthofen: "Fear, which cannot be simulated in peaceful training of troops, is very important, because it affects morale. Morale is more important in winning battles than weapons. Continuously repeated, concentrated air attacks have the most effect on the morale of the enemy." This quote goes to the heart of the deliberate slaughter at Guernica, the defenseless spiritual home of Basque nationalism that had no military significance whatsoever. In a deliberate ploy to maximize civilian casualties, the three-hour air raid was scheduled for market day: eye-witness accounts relate how planes launched repeated waves of attacks with explosive and incendiary bombs, while people fleeing across surrounding fields were hunted and machine-gunned from the skies. General Francisco Franco, who benefited from the demoralization that flowed from this slaughter, was himself a veteran of Spain's vicious colonial war in North Africa, in which Rif tribesman were subjected to bomb and gas attacks from the skies. In a time when revisionist historians seek to relativize the enormity of Franco's terror, Patterson reminds us that the dictator and his troops instilled fear in ways that their republican adversaries, who always maintained the supremacy of political over military command, deemed unacceptable. Thus, the "unpatriotic" republicans balked at the indiscriminate bombing of their fellow Spaniards. In 1997, sixty years after the attack, German authorities apologized publicly for the Guernica slaughter, a gesture that did little to mask the integration of former members of the Condor Legion into West German business, military, and public life after World War II. All the same, the Spanish Right has still to show any such contrition or remorse regarding the atrocities of either the war or postwar.

This study, the publication of which coincides with the seventieth anniversary of Guernica, consists essentially of two extended essays that dovetail elegantly to provide a cultural history of air attack. The first essay focuses on Guernica itself, while the second is concerned with the position of bombing in the popular imagination and offers a most suggestive analysis of the fear of aerial attack. Overall, it an excellent volume, replete with images and a valuable bibliographical essay—although there are passages that might have benefited from closer proofreading.

Patterson highlights the enduring and contemporary relevance of the plight of Guernica, of how the violent artistic prophecies of George Grosz and John Heartfield in the 1920s and early 1930s about the rising power of the military–industrial arms complex were given full expression in Pablo Picasso's immense mural *Guernica*. Picasso's use of black, gray, and white to represent the new barbarism unleashed in Spainhad a profound impact in the age of cinema newsreels, yet such are the raw layers of suffering evoked on this vast canvas that it retains its emotional power today.

Patterson has produced a thoughtful and sensitive analysis of paintings, films, novels, military sources, reportage, poems, and plays to explore the enduring impact of civilian terror and attempts to come to terms with the danger from the skies. Patterson is less concerned with the debate on the death toll at Guernica, something that is arguably impossible to determine given the nature and circumstances of the attack, and prefers to address the wider implications of the raid, its place within the evolution of warfare, and reactions to this. What remains clear is that every age witnesses the creation of a new discourse to conceal inhumanity, so what British military tacticians described as "frightfulness" in the interwar years is today known as "collateral damage." This book will be of immense interest to those interested in the cultural history of warfare.

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WAYNE H. BOWEN. *Spain during World War II.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2006. Pp. x, 279. $39.95.

Wayne H. Bowen's thematically organized account of Spain during World War II argues that there was a sig-

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nificant level of uncertainty to government policy under Francisco Franco. In addition to detailing some of these uncertainties, the book usefully explores a range of nonpolitical public activities pursued by Spaniards during the period. In so doing, Bowen's study enriches the basis for discerning a more complex relationship between coercion and consent, particularly for an English-language readership, than was the orthodoxy twenty years or so ago. The analysis is probably most useful, however, when looking at the relationship between Franco's Spain and Nazi Germany, providing details of foreign policy decision making, and making clear the Falangist fascination with Adolf Hitler's crusade against communism, not least as expressed by leaders of the Sección Femenina (SF), the women's wing of Franco's state party. Bowen's detailing of Spain's subtle changes of tack in relations with Germany and Britain from the summer of 1939 is useful and supplements important work by Paul Preston and Denis Smyth.

Although the first two chapters are devoted to foreign affairs, one of the book's claims to originality is that it moves beyond diplomacy. It is a pity therefore that international relations are not integrated better with domestic themes. The author claims that foreign affairs had little impact on Spanish daily life, or, presumably, vice versa, although this seems improbable given that everyday existence was largely determined by the priority of paying off civil war debts to Nazi Germany and the parsimonious trading strategy of the British Ministry of Economic Warfare. Chapter three is a rather straight-laced account of domestic politics, taken to mean here the politics of Franco himself and the regime's factions or "families" rather than local power struggles involving social or popular political activity.

The forty-three pages of chapter four deal with matters economic in a rather dry manner. In a broad survey the reader cannot expect everything, but too much remains unexplained, partly, perhaps, because some indispensable works, such as those of Angel Viñas, the pre-eminent authority on wartime economics, seem not to have been used. Spain was "deprived" of Marshall Aid (p. 94), for example, because Franco would not accept democratization. State control of trade in wheat did not mean that prices "stayed low" (p. 110) but instead led to a vast black market that (as Bowen goes on to say) created more hunger. There are further inconsistencies. Bowen's notion of a post–Civil War "normalization" of daily life seems at the very least to be complicated rather by the information (p. 113) that in the slums of the capital city in 1944 "as many as 400,000 madrileños lived in conditions of absolute squalor." The fifth chapter deals with culture and leisure, exploring, in turn, literature, theater, architecture, sport, bullfighting, music and the cinema. Again, this represents a useful survey and some crucial areas of debate, such as the extent of the aforementioned normalization of life, are glimpsed. There remains, however, an occasional sense of unreality to Bowen's observations, as, for example, when we are told that the cultural diversion of the theater was within reach of working-class people provided "they were willing to go a day without bread" (p. 156). His conclusion—that the most popular forms of leisure pursuit were those which were least political—is not very surprising considering we are talking of a repressive dictatorship that clamped down on political activities. In chapter six the argument that the regime "empowered" women is perhaps pushed a little beyond recent revisionist findings that see the SF as something more than a transmission belt for the regime's repressive gendered ideology. A minority of women, those active in the SF, both locally and nationally, took the opportunity to play a more public role than previously, usually because they did not need to earn a wage. Thousands of working-class women labored long in factories and fields, officially illegally if they were married, for low wages in the 1940s, an essential and public element of postwar survival.

In chapter seven on the Catholic Church, considerable space is devoted to the religious and anticlerical struggles of the Second Republic during the period 1931–1936. The book draws together recent historiography on these tensions. Having made much of his "objectivity" in the introduction, Bowen's own predilections are inevitably betrayed in what follows. The republic's civil war president, Manuel Azaña, makes an appearance, although he is not really relevant to Spain's World War II experience. Azaña's notoriously misquoted 1932 declaration that Spain had "ceased to be Catholic" is taken out of context (as always), and not particularly in order to gauge whether Spain had once again become Catholic due to Franco's reign. Azaña, as he made explicit in the much-cited speech, was reflecting Spain's secularization by the 1930s, a process that presumably continued after 1939, in spite of the resurgence of public devotional displays. Bowen does not enter into this question.

Neither, surprisingly, does the book engage with the historiography on the postwar repression in the final chapter on "The Authoritarian State and the Opposition." The balance of focus overall leaves the impression that sport and the cinema are more significant than political executions. Although there is some discussion of people's denunciations to the authorities of "enemies," the fact that brutality coexisted with a level of normality is insufficiently explored. Much of the author's own evidence suggests that "tranquillity" and "stability" are overstated here; the "normality" argument is inconsistent with the fact that "calm" was due to physical and psychological exhaustion (p. 10). Part of the problem is over-reliance on newspapers as source material: at times the book reads like a history of the Falangist press during the period, which, when not hymning Nazi Germany, tended to emphasize normality and progress and largely ignore the violence. Another part of the problem is that while this claims to be the "first book-length assessment of the regime's formative years," most historians have argued that the Civil War itself was the foundational and formative experience of Francoism and that the period 1939–1945

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represented in many respects a continuation of Spain's war.

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TIMOTHY D. WALKER. *Doctors, Folk Medicine and the Inquisition: The Repression of Magical Healing in Portugal during the Enlightenment*. (The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, number 23.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xvi, 433. $199.00.

Timothy D. Walker's interesting book examines the interaction between professional medical practitioners and the Portuguese Inquisition that resulted in a campaign to suppress magical healers in the early to mid-eighteenth century. Walker's central argument is that the Holy Office in Portugal began seriously to pursue magical healers only at the end of the seventeenth century and that this, while in part informed by the institution's normal moral and theological concerns, was more notably a conflict between an emerging learned medical culture and a traditional popular magical one. Unlike witch hunting in other areas of Europe, the late Portuguese campaign was a product of the intellectual and cultural tensions of the Enlightenment in a country officially reactionary but prey to the widespread influence of progressive ideas. It reveals both the potential for medical practitioners in the period to experience these tensions most acutely, and for the Inquisition to function, through their influence, as "an instrument of progressive social change" (p. 8).

The book has a broad scope and is divided into two parts. The first deals with the role of magical healing in Portuguese society and with the influx of Enlightenment thinking. Chapter two analyzes the importance of magical healers in the community and examines the range and reception of their activities, while chapter three traces the developing influence of Enlightenment ideas on medicine in Portugal, identifying a diverse range of conduits for the influx of rationalist thinking. Chapter four concentrates on two individuals particularly revealing for Walker's subject: the Portuguese ruler Dom João V (1706–1750), and the Inquisitor General Dom Nuno da Cunha de Ataíde e Mello (1707–1750). Part one closes with an examination of the institutional roles played by *médicos* in the Holy Office and at the royal court. The second part comprises four chapters analyzing the development and procedure of the repression of magical healing itself. Chapter six examines the mechanics of the trials of popular healers, and chapter seven provides nine detailed case studies. The last two chapters examine the punishments suffered by those convicted and trace the demography and geography of the subject.

The strength of Walker's analysis lies in his close attention to the complexity of the interactions that caused the Holy Office to increase its pursuit of magical healers at a time when the practice was dying out in most other areas in Europe. Contradictory forces during the "epoch of transition" (p. 89) shaped the experiences of the Portuguese *médicos* and their outlook. They were trained in the conservative Jesuit-controlled universities yet were recipients of, and active participants in, the dissemination of Enlightenment ideas from expatriate physicians and other sources. Those interested in progressive medicine were also, however, careerists who sought advancement through employment with the Inquisition, an antirationalist institution. Inquisition policy itself was actively shaped by the processes by which the institution both reflected and consolidated the professionalization of the *médicos* as a group. Their appointment as *familiares* confirmed and enhanced their status. The responsibility of the office for the identification of deviants as potential subjects of investigation provided a mechanism by which the eradication of magical healing might be attempted. Of course, this was in part driven by professional rivalry, but also by a desire to promote rational medicine. More broadly, a political and institutional context receptive to the prosecution of magical healing was brought about through the sympathy of the king and his Inquisitor General to the rationalist principles implicit in the campaign. Such was the centrality of the *médicos* in driving the campaign against popular healers that, ironically, it was in large part their further professional development that brought the trials for magical healing to an end. The Holy Office campaign failed either to extirpate the popular attachment to magical healing or to increase the number of *médicos* available to offer an alternative. Rather it was the Pombaline reforms of the 1760s and 1770s that, in undermining Jesuit influence on medical pedagogy, allowed the "struggle for the introduction of a new intellectual paradigm in Portugal" (p. 396) to shift its focus to the university and away from practices in the village.

Walker's portrait of the *médicos* and their role in the Inquisition is very well drawn, utilizing a wide body of diverse material to build a nuanced picture of their environment and work. The case studies convincingly demonstrate the proactive way in which medical practitioners involved themselves in the campaign against magical healers (in one case in 1769, three university physicians traveled over 300 kilometers to testify). Moreover, the centrality to the trial process of concerns over the inefficacy of popular healing techniques and over their lack of a scientific basis is clear. Although, as Walker reminds us, the great majority of the Portuguese Inquisition's work concerned accusations of judaizing rather than of magical healing, the *médico*-driven campaign of the eighteenth century was clearly a very significant phenomenon. Walker's book is thus a valuable contribution to the history of magic and witchcraft in a traditionally neglected country, and to its study in Europe more widely.

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LUKE MORGAN. *Nature as Model: Salomon de Caus and Early Seventeenth-Century Landscape Design*. Philadel-

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phia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. x, 296. $55.00.

The life of Salomon de Caus, as Luke Morgan recounts in his important new book, has to historians of many stripes served as a cipher out of which they have decoded a story rich in historical intrigue. From the early nineteenth century to the present, de Caus has been variously recognized as a Huguenot victim of religious persecution, hailed as the forgotten inventor of the steam engine, and made notorious as a magician in the hermetic tradition. Morgan's work serves as a corrective to the many lives written onto de Caus. Through a careful analysis of archival records pertaining to his life, considered in conjunction with his gardens and writing, Morgan exposes the more fabulous aspects of de Caus's historical reputation as wishful thinking.

But if Morgan removes the mystery from the history of de Caus and his gardens, he succeeds in inserting him into an equally intriguing story about knowledge, practice, and art. Morgan reconstructs de Caus's career as an engineer and designer with a growing reputation for his knowledge of hydraulics and their application in grottoes and automata in gardens of the elite. He found patrons in Archduke Albert, Stadtholder of the Netherlands (at the Brussels Coudenberg Palace), Henry, Prince of Wales (at Richmond Palace), Frederick V, the Elector of Palatine (at the *Hortus Palatinus*), and eventually in Louis XIII, from whom he received a commission to create a hydraulic system to flush refuse from the streets of Paris. Yet as Morgan makes clear, de Caus's legacy was built upon more than the hydraulically sophisticated fountains and grottoes he created for them. Although his early training is unclear, de Caus likely would have received practical training in mathematics, geometry, and building techniques as an apprentice to an engineer. But de Caus was also a reader, thinker, and writer—not just a "doer." He published treatises on perspective, music, and hydraulics, produced a volume on the *Hortus Palatinus*, and authored manuscripts, left unpublished at his death, on geometry and Vitruvius.

In Morgan's hands, therefore, the life and work of de Caus emerge as an opportunity to understand the collision of someone with "makers' knowledge" with the evolution and dissemination of hydrology, garden aesthetics, and the idea of nature in Renaissance Europe. The results of this approach are Morgan's most important contributions, contributions that shape not only the understanding of de Caus's designs but also our contemporary efforts to read the Renaissance garden. For example, in chapter five, "Between the Workshop and the Library," Morgan reconstructs de Caus's exposure to and study of classical works on architecture, classical and contemporaneous technical treatises, classical history and literature (most importantly, Ovid), and the works generated by the Pléiade (p. 133). Morgan argues that de Caus approached these authorities pragmatically, taking what was useful or demonstrably truthful.

The utility of Greek and Roman history and fable becomes clear in chapter six, "Theory into Practice: The *Hortus Palatinus*," in which Morgan analyzes de Caus's most important commission, the Heidelberg garden he designed for the Frederick V, Elector of Palatine. It is in this intricate garden that scholars have sought some larger narrative and hidden evidence of Rosicrucian or Hermetic beliefs. Morgan rejects such conclusions, arguing that de Caus, armed with his Ovid, his personal knowledge of Italian Renaissance garden styles and motifs, and, of course, his own expertise in fountain and grotto engineering, created a garden to honor Frederick V in a manner in keeping with Renaissance garden design. Morgan suggests that the search by scholars for an overarching narrative scheme at the *Hortus Palatinus* (and in contemporaneous gardens) is anachronistic. More accurate, he argues, is approaching the parterres as a series of distinct garden *topoi*: "a lexicon of garden forms" (p. 154), drawn largely from Ovid and other classical sources that were well-known to his peers. But Morgan writes, "To claim that de Caus's garden does not possess a narrative is not to say that it has no meaning" (p. 155). For each form would have effectively celebrated his patron in an implicit language of allegory and symbolism. The Elisabethentor, for example, with references to Frederick as Vertumnus and Elisabeth as Pomona, would have communicated clearly the love, fertility, and therefore power of their marriage.

Each form is for Morgan, however, evidence of the larger meaning de Caus attached to his work, situated as it was between the realms of art and nature. Morgan demonstrates that the pragmatic de Caus stopped short of a Baconian notion of the mastery of nature, believing that the realm of Nature was, ultimately, divine and therefore unknowable. But in using divine "nature as model" (hence Morgan's title) in the grottoes, fountains, and parterres he designed, de Caus came to some knowledge of the ordered world created by his divine.

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ELIZABETH HYDE. *Cultivated Power: Flowers, Culture, and Politics in the Reign of Louis XIV*. (Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 330. $49.95.

In this scholarly study of early modern floriculture, Elizabeth Hyde makes clear that Louis XIV's self-fabrication encompassed phenomena of every kind. Hyde does much more, however, than explore the political uses that Louis made of flowers and their associations. Her book amounts to a wide-ranging and comprehensive cultural history of flowers in early modern Europe, with an emphasis on sixteenth and seventeenth-century France.

Any reconstruction of the uses and meanings of flowers will inevitably come up against the transience of the subject, a problem that is also frequently faced by garden historians seeking to understand the original appearance and reception of no-longer extant sites and/or

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designs. As Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville put it in a passage quoted by Hyde: "It is these tulips, these anemones, & c. which demand such care and such pain, in order to have the pleasure of seeing them last twelve or fifteen days at the most." How much more difficult must be the task of the modern historian of floriculture? Hyde meets the challenge with an exhaustive account of the sources, both published and unpublished. Her book comprises a rich tapestry of texts and citations from the period that will probably not be superseded for a long time to come.

The first two chapters deal with the ambivalent identification of women with flowers and the subsequent absorption of floriculture into the early modern (and primarily male) culture of curiosity and collection. Chapters three and four survey the standards of taste and judgment that governed the collection and display of flowers by "curious florists" during the period as well as the incorporation of flowers into gardens, portraits, and emblems as an expression of identity—a kind of "language of flowers" *avant la lettre*. The last chapter focuses more directly on Louis XIV and the importance of flowers and their symbolism to the celebration of his reign. Throughout, the text presents numerous insights into early modern European culture at large, and frequently dwells on fascinating details such as the 171 bouquets of flowers made from Chinese silk listed in a 1673 inventory of royal French possessions (and recalling, perhaps, the silk flowers that attract Poliphilo's interest in Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* [1499]).

Despite its publication in the series edited by John Dixon Hunt (Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture), this book is not exclusively concerned with landscape design. Indeed, Hyde notes that seventeenth-century visitors rarely commented on the flowers that they saw at Versailles and elsewhere, at least in print. André Le Nôtre is even reported to have held the view that flower parterres were "superficial ornaments" to a garden "fit only for the enjoyment of nursemaids." Likewise, in his own valuable (from the point of view of the history of the reception of historical gardens) itineraries, *Manière de montrer les Jardins de Versailles*, Louis XIV neglected to mention his vast and costly collection of flowers, preferring to focus on the monuments and views. Yet this silence (or condescension) does not mean that flowers are irrelevant to the history of the garden. On the contrary, the book demonstrates the profound complexity and multifarious character of the garden as an object of study. Indeed, Hyde's interdisciplinary study of just one element of the garden—the flower—which takes her in multiple directions, some of which are very remote from older concepts of garden history as a discipline, serves as a model. We need detailed histories like this of the garden fountain, of garden statuary, and so on.

It is difficult to think of any lacunae, but it might perhaps have been interesting to have heard a little more about the impact of microscopy and other scientific techniques on the representation and symbolism of flowers, especially during the seventeenth century. For the sake of an analogous example, there is an engraving by Francesco Stelluti in the Vatican Library known as the *Melissographia* (1625), which depicts three bees flying in the familiar Barberini formation above a Latin poem complimenting Pope Urban VIII. The bees have been drawn in a highly analytical manner as if closely observed, which was in fact the case: Stelluti's engraving is one of the earliest surviving illustrations of a natural subject viewed through a microscope. It is, therefore, simultaneously a symbolic and a scientific drawing, testifying to the uses of science in the self-fabrication of kings, princes, and popes.

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Martine Julia van Ittersum. *Profit and Principle: Hugo Grotius, Natural Rights Theories and the Rise of Dutch Power in the East Indies 1595–1615*. (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, number 139.) Boston: Brill. 2006. Pp. lxii, 538. $199.00.

This book is a welcome addition to the vast scholarship on Hugo Grotius (1583–1645). It contains a meticulous analysis of two major themes: first, the origin, circumstances, and scope of a legal treatise, part of which would ultimately become one of the most influential treatises on international law, Grotius's *Mare liberum*. Second, the book also looks in detail at the first phase of Dutch expansion in the East Indies (through the VOC, the Dutch East India Company) and how these two themes are intertwined.

Martine Julia van Ittersum starts with an introduction, in which she introduces Grotius and his reputation through the ages. She moves on to discuss Grotius's place in historiography, particularly with regard to the Cambridge School of political thought. Chapter one deals with the capture of the Portuguese vessel *Santa Catarina* by the Dutch naval commander Jacob van Heemskerck in 1603. The capture of this ship confronted the Dutch East India Company with a number of problems. Was the capture a justified act? The rules of engagement with "enemy" vessels were far from clear. Moreover, who would profit from the spoils of war? This is where Grotius enters the stage. The prodigy from Delft was hired by the directors to write a justification for the capture, which became the tract *De iure praedae*. In it, Grotius defended the freedom of trade and navigation (by the Dutch), while he also argued that treaties concluded with indigenous rulers were legally binding.

Chapter two investigates the "Black Legend," the discourse that vilified the behavior of the Spanish in the Americas with regard to their harsh treatment of the indigenous people. In Grotius's view this also applied to the situation in the Indies, as he supposedly argued in *De iure praedae*.

The third chapter focuses on the question of audience: for whom was this treatise written? Van Ittersum convincingly proposes that it was written to persuade

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the various governing and legal bodies that were involved in trying to resolve the dispute over the *Santa Catarina*.

Chapter four investigates the role played by Grotius in the negotiations for peace between the Dutch Republic and Spain in 1607–1608. The author succeeds in proving that the Grotius's involvement in these was far greater than hitherto assumed.

In chapter five van Ittersum concentrates on Grotius's dealings with the truce negotiations in 1608–1609. She argues that his role was an indirect one, but that the tone of discourse set by him was influential in the outcome nevertheless. The year 1609 also saw the belated publication of *Mare liberum*.

In the final chapter, Grotius's involvement in the Anglo-Dutch conferences on colonial policy between 1613 and 1615 moves center stage. While in earlier negotiations the freedom of trade and the right to establish contracts with indigenous peoples had been put forward by Grotius, he now used another legal argument from *De iure praedae* to refute the claims of the English East India Company—which wanted its share of the cake and used Grotius's reasoning to justify its activities in the East—by stating that contracts made (with the VOC) were binding, no matter how detrimental to indigenous people these might be (and they were). In the epilogue, van Ittersum succinctly sums up the main points of the book.

The author does not always do justice to the actual complexity of the governing principles in the Republic of the Seven United Provinces. Throughout the book, the way the republic was really governed remains hidden as various institutions and people are presented as authoritative, although it is nowhere explained if, and how, they actually were authoritative (e.g., the Estates General, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt). The author sometimes overemphasizes circumstantial evidence or plausibility to state a case. The so-called "Black Legend," as put forward particularly in the famous *Brévissmia relacion*, is supposed to have influenced Grotius's writing of *De iure praedae*. The fact that there is no evidence whatsoever that Grotius owned (or even read) this book does not strengthen the author's case in chapter two.

From a purely editorial point of view, the book contains several double passages (e.g., lengthy identical quotations on pp. 121 and 168), and expressions that come up far too often (e.g., "pangs of conscience," which were apparently the bane of Grotius's life). This does not alter the fact that the book as a whole is well written and that some passages actually read like an adventure story and are very captivating. Some of the maps are hardly helpful, particularly the map "Europe around 1600" (p. lxx), which portrays the current boundaries of Europe with the notable exception of the existence of the Republic of Ireland.

These points are trivial. This book manages to link the genesis of sublime "international law" (the *Mare liberum*) to the historical circumstances in which it was conceived, a phase of overseas expansion for the Dutch East India Company. It argues convincingly that both theory but more importantly practice played a significant part. In doing so, van Ittersum manages to sketch a portrait of Grotius that is less mythical and revering than in most historiography; she shows that he—much like his mentor Oldenbarnevelt—was a very intelligent and cunning young lawyer on his way up. In working out these themes meticulously, the author has made an important contribution to Grotius scholarship, the history of European expansion, and the history of international law. Her book deserves a wide readership among scholarly disciplines.

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HOWARD HOTSON. *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and Its German Ramifications, 1543–1630*. (Oxford-Warburg Studies.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 333. $135.00.

The text of Howard Hotson's monograph has three general parts. The first part (chapters one and two) is devoted to "First-Generation Ramism." The second (chapters three and four) focuses on "Second Generation Semi-Ramism," while the third part (chapters five, six, and seven) is titled "Third-Generation Post-Ramist Eclecticism."

Hotson begins chapter one, "Ramism in Germany: A Neglected Tradition," using bibliographical evidence compiled by Walter Ong to argue cogently that Central Europe—and not England or colonial America—was the region that saw by far the greatest use of Petrus Ramus's writings during the decades following the latter's death in 1572. He then asks (p. 9) how this is to be explained without coming to a clear resolution (p. 14). Two points accorded detailed discussion in this reviewer's "The Diffusion of the Writings of Petrus Ramus in Central Europe, c.1570–c.1630" (*Renaissance Quarterly* 46 [1993]: 98–152) can be mentioned in this connection. First, Ramus's writings on logic, rhetoric, grammar, arithmetic, and geometry—and adaptations thereof—fit well into the curricular framework of many Protestant (Calvinist as well as Lutheran) Central European schools from the 1570s until the 1620s. Second, the use of ideology—as exemplified in terms such as Ramist, Philippo-Ramist, Semi-Ramist, and Ramism—does not help us explain this phenomenon.

Hotson rightly notes (pp. 16–25, 108–114) that many Lutherans utilized Ramus's writings while many Calvinists elected not to do so. Very well documented (pp. 25–37, 97–98) is his novel and interesting thesis that Ramus's writings were extensively utilized in northwestern Germany from 1543 onward. In chapter two, "Ramism in German Context, 1543–1600," excellent explanations are given for the general rejection of Ramus's writings in the 1580s at the University of Leiden (p. 53) and in Altdorf. It is aptly noted that "its elevation from *gymnasium illustre* to *semiuniversitas* . . . inched Altdorf over the line dividing the academies in which Ramism was generally welcomed from the (Cen-

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tral European) universities in which it was usually rejected" (p. 61).

Hotson succinctly summarizes chapter three, "Institutionalization: Semi-Ramism and Reformed Academies, 1580–1600," and the first segment of chapter four, "Adaptation: Post-Ramist Methods in Reformed Universities, 1590–1613," as follows: "The term 'Philippo-Ramism' most accurately refers to a subsequent stage (following pure Ramism) which sought merely to fashion the dialectics of Ramus and Melanchthon into pedagogically viable synthesis. (Otto) Casmann, (Clemens) Timpler, (Bartholomaeus) Keckermann [d. 1609], and (Johann Heinrich) Alsted (1588–1638) clearly proceeded still further both in attempting to formulate fresh sets of methodical principles from Ramus, Aristotle, and others and in applying these to the entire encyclopaedia. The term 'semi-Ramist' captures more satisfactorily their collective debt . . . to some of (Ramus's) fundamental assumptions, objectives, and principles" (p. 135).

In chapter seven, "Interim Conclusions," Hotson places semi-Ramists within the German post-Ramist tradition (pp. 277–279). The bulk of this chapter summarizes and expands upon key points made principally in chapters one through four. Chapter seven also briefly discusses the fate of Calvinist/Reformed education from 1622 to 1670.

The "semi-Ramist" authors that Hotson mentions (p. 135) utilized a wide range of authorities in addition to Ramus. It is not clear that they adopted "fundamental assumptions, objectives, and principles" primarily from Ramus and/or from those who utilized them (pp. 50, 278). It is postulated here that they are "descended" from a Ramist/Post-Ramist tradition (pp. 8, 135) in spite of the fact that "the contours of Ramus' legacy [are] as unclear as the contours of his thought itself" (p. 278). Categorizations of these and other author educators into "schools" or "traditions" have been utilized for decades as justification for not examining in detail the rich, multifaceted content of their writings and the numerous extant curricular documents—written over the course of many decades—of individual academic institutions at which many of these authors taught.

In the monograph's short preface it is noted that Alsted's encyclopedic writings—and their prehistory—serve as its focus (p. vii). While commonplaces are accorded some attention (mostly in the latter portion of the monograph), it might have been good to have clarified why "Commonplace Learning" is used in the monograph's title. Most of chapter four is devoted to Keckermann's career, his writings, and their influence on Alsted. Chapters five and six are devoted primarily to Alsted's *Cursus philosophici encyclopaedia* (1620) and to his *Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta* (1630), respectively. Figures 3 through 9 present very helpful material concerning the prehistory, organization, and content of these two encyclopedias; especially valuable is the discussion of each one vis-à-vis the other.

Very pertinent are the points that Hotson makes (pp. 36–37, 82–89, 97–98) concerning the utilization of Ramus's writings in small German principalities and at the frontiers of the western world (including Iceland, Ireland, New England, Sweden, and Transylvania). The information that he presents on a host of individual author educators and academic institutions will be of assistance to scholars pursuing analogous research. The index is very useful. Oxford University Press deserves high praise for the general layout, figures, and jacket design of this monograph.

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David Lederer. *Madness, Religion, and the State in Early Modern Europe: A Bavarian Beacon.* (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 361. $90.00.

Focusing on a case study of Catholic Bavaria in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, David Lederer analyzes spiritual physic, a set of religious practices including confession, pilgrimage, and exorcism, which dominated the treatment of mental disorders in early modern Europe. His book examines a wealth of sources—the miracle books of healing shrines, parish registers, judicial and administrative records, academic tracts, church sermons, consolation books, and paintings—to access multiple contemporary views of mental illness, including those of the Wittelsbach dynasty, the church, academics, and the mentally traumatized themselves. It skillfully weaves together the social, intellectual, and political strands of a story about the shifting fortunes of spiritual physic, from its heyday in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when the state instrumentalized it for political purposes, to the gradual secularization of madness beginning in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. That secularization, Lederer argues, was closely linked to state interests, whose policies in this area, however, were limited and systematically resisted by ordinary Bavarians. The book is an excellent addition to a growing historiography in the last three decades on the social history of madness. That literature, in historicizing mental illness and contextualizing it within the political, social, and cultural forces at work in past societies, has (or should have) broadened the field, making its conclusions relevant to a readership beyond those interested in madness per se. This applies to Lederer's study, whose arguments about culture and the early modern state will be of interest more generally to readers of early modern German and European history.

Lederer analyzes madness—the ways it was viewed, experienced, and treated—in the context of the "general crisis" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a time of religious fervor that saw the spread of a "penitential ideology" of sin and mass atonement. The result was the flourishing of auricular confession, ritual pilgrimages, and exorcisms, all practices central to spiritual physic. Lederer rightly emphasizes the multiple functions and meanings of these practices. On the one hand, they were instrumentalized by the state as a

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means to enforce religious conformity, to control the population, and to expand state power. On the other hand, confession and pilgrimage were fervently embraced by the population for its own reasons, having to do with the search for spiritual consolation and help in curing sicknesses of the soul. Lederer documents a dramatic increase in the number of pilgrims visiting two healing shrines, the cult of St. Anastasia at the Benedictine monastary Benediktbeuern and the cult of the Beata Alta at Pürten. Their manuscript miracle books, which provide information on about 1,500 pilgrims, enable Lederer to probe the experiences of the anguished and disturbed who sought the intercession of saints and the expertise of specialist practitioners of spiritual physic. The seekers came from every level of society and from both sexes, although women appeared much more frequently in the miracle books as visitors at healing shrines, and they overwhelmingly outnumbered men as sufferers of devil possession. Their ailments included the extreme cases of demonic possession and suicidal despair, but were more often about "mundane afflictions" associated with life's travails: the death of a child, infertility, various "shocks and setbacks" (p. 142).

Later chapters of the book explore the gradual decline of spiritual physic beginning in the latter half of the seventeenth century when the educated and powerful at court began to embrace a secular view of madness. Lederer shows how the "paradigm shift from religious madness and spiritual physic to a secular insanity defense" (p. 205) and the state promotion, therefore, of medical and institutional measures were linked to the political concerns of stamping out superstition, religious zealotry, and social disorder. He explores how the new secular view of madness played out in two state policies: burial practices of suicides (the state supporting rulings of insanity for suicides, which allowed them to be buried in hallowed ground) and the institutional segregation of the mad. Ultimately, for various reasons, including the tenacity of religious views of madness in popular culture, the state's centralizing and rationalizing policies toward the mad remained quite limited until the nineteenth century.

The author's choice of a regional framework is an excellent and original one. This, together with its argument about the politics of early modern madness, its long-term focus on the secularization of spiritual physic, and its rich empirical research, make the book an important contribution to the fields of early modern Germany and the history of psychiatry. The several reconstituted case histories it presents are fascinating (one would have liked even more), and its use of unpublished miracle books reveals important new information about the timing, gender, and geography of demonic possession. In other respects, the book covers territory that will be familiar to students of early modern psychiatry from the works of Michael McDonald and H. C. Erik Midelfort, among others. Indeed, Lederer's argument could have been more effective had it engaged more systematically and at a broader conceptual level with these and other scholars of the history of madness. Lederer is on weaker ground when he gets to the modern era. His analysis of Sigmund Freud is skilled, but his broader argument about the religious origins of modern psychiatry remains unconvincing, especially since the book skips over most of the nineteenth century to Freud, leaving out a complicated intervening history. But, of course, this book is not about the modern era.

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CHRISTOPHER CLARK. *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600–1947.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 775. $35.00.

For most of the non-academic world, Prussia is Germany, or perhaps rather Germany is Prussia. Even historians have for many generations accepted the elision of Prussia and Germany for better or—more frequently—for worse. Germany's special path into the modern world (its *Sonderweg*) was mostly viewed as the lamentable endpoint of Prussian hubris. The results were horrifying: two world wars, the virtual destruction of Germany, and the Holocaust. Prussia/Germany's political culture was "marked by illiberalism and intolerance, an inclination to revere power over legally grounded right, and an unbroken tradition of militarism" (p. xiii). Prussia became nothing less than the "bane" of not only German but also European history, a totally bad thing, happily now expunged from the map and replaced with an innocuous Brandenburg.

For Christopher Clark the whole idea of a Prussian tradition, let alone this one, is practically oxymoronic, for its clearest "tradition" was the absence of one. In tracing the evolution of Prussia, still too often viewed as "the unfolding of a tidy plan by which the Hohenzollerns gradually unfurl the power of the state" (p. xvii), Clark unfurls his own, far more subtle, understanding of what a state (and not only the Prussian state) is. Prussia, like other political entities, was not an organic growth (whether benign or malignant) but a "contingent, artificial creation," evolving from a series of decisions themselves often spurred not by strength or some Nietzschean will to power emanating from the Hohenzollern collective brain (or that of the "Prussian" bureaucracy, or the Junkers, or any other such group) but by weakness and vulnerability and by the need to hold together its disparate parts. At the heart of Clark's narrative, therefore, is "how Prussia was made and unmade," and it was, in his view, the making of Germany that was the ending of Prussia.

Of course, the caricatures, stereotypes, and images of Prussia (monocled, stiff-backed Junkers; posturing, iron-willed electors; bigger-than-life chancellors; and prophets of anti-modernity) have not gone unquestioned by serious historians. Clark's book to some extent rides a crest of new Prussian (or German) histories that have slowly eroded these compelling but ultimately

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inadequate paradigms. David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, in *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (1984), doubted the *Sonderweg* thesis. In *Practicing Democracy: Elections and Political Culture in Imperial Germany* (2000), Margaret Lavinia Anderson described a political culture of contestation and the action of a democratic spirit in the seemingly illiberal imperial Germany. William Hagen's detailed study of one estate, Stavenow, in his monumental *Ordinary Prussians: Brandenburg Junkers and Villagers, 1500–1840* (2003) exploded many myths linked to Junkers and Junkerdom. Clark's book fits neatly with these but is also distinguished from them in sweep and, interestingly, in method.

It would be easy but wrong to slot the book into the category of synthesis or survey. Despite the quite amazing amount of material Clark covers, the best description of his work is that of an *interpretation*; indeed it is almost an essay musing on the flow and meaning of Prussian history. Take something simple, like chronology. The limits 1600 and 1947 rupture standard periodizations. Clark's choice of dates demonstrates that his subject is not the Prussia that birthed Germany and whose story had its climax in 1871, but the Prussia that was made over 347 years by individual acts and actors, responding to particular situations and conflicts, guided not by some master plan but by the exigencies of the moment. It was a Prussia forged in a crucible of war, but wars, too, were often embarked upon because of vulnerability or desperation, and were not driven by a clear idea of creating a unified nation or even less by a *Griff nach Weltmacht* (although there was, by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, something of the latter as well).

This study is about politics with both capital and small "p's." It treats political cultures, political discourses, memories, and "inventions of tradition" as well as power politics in the old-fashioned sense. All the "greats" of Prussian history take their bows. If the giants are well represented, however, Clark's read on them is by no means traditional. We learn, for instance, how often the "opportunistic" Frederick the Great was driven by circumstances beyond his control. Wars like Frederick's are critically important to Clark's analysis, but not as the instruments of power Prussians deployed to aggrandize the state. Rather, as Clark adroitly illustrates, for instance, in treating the Italian conflicts of the mid-nineteenth century, or Otto von Bismarck's Danish war, larger foreign power constellations conditioned Prussian responses, with Prussia as often acted upon as acting on.

Clark strings together reinterpretations of specific canonical moments in Prussian history so smoothly that one might be excused for not grasping at first how radical is the new vision of Prussia he and other scholars have crafted. The *Zollverein* of the early nineteenth century, for instance, often viewed as a shrewd move on the part of the Prussian government to bring the other, smaller German states under its control, looks very different here. If the cartographic overlap between the *Zollverein* of 1841 bears a "close resemblance to the Prussian-dominated state that emerged from the wars of 1864–71," that evidence deceives. While it is true that the Prussians certainly wanted to extend Prussian influence among German states, the idea of a unified Germany lay "far beyond the mental horizons" of the policy makers. Moreover, the *Zollverein* "never became an effective tool for the exercise of Prussian political influence" (p. 393). This is but one of many examples where a careful reading of the secondary literature and Clark's own great familiarity with a wide range of documents overturn standard interpretations.

Likewise, Clark's analysis moves to a different rhythm than standard accounts. His analysis of Frederick William IV transforms a king who is often seen as a hapless and hopeless romantic into a figure far better in touch with reality and far more effective as a ruler than history to date would have it. Clark's work, in short, restores individuals of all kinds to the history of state-making, where their decisions—not necessarily or solely or even principally socioeconomic forces or cultural factors—move to center stage. By no means the least of Clark's achievements is to restore political significance to the *Biedermeier* as a critical moment and not just the filler between the great events of the Revolutionary Wars and the fallaciously named "missed turning point" of 1848.

It is trite to say that no short review can do justice to a volume of this scope. It is nonetheless in this case especially true. I have been unable to cover here many other topics and themes that Clark weaves into his narrative and analysis. I have slid over his ability to deploy individual examples to convey immediacy, his emphasis on the staging of political rituals, his demonstration of the impact of words in crafting reform during the "*longue durée* of Prussian administrative change between the 1790s and the 1840s" (p. 338), and his disentanglement of Prussian from German nationalism. Likewise compelling is his argument that the late nineteenth-century creation of a particular kind of "Prussianism" was nothing less than a travesty of Prussian history and not its natural culmination. Clark's book is a marvelous achievement that rethinks not just Prussian history but also the evolution of states more generally.

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JONATHAN SPERBER. *Property and Civil Society in South-Western Germany 1820–1914*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. vi, 287. $99.00.

Jonathan Sperber established a distinguished position for himself with two excellent studies of the Prussian Rhineland in the mid-nineteenth century. After extending his analytical horizons across Europe in his study of the 1848 revolutions and to electoral analysis of the *Kaiserreich*, Sperber has returned to the valley of the Rhine, this time the Bavarian Palatinate. His new book explores the various contexts and meanings assigned to

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property in the Palatinate. From this foundation Sperber then seeks to broaden our understanding of German civil society.

The book is based on a substantial collection of court records of civil suits brought to settle property disputes. These cases allow Sperber to open a number of windows into the lives of nineteenth-century Palantines. The book is organized into several broad sections to explore how "property was in everything" (p. 236). The first section investigates "Acquisition and Transmission." Sperber sketches a society in which the first "duty to capital," to use Max Weber's term, was conservation rather than expansion. This duty played a substantial part in the dynamics of marriage and intergenerational relations. The second section, "Transactions," considers how property and its liquid doppelganger—capital—played important roles in credit and commerce. As a direct result, "commercial honor" (p. 159), as Sperber terms it, came to be wrapped around the proper disposition of property. The third section, "Boundaries," assesses the fashions in which property itself defied the clear lines of legal ideals and government cadastral studies. In addition, the possession and control of property was tied to specific traits, enabling alcoholism and madness to be understood in terms of property. These first three sections all treat the nineteenth century as a unified whole. The fourth section explores changes in the regimes of property moving from the dissolution of old regime understandings of property to the emergence of modern limited liability instruments of property accumulation. The essence of Sperber's argument is then laid out in the conclusion.

Sperber transforms property into a Janus-headed phenomenon. On the one hand, property is treated as an object of material culture, an object around which humans weave their webs of meaning. On the other, property is what economists have long seen it as: capital. It is a means of storing or mobilizing abstract value. Sperber is principally interested in property as material culture, how "property was permeated with cultural understandings" (p. 237). It is through this door that Sperber turns his discussion of property to the observation that it was "a major feature of nineteenth century civil society" (p. 240). Sperber is seeking to provoke an expansion of an understanding of civil society beyond the limits prescribed by Jürgen Habermas and his "bourgeois public sphere."

The treatment of property as material culture is quite effective. Sperber handles his court records with great skill, demonstrating the dizzying fashions in which Palantine Germans understood their world in terms of property. Independence, rationality, and parental responsibility could and were understood in part in terms of the proper disposition of property. In this respect, Sperber appears to be debating Karl Polanyi and his "disembedding" thesis more than Habermas. Property was deeply imbricated in social relations. Free market liberalism did not, perhaps can not, destroy the social context of exchange. Rather, individuals continue to embed property and capital in their social and cultural worlds.

Sperber also argues that property should be inserted in our discussion of the "public sphere" and civil society, which he defines as "an intermediary realm between the family and the state" (p. 239). Sperber's determination to deepen the meaning of civil society is not, in itself, unique, nor is his use of civil law to that end. Isabel Hull's *Sexuality, State and Civil Society in Germany, 1700–1815* (1997) is merely one noteworthy effort to examine gender and civil law. Nor is the insistence on the significance of property regimes entirely novel; a variety of scholars have followed Charles Sabel and Jonathan Zeitlin to explore the economic implications of property law. Sperber's originality lays in his rigorously empirical, yet wonderfully creative work to place property in what David Blackbourn has called the "silent bourgeois revolution." Blackbourn argued in *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (1984) that property relations and civil law represent crucial aspects of the gradual triumph of bourgeois society. Sperber's book explores that assertion with insight and detail.

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Kevin Cramer. *The Thirty Years' War and German Memory in the Nineteenth Century.* (Studies in War, Society, and the Military.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 385. $55.00.

This book is a comprehensive, contextualized review of nineteenth-century historiography about the Thirty Years' War. It is definitely not a work about the war per se, but about its perception and interpretation in German history and identity, and in particular its politicization in the nineteenth century. The single quotation that sums up Kevin Cramer's argument is as follows: "Conceived out of the enduring antagonism between Catholic and Protestant, the nineteenth-century histories of 'The Great German War' were constructed around the five essential stories of German history: unification, liberation, revolution, martyrdom, and sacrifice" (p. 217). All the authors reviewed fit into this encompassing mold.

In the introduction, Cramer implies that the religious characterization of the war ultimately contributed to the foundations of the Third Reich and its attendant horrors, but he does not develop the idea in the rest of the text. Nineteenth-century German historians, facing Germany's history of division and weakness relative to France and England, recast the Thirty Years' War as "a founding act of revolutionary violence" (p. 4). The wars against Napoleon Bonaparte produced the first, modern, German nationalist consciousness, but one that was not to come to fruition until Prussia established its preeminence in Germany, effectively ending Austrian influence over the Confederation. German historians depicted the Thirty Years' War, in its horrifying de-

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struction, as a harbinger of the world-altering reverberations emanating from the French Revolution, itself a conflict "between the forces of reaction and liberty, legitimacy and revolution" (p. 7). The confessional divide was as hot as ever, Protestants and Catholics competing for recognition as the greatest victim, the former promoting a kleindeutsch vision for Germany's future as a unified state, the latter the großdeutsch.

The Thirty Years' War was normally depicted in the nineteenth century as an interruption, inspired by confessional conflict, in Germany's natural progression toward modern statehood, and, by implication, toward status as a great, imperial European power on the level of France and Britain, and so the war took on a significance much wider than itself. As one might expect, there were a variety of interpretations, some based on region. Historians of the "Prussian School" upheld a policy of militarism and conquest for the great goal of building and maintaining the state. The main divide, however, remained between Catholics and Protestants, each claiming to have suffered more egregiously in Germany's past, for the sake of shaping the institutions of the future. "This command to sacrifice . . . lay beneath all arguments over the political form of the nation" (p. 11). The key question was "Whose sacrifice on behalf of the nation would be accepted?" (p. 13).

For sources, Cramer draws on more than 400 nineteenth-century works, running the gamut from academic prose (mainly books and journal articles) to amateur poetry, by 200 "historians," professional and otherwise. Despite the wide range of their respective quality and ability, they were all contemporaries of turbulent times, thinking and writing about the same historical subject, without trying very hard to separate themselves from the concerns of the present. The passion of the debate often grew to be as intense as the lurid fascination with depicting the savage violence of the war.

For historians of the Thirty Years' War, this book probably holds little value, largely because it gives full rein to the relentless presentism of the writers surveyed. For historians of modern Germany, it provides a unique set of perspectives about a whole range of debates in the nineteenth century. In addition to the historiographic review, it includes an interesting analysis of the reputation of Emperor Ferdinand II, material concerning the cult of Gustavus Adolphus and its commemorative ceremonies, pamphlet emblemata about the tragedy in Magdeburg, and even references to Johannes Brahms. A problem raised by the title that the author mostly avoids has to do with the present fad about "memory." Cramer implies almost by default that it is synonymous with historiography, without really engaging the issue on a theoretical basis, at least not until the fifth chapter, and then primarily in reference to history writing. One would like to think that there is more to human memory that what historians write about the past. The endnotes take up eighty pages, and the fifty-five page interdisciplinary bibliography reflects the thoroughness of the author's research. By the end, however, this reader was left with the sense that Heinrich Heine got it right: Germany has no present, but only a past and a future, over which, one might add, people will debate forever.

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Myles W. Jackson. *Harmonious Trades: Physicists, Musicians, and Instrument Makers in Nineteenth-Century Germany*. (Transformations: Studies in the History of Science and Technology.) Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 2007. Pp. x, 395. $40.00.

For the historian or musicologist studying the musical cultures of nineteenth-century Germany, engaging with scientific and technological issues might seem unavoidable. After all, virtually all spheres of musical activity, from the symphony concert to domestic music-making, were transformed by innovations in physics and mechanization. A preoccupation with these matters is amply evident in the music periodicals of the period, which are packed with articles on acoustics, tuning, pitch, and refinements in the construction of musical instruments. Even commentators fearful of the impact of scientific and technological progress relied on the archetypal images of mechanization—the clock, the mill, and the automaton—in penning dystopian pictures of music's future. Given the importance of these issues, it is surprising that scholars specializing in German musical culture have devoted little attention to them. Or perhaps not so surprising. To describe the symphony orchestra as an emblem of industrial progress and the division of labor is one thing; to explore the more complex aspects of the interrelation of physics, mechanization, and music is a very different matter. Many cultural historians, myself included, feel less than comfortable venturing into the latter terrain, lacking the scientific expertise to grapple seriously with these issues.

Enter Myles W. Jackson, whose mastery of the histories of experimental physics, mechanics, and music makes him an ideal guide to their interaction. Many topics he explores will be familiar to specialists in the history of science, organology, and music theory. What distinguishes Jackson is his insistence that science and music are "cultural enterprises" (p. 2), whose goals and practices cannot be understood in isolation from each other or from their sociocultural context. Another factor that sets this monograph apart is its lucid, unpretentious prose. Jackson gives due attention to the complexities of his subject matter, yet takes pains to make his discussions accessible to readers without an advanced scientific background.

Jackson's protagonists are a motley crew, ranging from natural scientists and physicists to inventors, instrument makers, entrepreneurs, and showmen. His supporting cast is no less intriguing, including such scientific and musical luminaries as Alexander von Humboldt, Felix Mendelssohn, and Carl Friedrich Zelter. Around half the chapters are dedicated to figures who exemplify the porous boundary between physics and music in this period; the remainder explore some of the

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broader ways in which these fields came together. This structure enables Jackson to give detailed accounts of careers and innovations of his key figures, as well as tracing their practical impact on music.

The first chapter, on Ernst Florens Friedrich Chladni, is indicative of his concerns and approach. To historians of science, Chladni was a pioneer in the study of experimental acoustics; to musicologists, he was the inventor and salesman of novelty musical instruments such as the euphone. By bringing these two stories together, Jackson illustrates the reciprocity between scientific and musical innovation in this period. His other key figures, Wilhelm Weber and Johann Heinrich Scheibler, had similarly bifurcated concerns, yet their careers reveal how the professionalization of physics and instrument making increasingly militated against dilettantism in both spheres. Unlike Chladni, Weber was no mechanician, and his contributions to wave theory relied on collaborations with craftsmen for the construction of reed pipes (one of the strengths of Jackson's book is the painstaking research that went into reconstructing the careers of these figures and tracing Weber's practical impact on organ building). Scheibler, a silk manufacturer rather than a physicist or musician, met with considerably more resistance in attempting to convince musicians and technicians of the value of his new tuning system. Yet his innovations were to have a universal impact on the musical sphere, and "Scheibler pitch" eventually became the international standard in 1939.

Jackson deftly relates these scientific and musical developments to broader industrial trends, arguing that Scheibler's attempts to demystify piano tuning parallel the deskilling of his factory workers through mechanization. Similarly, his account of the mid-nineteenth-century quest to standardize musical pitch reveals the nationalist agenda of the disputing parties. Perhaps the most enjoyable aspect of the book is its descriptions of some of the weird and wonderful musical inventions of the period. Johann Bernhard Logier's chiroplast (a device for disciplining the fingers of young pianists) and Friedrich Kauffmann's musical automata are known only by name to most music historians; Jackson's detailed descriptions are therefore useful as well as engaging.

Jackson has a wide familiarity with musical discourse of the period and with the secondary literature, but he is less surefooted in discussing trends in German aesthetics. Indeed, a recurrent problem is the vague and shifting function he assigns to the term "aesthetics," particularly at key moments in the narrative. In other respects, however, the book is a model of clarity as well as fine scholarship, deserving the attention of all historians and musicologists specializing in German culture of this period.

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Nancy R. Reagin. *Sweeping the German Nation: Domesticity and National Identity in Germany, 1870–1945.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 247. $75.00.

This book is a series of intriguing essays organized around the relationship between nationalism and housekeeping in Germany. Nancy R. Reagin draws our attention to a cultural layer of nationalist thinking by and for women, among an "imagined community of German housewives" (p. 69). She draws on prescriptive literature by housekeeping experts, housewives' associations, and government agencies, mostly penned by self-conscious nationalists of the urban middle classes. Reagin shows how these speakers considered housekeeping to be an integral part of German national identity and their own nationalist aspirations. She argues that a bourgeois quest to "invent Germans" after unification in 1870 drove this process (p. 3).

In the chapters that follow, Reagin demonstrates the political relevance of housekeeping in specific eras. Nationalists' politicization of housework was especially vivid during World War I, the Weimar period, under the autarkic Four-Year Plan of the Nazis (1936–1939), and during World War II in occupied Poland. In each of these eras, "understandings of German domesticity and housekeeping were . . . increasingly incorporated into public policy" (p. 5). The narrative pivots on the historical moment of World War I, when the German state began to manipulate women by way of a linkage between housekeeping and nationalism that had been established in the preceding years. From that time until 1945, nationalists and state agencies sought to induce women to sacrifice for war and for protectionist policies by urging them to fit their purchases to the state-led market and to use labor-intensive methods (p. 102). Reagin argues for strong continuities between the Weimar and Nazi eras: "Nazi organizations cherry picked, for their own purposes, the notions of housewifery and domesticity that had been popular among conservative housewives' groups before 1933" (p. 111). One example is a 1939 decree requiring a mandatory year of housekeeping service for unmarried women under the age of twenty-five; another is the Hashude Educational Settlement in Bremen (1934–1940), where families judged to be "asocial" were interned. That judgment rested in part on housekeeping. In general, the Nazis "used the symbols and practices of domesticity to support Nazi notions of racial hierarchy and to reshape women's housekeeping to meet the needs of the Nazi Four-Year Plan" (p. 143). The shocking reach of these ideas under the Nazis, underpinned by state power, sometimes leads Reagin to overstate the private or benign nature of nationalist claims about housekeeping before 1933 (e.g., pp. 157, 180, and especially 217). If an idea or practice was nationalist—or colonialist, as one passage explores—it was not merely a private matter.

This book is not intended to be a history of how actual German women thought about or carried out domestic tasks. Rather, it is an analysis of prescriptive literature. Reagin makes this distinction clear, but on occasion she grants too much to the authors of her sources. In the

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early chapters, Reagin's survey of domesticity norms in the *Kaiserreich* could have been deepened through a consideration of housekeeping schools and Ann Taylor Allen's work on Hedwig Heyl. Another possibility might have been to trace ideas of housekeeping among propagandists aiming at *Auslandsdeutsche* throughout the book's chronology, rather than a brief discussion of *Kolonialdeutsche* and then a longer discussion of the treatment of ethnic Germans in Nazi-era Eastern Europe (*Volksdeutsche*). There were other *Auslandsdeutsche* and yet more nationalist ink spilled about their housekeeping (p. 141), although that would have complicated the *Kaiserreich*-based nationalist agenda that structures Reagin's narrative.

Reagin shows that women settlement advisors in occupied Poland used housekeeping as a criterion for categorizing those whose ethnicity seemed otherwise ambiguous. In that final chapter I did not see as strong a distinction as Reagin indicates between her own focus on "hands-on details of . . . resocialization" (p. 200, n. 33) and Elizabeth Harvey's *Women and the Nazi East: Agents and Witnesses of Germanization* (2003). While I was struck by the similarities between recycling and buy-local campaigns then and now, Reagin claims that the housekeeping styles in the years of this book are "(to people on the left) unattractive" (p. 223). Reagin might have discussed for her readers the intriguing image on the book's cover, a representation of "the" German *Hausfrau* of the nineteenth century by an artist with a Czech or perhaps Russian name, done in 2006. As the existence of this painting suggests, hers is a vast and rich topic, and an excellent theme through which to discuss cultural aspects of nationalism.

Lora Wildenthal
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Marline Otte. *Jewish Identities in German Popular Entertainment, 1890–1933*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 317. $85.00.

Studies of ethnic identity in entertainment tend, for understandable reasons, to focus on the depictions of the ethnic group(s) in question on stage, screen, or canvas. Marline Otte's examination of Jewish identities in German popular entertainment, though, spends at least as much time backstage as onstage, and thereby offers a subtle, detailed portrait not only of the images presented of Jews in performance, but also of the social networks in which the performers operated. This book shows how people handled their identities as Jews, Germans, and performers not only while in the limelight, but also while going about their everyday lives.

To do this, Otte has chosen three very different areas of popular entertainment: the circus, *Jargon* theaters (dominated by plots revolving around Jewish families), and revue theaters. While the second of the three contained by far the most substantive treatment of Jewish characters and concerns, all three forms spawned their own subcultures and their own dynamic of Jewish-Gentile relations—both in the way that audiences responded to the characters and the performers, and in how Gentile performers related to their Jewish colleagues.

Otte notes that the realms of the circus and the *Jargon* theaters tended to be run by individual families—particularly before World War I, which she argues marked a turning point in both the depiction and reception of Jews in German popular entertainment, and in the business of performing and managing institutions of entertainment. In the first section, we meet circus families like the Blumenfelds, who built a dynasty in a very real sense: a formidable entertainment juggernaut that was very much a family affair. In a more metaphorical sense, clans like the Blumenfelds belonged to a wider circus family, where bonds of professionalism tended to transcend ethnic differences. Otte poignantly illustrates this point with the story of Maria and Adolf Althoff, heads of a Gentile circus who, along with their colleagues, risked their lives to employ and shelter Jewish circus performers throughout the 1940s.

According to Otte, German Jewish circus families rarely called attention to their ethnicity in public, but she makes a compelling case for studying them nevertheless, partly as a foil to groups that have gotten far more attention. In the other areas she surveys, the Jewish content of the material is far more apparent, so Otte combines biographical research on figures like Anton and Donat Herrnfeld, whose Herrnfeld Theater figured prominently among the *Jargon* theaters; the wildly popular revue performer Fritzi Massary; and revue-theater entrepreneurs Fritz and Alfred Rotter with close readings of sketches, plays, songs, and critical responses to the performers and performances. The result is a complex portrait of how Jewish performers presented themselves on stage, and how such images, filtered through the varied lenses of aesthetic agendas, the social composition of the audience, and the immediate circumstances of a particular period (e.g., changing attitudes during and after wartime), affected how Jews saw themselves and were seen by others.

Otte's study is meticulously researched and elegantly conceived. Not only has she identified three genres of performance that call for greater scholarly attention, but she uses each one effectively as a touchstone for the others. She also does a masterful job of scrutinizing the institutional workings of the circuses and theaters in her study. In all of these arenas, one can add her work to a growing list of contemporary books and articles that are grappling with the complicated interface between Jewish performance and Jews' place in society.

The author demonstrates a discerning eye for nuances of self-presentation and critical and public perception and deftly parses the attitudes visible on and between the lines of the documents she examines. She is not always as successful at evaluating performances themselves. She is too quick, for example, to echo charges brought by contemporaries of the Herrnfelds that they, in her word, plagiarized materials presented elsewhere—an accusation made all the more problematic by the characterization of some of those same Her-

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rnfeld pieces as parodies. Otte at times makes assertions about audience responses without shoring them up with sufficient evidence. "[N]o spectators seemed to have been embarrassed to be seen at the Gebrüder Herrnfeld Theater" (p. 152) is one example. I also frequently found myself wishing that her translations of dramatic dialogue and other primary material were more idiomatic; what must have been lively in the original German often gets rendered stiffly in English.

Ultimately, though, such shortcomings do little to diminish the value of this carefully researched, eloquently argued study that adds immensely to the fields of German Jewish cultural history and Jewish popular performance more broadly.

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Dirk Spilker. *The East German Leadership and the Division of Germany: Patriotism and Propaganda 1945–1953.* (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 296. $99.00.

Dirk Spilker's book attempts to shine new light on an old question: was it the intention of Joseph Stalin or the SED leadership, or both, that Germany would be divided, or were the Soviets and their German allies initially committed to a unified Germany, and forced into the division of Germany through the anticommunism of the West? Spilker looks into the records of the early Socialist Unity Party (SED) and its predecessor, the postwar German Communist Party (KPD) in the Soviet zone, focusing especially on the papers of KPD and SED leader Wilhelm Pieck, and combines these with work already done on Soviet archives and other secondary sources on the diplomatic history of the early Cold War, and argues that SED leaders, and especially Stalin, were committed to a unified and democratic Germany but only on the grounds that it be run by the SED; once this became impossible, they circled the wagons and became entrenched inside the Soviet zone. In doing so, Spilker is responding mainly to Wilfried Loth, who has written that Stalin in particular was honestly committed to a unified, democratic, bourgeois Germany, but that the SED, and eventually the West, undermined him and was to blame for the failure to solve the "German Question" in the late 1940s and early 1950s. He is also responding to a long legacy of historians, political scientists, and politicians who have shifted from blaming the Soviet Union to blaming the West and back to blaming the Soviets, like a pendulum, between the 1950s and the 1980s, for the division of Germany. Spilker is the first to carefully study the SED itself, and although he does not use Soviet records (few have managed access), he paints a picture of KPD/SED that initially shared Stalin's doctrinaire and optimistic assumption about the ease with which they could win free and open elections throughout a unified Germany and therefore rally the masses to vault the SED into power, accomplishing both a unified settlement and essentially putting Germany into the Soviet orbit.

Spilker argues that SED leaders, and Stalin, shared this optimism for the following reasons: they assumed that German voters would shift leftward in the aftermath of Nazism's defeat; the Social Democratic Party (SPD), largely decimated by the Nazis, would have no choice but to go along with the KPD, rather than split it as happened in the Weimar Republic; a separate West German capitalist state would be economically unviable because it was unable to feed itself, and it was linked to the rest of the capitalist market countries; these countries stood on the brink of immanent collapse, as the world capitalist crisis long predicted by Marxism was just about to unfold; and the German masses would see the West as instigating a third European war, and see the East as the supporter of peace, and therefore rally to the East. Spilker's monograph is very nicely structured, because once he successfully establishes the evidence of these assumptions through excellent use of the early East German KPD/SED records—spotty though these are, as he mentions—he is then able to show throughout the rest of the book how in each of these cases the SED and Stalin were mostly proven wrong, especially outside the Soviet zone. In the western zones, the KPD was unable to organize itself, often did not completely follow instructions from Berlin, Karlshorst, or the Kremlin itself, and failed miserably almost every time an election or a referendum was held. Even in the Soviet zone the SED was unable to produce the kinds of overwhelming political results at the ballot box that Stalin wanted to see. In the western zones, the SPD, led by Kurt Schumacher, proved just as hostile to the KPD and just as powerful as in the 1920s. Despite some painful transitions, such as the unevenness of the currency reform, the West German economy flourished along with capitalism, and only during the immediate aftermath of the first and second "Stalin notes" in 1952 was there any serious consideration within the Bundestag that the USSR was in fact interested in peace.

By 1949, Spilker shows, the SED had absorbed a great deal of embarrassment in not gaining the political traction nationally that had been envisioned since 1944, and though some members held out hope for an impending economic or military crisis in the West to sway the country to their side, neither Stalin nor Pieck or Walter Ulbricht was willing to risk an ultimate embarrassment, and loss, in a nationwide referendum. This is convincing and illuminating—the SED clearly shifted its strategy—but what remains unclear is Loth's second point about Stalin, who gave mixed signals from what Spilker shows, in some cases criticizing the SED for being too leftist, and in other cases hinting at the division of Germany as a long forgone conclusion.

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DETLEF SIEGFRIED. *Time Is on My Side: Konsum und Politik in der westdeutschen Jugendkultur der 60er Jahre.* (Hamburger Beiträge zur Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte, number 41.) Göttingen: Wallstein. 2006. Pp. 840. €49.00.

This is an extraordinary book. Thoroughly researched and deeply thoughtful, it not only provides an exhaustive and provocative history of West German youth over the course of the "long 1960s" (1959–1974) but also offers new ways to think about the complicated relationship between consumption and politics. Detlef Siegfried sets out to investigate the tension between the rise of a consumer culture and the emergence of a politically radical youth across the 1960s. Ultimately, Siegfried sees both as part of a process of differentiation in which consumer capitalism and radical politics played a role in creating social distinctions that fundamentally transformed West German social values.

In the first chapter, Siegfried lays out theoretical and conceptual issues. He presents, in detail, three structural transformations that frame the rest of his analysis: the material prosperity of the period, the evolution of social values, and the increasing conflict between generations. For Siegfried, the changes in the material life of West Germany during the "golden age" provided the basis upon which the other changes rested. For youth, these included the expansion of educational opportunities and the rise of a "post-adolescence," the reduction in the workweek and the rise of a leisure culture, as well as an increase in expendable income and a rise of a youth consumer industry. The primary consequence of these structural changes, Siegfried argues convincingly, was a basic transformation in social values away from an ethic based on service (*Leistung*) toward one based on pleasure (*Genuss*). Although this tendency was uneven and produced considerable resistance, by the time of the economic collapse brought on by the oil crisis of 1973, a new set of social values had become widely and deeply ensconced in West German society. The third pillar of Siegfried's analysis is the role of generation in creating social change. He defines generation as "a specific social formation" bound together by socially conditioned ideas and actions and a shared sense of belonging (p. 61). Utilizing this definition, he identifies four generations whose "coexistence and concurrence" over the course of the 1960s played a crucial role. These three aspects—material prosperity, a transformation in values, and generational conflict—mix and conflict throughout the rest of the book in fascinating and unpredictable ways.

The remainder of the book divides the "long 1960s" into four chronological chapters. The first chapter traces the rise of mass youth culture between 1959 and 1963. The second, from 1963 to 1967, focuses on the tension between the expansion of consumerism and the rise of a nonconformist youth culture. The following chapter focuses on the confluence of consumption and politics in the emergence of a coherent counterculture between 1967 and 1969. In the final chapter, Siegfried characterizes the period between the splintering of the student movement in 1969 and the end of the golden age in 1973 as a period of "consolidation and differentiation of an alternative everyday life" in which the value shifts of the previous decade solidified.

It would be impossible to overstate the depth, richness, and level of detail in Siegfried's study. Based on careful research in more than twenty archives in Germany and the United States, an exhaustive examination of the trade and underground presses, and an exceptional bibliography of primary and secondary sources, the book not only lays out a brilliant framework for thinking about consumption and politics but offers, in over 750 pages, an unmatched wealth of detail about the 1960s in West Germany. I was particularly struck by the thoughtful use of public opinion polling and market research to draw a clear picture of the slow transformation of the "normal" over the course of the decade. The breadth of topics examined matches the depth of research. Siegfried covers issues as diverse as the consumption preferences of teenagers, the changing role of the Nazi past in youth politics, the mass media, West German fascination with the Black Panthers, the underground publishing industry, the commune movement, as well as the politics of the counterculture. Each page divulges new details that will surprise even experts on the period.

Siegfried's book serves as the best and most complete book on the 1960s in West Germany. It also has an enormous amount to teach us about the politics of consumption. Siegfried admires the ways in which the counterculture in the 1960s used both consumption and politics to craft a way of living, and he reminds us that, although we live in a period that seems determined to separate radical politics and consumption, things do change. His book is a masterpiece that deserves a wide audience.

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AMY NELSON BURNETT. *Teaching the Reformation: Ministers and Their Message in Basel, 1529–1629.* (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 448. $74.00.

This book examines a subject that has sometimes been overlooked in studies of the European Reformation: the Protestant clergy. This relative neglect has arisen despite the fact that the idea of confessionalization, which has strongly influenced German-language scholarship, posits a model of historical change that places religion at the center of the research agenda. Understanding the role and function of the clergy has thus become essential, for these men were the agents and the intermediaries of the confessionalization process. The extent of their significance was brought home to historians a decade ago with the appearance of the magisterial studies by Luise Schorn-Schütte and Thomas Kaufmann. The book under review belongs in this company. In this meticulous study of the clerical estate in

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Protestant (Reformed) Basel, Amy Nelson Burnett has set out to shed as much light as possible on the first few generations of ministers in the Swiss city and how they should be situated in the broader patterns of reform and development between 1529 and 1629.

The book is divided into four parts, although general themes run throughout the text and link up the various sections. The issue of generational change, for instance, which allows Burnett to apply a synchronic and diachronic dimension to the questions she asks, is present throughout the analysis. In the first part, which surveys the rise of the Reformation and its gradual consolidation in the city, we are introduced to basic features of the clergy. In most respects the Basel ministry reflects broader trends. For instance, there was an increase in the standard of education and a growing likelihood to enter career-specific networks or join local clerical dynasties. There was also a progressive awareness of religious identity, a move from heterogeneity to homogeneity. Fairly unique to Basel, however, due to the university, was the number of local ministers who had been trained from start to finish at the local level. Part two examines the creation of pastoral education, beginning with a survey of the Basel schooling and stipendium system. Here the earlier points find further confirmation: the sense of confessional identity grew more intense, the local confessional environment more rigorous, the local clergymen more theologically precise. The analysis then turns to the content of the education. Especially interesting is the discussion of the importance of rhetoric and dialectic in the training of the pastors, and in particular the ascendancy of Ramism in the later decades of the sixteenth century. All of this was part of the trend toward a more pronounced uniformity and systematization, a development Burnett illustrates by drawing on a broad range of reading materials, teaching aids, publications, and disputations, as well as the history of the university over the period under study. As she demonstrates, the clergymen educated under the theologian Simon Sulzer (d. 1585) would have come away with a much less confessionalized outlook than the subsequent generation that sat at the feet of Johann Jacob Grynaeus (d. 1617), a man whose rhetorical and dialectical methods marked a shift from a more general Protestant theology to a clearly Reformed doctrine.

The third part of the book takes up the art of preaching and Reformed homiletics. Beginning with a survey of the nature of the aids and study guides, it turns to an analysis of the sermons themselves. The general picture speaks of phases in the type of preaching offered, shifts in style, such as the move from an expository to a topical approach. Burnett illustrates the general trends by drawing on the work of individual pastors. Christian Wurstisen, for instance, who began his training about mid-century, acquired his skills piecemeal. His favored mode was that of exegesis, drawing on pericopes, with appropriate deviations, and working through the biblical books. Johannes Brandmüller, in contrast, who served in office later in the century, organized his sermons topically with short expositions of Scripture. The resulting sermons were more polemic, more doctrinal, and more concerned with orthodoxy. The final section of the book takes up the theme of the pastor in the parish, examining the various career paths and methods of appointment, the church hierarchy and systems of rule, the duties in the parish, from the pastor as teacher and catechist to the pastor as shepherd and disciplinarian, and the experiences in general of the Protestant clergyman as a fairly recent arrival on the social landscape. Beneath Burnett's discussions of the various roles of the clergyman in the parish is an extremely wide range of knowledge and sensibility of the broader historical framework.

For all of its deep familiarity with the history of the Basel Reformation, this is not a book that will unseat or revise the general historiographical trends. Most of the paradigms common to this field—confessionalization, professionalization, the rise of orthodoxy, the idea of normative centering—will find confirmation in Burnett's rigorous research, and there is a final nod at the end of the book in the direction of "success" rather than "failure" in the overall impact of the Reformation. But a book of this quality does not need to court controversy in order to find its niche. This is one of the most exacting and informed studies of Reformation history of recent years, and it will soon establish itself as the new benchmark for any serious study of the clergy.

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Marina Garbellotti. *Le risorse dei poveri: Carità e tutela della salute nel principato vescovile di Trento in età moderna*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento; Monografie, number 46.) Bologna: Il Mulino. 2006. Pp. 424. €29.00.

Recent years have seen a marked expansion in the number of studies dealing with hospitals in the late medieval and Renaissance periods. This was a period of significant institutional development across Europe, particularly in Italy. In one city after another through the fifteenth century, small hospitals of a few beds each were being consolidated by civic authorities and confraternities into larger institutions with often monumental quarters befitting greatly expanded mandates. These institutions, often called Great Hospitals (*Ospedali Maggiori*) were the leading edge of the broader movements of welfare reform that characterized the sixteenth century. Constructed out of healthy stores of both monetary and social capital, they were signs of an active civil society whose members helped each other in service of God and the *buon commune*.

This all suggests perhaps more sweetness and light than actually characterized the process. The consolidations into Great Hospitals were also signs of shifting conceptualizations of poverty and charity, of who owned communal resources, and of the proper ends and beneficiaries of institutional care. And as such they were hotly contested. Consolidations frequently swept

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the endowments of small rural hospices into the portfolios of large urban hospitals, and offered in return only the prospect of a longer walk to get care. Rural communities guarded closely the charitable endowments left by legators over the decades and devised local strategies for dividing them among their own needy. Urban authorities frequently saw these strategies as a species of corrupt self-dealing, with the result that the dynamic of center and periphery in this instance was not just about power, but even more about different cultures of charity.

While most recent work on hospitals has favored the large urban institutions, Marina Garbellotti here aims to explore this urban/rural dynamic in the episcopal principality of Trent. Deeply rooted in the archives and responding to recent secondary literature, her study covers the period from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Trent was at this time an ecclesiastical principality within the Holy Roman Empire: that is, a state in which the bishop held both secular and ecclesiastical power, although his power locally was curbed by the cathedral chapter and a local magistracy. Garbellotti moves systematically through the areas of care that comprised the evolving system of poor relief in Trent. She opens by considering both economic and cultural factors in the contemporary effort to define and delimit the poor, noting how political and ecclesiastical authorities shaped definitions even when they did not offer funds. These same authorities aimed to license and control medical care, above all that offered by the empirics and pharmacists who filled in the gaps in institutional care. Institutional care itself developed both around schemes for mutual aid and also two larger hospitals—one established by a local confraternity and the other by German travelers, and both offering a range of services to a mixed clientele. The administrative reforms noted earlier initially passed Trent by, and it had a far more restricted range of institutions for the poor, lacking either a foundling home or syphilitics' hospital of the kind that multiplied across Italy. Yet by the seventeenth century a degree of rationalization and specialization could be found in Trent's confraternal hospital, which developed gradually into a center offering medical care and broad services for the poor while the German hospital continued as a hospice focusing on poor travelers. Trent did eventually open a conservatory for orphaned and abandoned girls, and it followed contemporary norms in its emphasis on conserving sexual honor and restoring girls to urban society as wives and mothers. Garbellotti wraps up the discussion with an extensive treatment of the hospitals' resources and their role in the local economy both as investors and property owners, and also as lenders to the poor. Contemporaries in Trent clearly viewed the goods of the *ospedale* as the goods of the poor, an older view superseded in republican regimes in Italy where the state and quasi-governmental organizations claimed these endowments for the common good, or in noble regimes like Ducal Florence where the Medici dipped into these same endowments for their own good and profit.

Garbellotti's research is extensive, well-focused, and thorough, and she employs fiscal records, dietary records, and censuses of poor very well to give a sharper picture of the experiences of the poor, and clearer assessments of the level of care they received. There is perhaps less emphasis on political developments through the early modern period than there could be. The individual chapters can be read as separate studies, and Garbellotti moves freely back and forth through the centuries, sometimes leaving the impression that the political contexts—if not the social conditions—were static. Yet in other chapters she is quite aware of this same context. This minor unevenness should not detract from a very valuable study.

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Paola Lanaro, editor. *At the Centre of the Old World: Trade and Manufacturing in Venice and the Venetian Mainland, 1400–1800.* (Essays and Studies, number 9.) Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies. 2006. Pp. 412.

Venice's economic importance has traditionally been attributed to its prominent role in international maritime trade. Likewise, what has widely been interpreted as its economic decline from the seventeenth century onward has been considered as a consequence of the loss of its role as a main commercial intermediary between East and West. The present collection of essays reflects a recent tendency among some Italian historians to abandon this interpretive model as far as the early modern period is concerned. By integrating research on the industrial production in the city of Venice with studies on manufacturing activities in the Venetian mainland, the relative importance of maritime trade is reduced and even the very concept of decline is put into doubt. Editor Paola Lanaro and the other nine contributors to this volume consider all Venetian territories in northern Italy as an economic system, composed of autonomous but interrelated networks, and characterized by a great variety of activities in manufactories, agriculture, trade, and finance, with an impressive competitive capacity and openness to new technologies and alternative modes of business management. Emphasis is laid on manufactories and internal trade, and, for the last two centuries covered by this collection, on the dynamics of change and adaptation in a chronological phase that has hitherto received little attention by economic historians of the Venetian Republic.

In her introductory chapter, Lanaro offers an overview of the main characteristics of the *terraferma* economy following its conquest by Venice in the early fifteenth century. The preservation of local autonomies of the main urban centers, particularly those situated further away from the metropolis or enjoying solid economical infrastructure, such as Brescia, Bergamo, Vicenza, and Verona, is presented as a decisive factor influencing the subsequent economic development of the Venetian mainland. Subject cities insisted on their

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right to hold fairs, and goods traded by entrepreneurs from these provincial towns reached markets far beyond the boundaries of the Venetian state. Lanaro points to the factors that prevented the formation of a coherent economic region comprising all Venetian territories in northern Italy, despite the accepted monopoly of Venice over the great maritime trade. The development of proto-industries in the countryside is also described as a salient trend of the early modern Veneto economy during the last two centuries covered by this book.

The first four essays by Andrea Mozzato, Marcello Della Valentina, Francesca Trivellato, and Walter Panciera deal with industrial developments in the city of Venice, whereas those by Edoardo Demo, Carlo Marco Belfanti, Giovanni Favero, Luca Mocarelli, and Francesca Vianello deal with *terraferma* manufactories. Mozzato's study emphasizes the early development of Venice's woolen industry, which enabled its spectacular Cinquecento take-off. The marked presence of foreigners among the workers, the availability of diversified raw materials, and protective measures by the state enabled this development, contributing to the transformation of Venice into the main industrial city of sixteenth-century Italy. The decline of woolen industry in the seventeenth century, which has often been indicated as a clear sign of Venice's economic decline, appears to be compensated by the growing importance of *terraferma* industries, both of woolens, and even more so of a great variety silk fabrics (the latter also in Venice itself), as demonstrated in the studies of Della Valentina, Panciera, Demo, and Vianello. The growing importance of silk in European markets enabled local entrepreneurs to free themselves from the grip of Venetian businessmen, as in the case of Vicenza, whose silk, grown in its province and produced in and around the town, was exported to England, France, Germany, and the Netherlands by Vicentine merchants.

In contrast with historiographical concepts related to the role of guilds in early modern economy, the studies by Della Vallentina and Panciera reveal the flexibility demonstrated by artisans and guilds, reflected, for instance, by their employment of cheap female labor so as to reduce production costs and withstand foreign competition. The flexibility and adaptation of Venetian manufactories is also described in Trivellato's study on Venice's glass industry, gradually shifting from producing luxury glassware to mass production of cheaper artifacts toward the end of the period. Panciera's essay on industrial activities in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Venice links the economic crisis and instability to the wider crisis of seventeenth-century Europe, in the period of plagues, of the Thirty Years' War and of the long war ending with the loss of Crete. Yet the concept of economic decline is forcefully rejected by Panciera, in view of the recovery of Venetian economy during the following century, when the city again became one of Europe's important productive centers, with dynamic industries in a variety of sectors, such as wool, silk, printing, glass, soap, wax, shipbuilding, and chemical industries, all of which successfully competed with foreign industries and adapted to changing circumstances.

The role of the rural areas in the textile industry is demonstrated in the essays by Demo and Vianello. The favorable conditions offered by the foothill areas with local raw materials, water power, and wood served as incentives. Belfanti's study of hosiery manufacturing draws our attention to another dynamic sector, particularly active in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Verona and Padua, with stockings and berets produced on the basis of a putting-out system. The collection also includes Favero's presentation of the ceramics and terracotta production, which moved from Venice and Padua toward the hills around Vicenza, Bassano Amgarano and Nove, and Mocarelli's study of the highly diversified economy of Venetian Lombardy. Indeed, Venetian Lombardy, with the important urban centers of Brescia and Bergamo, was linked to Milan, Genoa, and Lyons no less than to Venice, especially as the period was drawing to its close.

Offering us such a rich collection of studies emphasizing the productive capacities of Venice and its mainland between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries is, of course, to be commended and congratulated, yet is it really justifiable to downgrade the economic role of the republic's Mediterranean trade and overseas colonies? The little attention paid to these spheres in this collection is symptomatically represented by a map of Venice's overseas empire (p. 16), in which the largest and economically most important colony—Cyprus—does not even figure (besides other minor inaccuracies). Similarly, the emphasis on the adaptability of the productive sector is contrasted with an alleged rigidity and conservatism in the sphere of international trade, which is presented as remaining "firmly in the hands of the governing elite, the exclusive monopoly of the class of native Venetians" and therefore "inflexible and exclusive" (pp. 40–41). As a matter of fact, Venetians never had an exclusive monopoly on international trade flowing through their city, but only in specific sectors of this lucrative activity, and by the first half of the sixteenth century, even Jews and other Ottoman merchants were allowed to take part in Venice's international trade.

After going through this highly informative, richly documented, and carefully studied collection, one still remains perplexed by the discrepancy between, on the one hand, the irrefutable fact of Venice's marginalization in the wider context of the European and world economies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—admitted by the editor (p. 46) despite the book's title—and on the other hand, the presentation of the Venetian economy during these two centuries as dynamic, innovative, capable of adapting to new challenges, open to technological and organizational innovations, unhindered by corporative conservatism, capable of recovery after disasters (such as the 1630 plague), and successful in penetrating into new markets in northern, central, and eastern Europe. In view of the refusal to accept the concept of "decline" even in its

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relative version (proposed by Richard Rapp), this apparent paradox remains open. One may wonder whether the essential difference between the first two centuries covered by the book and the last ones, when other powers became prominent in the world economy, did not stem after all from the loss of the Serenissima's role as a leading commercial and maritime power.

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HENK TH. VAN VEEN. *Cosimo I de' Medici and his Self-Representation in Florentine Art and Culture*. Translated by ANDREW P. MCCORMICK. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 265. $90.00.

The present book brings to a much wider scholarly audience Henk Th. van Veen's analysis of Cosimo I de' Medici's "self-representation," published first in Dutch in 1998. Expanded and revised, it is an important manifestation of the quickening interest over the last several decades in many aspects of Cinquecento Florence under the rule of the Medici dukes. The bookis a well-informed, careful, and systematic discussion of the cultural politics of its chosen period, one that usefully embraces a broad interpretation of culture to include civic festivals and institutions as well as art, architecture, and literary production.

Van Veen wishes to disassociate himself from any suggestion that, as Cosimo's authority inside and beyond Florence increased, especially by the 1550s, his self-representation in culture expressed a parallel, confident blossoming. Rather, it was precisely in his early and more tentative decades of rule that the young Cosimo "preferred emphatically royal, dynastic, and territorial imagery," professing disdain not to say contempt for traditional Florentine civic culture. In 1559, however, with Siena annexed and "his power (taken) to new heights," he "charted a radically different course" by identifying his and his dynasty's past, present, and future with time-honored republican concepts of civil virtue and the "good commune" (p. 5). His motive for doing so was above all to make himself seem more a good and caring prince than "a self-aggrandizing, belligerent autocrat" (p. 38) in order to press home persuasively with the emperor and with the new pope his long cherished claim to a royal title. When, ten years later, he indeed became Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo cleverly created a new self image, drawing on while transforming these two starkly opposed former personae: the late Cosimo became a potent and majestic "citizen-prince" who was still deeply respectful of "republican, florentinist decorum" (p. 5). The organization of the book faithfully reflects this central argument. An early chapter describes Cosimo's aggressive, in one case "megalomaniacal" (p. 12), cultural projects in the first decades of his rule, while the middle portion of the work discusses at length his more civic-minded commissions as he developed a "Florentinist perspective"—including interventions in the *sala grande* of Palazzo della Signoria and several of Florence's major churches and the commissioning of the Neptune Fountain. The book concludes with an analysis of the commissions of his more assertive, but still Florentine-minded, late granducal supremacy in a city proudly conscious of its past and present cultural and civic achievements.

As he himself seems to anticipate, some readers may well consider that van Veen exaggerates the extent to which "Cosimo used his commissions to specific propagandistic ends" (p. 5). On the evidence provided here, however, and by other recent scholarly analyses, he makes a case to be answered. As for his point that the cultural policy of a prince such as Cosimo might well have had a subtle, even paradoxical, relationship with his political projects, that is to be welcomed as a corrective to oversimplified readings of the exercise of patronal power; even if at times there can seem to be too schematic a presentation of the case—the construction of dual political and cultural narratives and chronologies that dovetail too neatly. It must be said, however, that a thoroughly rounded interpretation of this subject would require more attention to be paid to the grass roots politics of the period, to its complicated social and cultural dynamics. As David Rosenthal began to demonstrate some years ago, groups such as the *potenze*—working-class festival brigades mentioned only en passant and described as "crude" (p. 149) by van Veen—interacted creatively with Cosimo, who had to take them very seriously as manifestations of both an older republican culture and the newer labor-ward of an emerging principality. There is to be found in this book, in short, little of the treacherous and violent world, vividly described by John Najemy in just a few short pages of his very recent *A History of Florence, 1200–1575* (2006), that informed both the culture of politics and the politics of culture in Cosimo's time. The author is of course aware that Cosimo propagandistically projected an image of himself as a "citizen-prince" in his last fifteen years (p. 189), but still he comes very close on a number of occasions to accepting at face value what the eulogists said of him and of Florence's happy prosperity under his enlightened and selfless reign. If Cosimo's self-presentation needs to be situated more firmly in its conflicted Florentine context, van Veen has nonetheless provided us with the stimulus to undertake the task, and much of the material with which to do so.

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DARIO GAGGIO. *In Gold We Trust: Social Capital and Economic Change in the Italian Jewelry Towns*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 352. $39.50.

This excellent book by Dario Gaggio serves two purposes: to unravel the profound differences in the functioning of the Italian industrial districts, and to offer some revision and qualification of the general categories used to explain their existence. Both purposes are reached through the use of comparative historical anal-

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ysis that shows its strategic relevance in preventing theories from becoming rigid and abstract. It is well known that understanding of the Italian industrial districts could not be based on standard economics, because of their collective nature (as against individualism) and the intertwining of culture, economics, and politics (as against their separation). Gaggio starts from the awareness that "public roles and private interests in the jewelry towns were inextricably linked and deliberately blurred" (p. 21) and takes great pains to discover how these features have developed over time in Valenza Po in Piedmont, Vicenza in Veneto, and Arezzo in Tuscany, where traditions (as well as historical developments) were different.

Before unfolding some of the interesting conclusions Gaggio draws from his research, I would like to point out what this work fully confirms: industrial districts cannot be "standardized" like fordist corporations. Each one owes its sheer existence to the special conditions and the special history it had, with a path dependence that is not at all deterministic but never converges on a "standard" path. Mark Granovetter's concept of embeddedness is useful, provided, as Gaggio is careful to notice, that it does not "degenerate into a form of social determinism" (p. 325), because the context itself is produced and reproduced by the process: "the extensive informal economies typical of the Italian industrial districts were not the legacy of tradition or backwardness, but rather the outcome of deliberative strategies" (p. 327). In the industrial districts, the "social" fabric of markets comes to the fore in an impressive way, precisely because of the extensive informality of the prevailing relations, and defeats the idea that markets have an inner logic which is the same all over the place. This is demonstrated also by the very enlightening comparison between the Italian jewelry towns and the American jewelry town of Providence in chapter seven.

The most important general conclusion reached by the author certainly concerns the fact that trust and civic virtues are not static initial conditions of the economic process (as Robert Putnam credited) but are produced as essential elements of the path of economic development considered feasible. If for a host of reasons (cultural, political, ideological, practical, in different combination according to the different places) the path of economic development selected is based on the small firm, then trust must prevail in society and the use of associations must be widespread. Gaggio concludes that "trust was the product of political deliberation, and therefore it was always provisional and contested" (p. 323). Also, the social capital that is being built over time must be continually valorized through purposeful actions, because it supports the building up and spreading of the appropriate human capital largely based on tacit knowledge.

I have only two points of disagreement. The minor one is the issue of sharecropping. Gaggio does consult some relevant literature on the issue, but it is impossible to generalize on this issue on the basis of three cases alone. There is, for instance, a huge literature on sharecropping in the Marche and in other Italian areas that would need to be considered before assessing the impact that sharecropping had on the cultural predominance of the small firm in many Italian regions. The second, more important point has to do with tax evasion and the evocation of Mafia. With regard to tax evasion, the problem is that it was not characteristic of the three jewelry towns considered, being a very widespread feature of the Italian economy of small firms. It cannot even be argued that tax evasion is due to the backwardness and low productivity of small firms without first ascertaining whether it might rather be due to excessive tax rates compared to those prevailing abroad for firms of comparable size. But what I do not accept at all is the way the Mafia is evoked. True, the Mafia acts illegally, as do jewelers. True, Mafia groups are based on trust and the jewelers' districts are based on trust. But this is a spurious parallelism. Jewelers produce jewels, using trust to spread knowledge and enlarge wealth, through the use of some illegal practices made functional to the maximization of production. The Mafia does not produce anything, does not increase social capital, does not possess and diffuse any knowledge, does not increase wealth, and through illegal practices aimed at extracting surplus from genuine producers minimizes production and impoverishes the areas where it is based. A superficial parallel between these two realities played along the concepts of illegality or trust is confusing.

On the whole, I hope this book will be widely read, not only by people interested in the Italian industrial districts but by all those who want to know more about the social dimension of markets.

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MARKUS CERMAN and ROBERT LUFT, editors. *Untertanen, Herrschaft und Staat in Böhmen und im "Alten Reich": Sozialgeschichtliche Studien zur Frühen Neuzeit.* (Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum, number 99.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2005. Pp. viii, 369. €39.80.

One of the many satisfying consequences of the unraveling of the Soviet system in Central and Eastern Europe was that it created a much easier atmosphere for international academic cooperation among scholars and students in the region and the West. The present, handsomely produced volume is testimony to one of the success stories of that development: the international research project "Sociale Strukturen in Böhmen in der Frühen Neuzeit." This project links the work of scholars from Great Britain, Germany, the Czech Republic, and Austria in a multiyear, international collaborative exploration of social structures in Bohemia and its neighboring regions in the early modern period. The contributions to this volume, which supplements and extends the project's earlier publication (*Soziale Strukturen in Böhmen: Ein regionaler Vergleich von Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Gutsherrschaften, 16.–19. Jahrhun-*

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dert, edited by Markus Cerman and Hermann Zeitlhofer [2002]), are the revised presentations from a conference held in 1999 at the Collegium Carolinum in Munich. Most of these studies focus on the period from the mid-seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth, although some begin as far back as the late medieval period, and in their various ways they shed interesting light on aspects of relationships among landlord, peasant, and state during that broad period.

The book is organized in three sections, the first of which includes two studies exploring the relations between state authority and local society (Eduard Maur on Bohemia and Sheilagh Ogilvie on Freidland/Frýdlant). The middle section, which includes eight contributions, consists of more detailed micro-historical explorations of specific regions such as Western Moravia (Telč), by Bronislav Chocholač; Southern Bohemia (Chýnov), by Josef Grulich; Western Bohemia (Šťáhlavy), by Alice Velková; Rychnov n. Kněžnou, by Alena Pazderová; Northern Bohemia (Frýdlant), by Dana Štefanová; Kapličky on the Vyšší Brod estate, by Hermann Zeitlhofer; and Poděbrady, by Lenka Matušíková. A contribution by Werner Troßbach surveys a broader area between the Elbe and the Oder.

Relying on painstaking analyses of available sources—mainly the estate registers (*Grundbücher*) that record transactions involving peasant holdings—but also using the registers of the village courts (*Schöppenbücher*), cadastral surveys, and other documents, the authors analyze the ways in which local society functioned, and how it related to the authority of immediate and more distant overlords. Each contributor provides a wealth of statistical and other data organized in numerous tables that provide valuable, if somewhat impersonal, comparative potential for scholars interested in early modern local society. The larger themes that emerge from the various contributions include the nature and extent of subject relations (specifically with regard to the so-called "Second Serfdom" in eighteenth-century Bohemia), the frequency and forms of subject resistance to authority, and the means and extent to which central ("state") authority reached the local community. Other themes include peasant mobility, family relations and inheritance, and the development of cottage manufactory labor. The collection is closed by two more, broadly conceived explorations of the development and changes in the nature of subject status (*Untertänigkeit*) on a wider temporal canvas (by Cerman, who also provides a thoughtful and effective summary introduction, and Tom Scott).

Altogether, the contributions to this volume, like those of its predecessor, provide an opportunity to enrich our understanding of major themes of early modern social history in Central Europe through enriching the textures of the existing major conclusions, and reinforcing or revising our understanding of the ways in which they found specific expression in a limited time and place. Partly due to the nature of the sources, the volume tends to be more numerical and categorical than enlivened by personal and individual stories, which makes all the more welcome those instances where real people step out of the sources and share their experiences with the reader. But the work, and the research project that gave it birth, both provide and will continue to provide very useful information for those interested in placing Bohemian social relations in the early modern period into a broader European context.

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Phillip T. Rutherford. *Prelude to the Final Solution: The Nazi Program for Deporting Ethnic Poles, 1939–1941*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. xv, 328. $34.95.

At a time when scholars at the Brookings Institute (and a Democratic presidential candidate) are advocating a "soft partition" of Iraq to resolve ethno-sectarian conflict, Phillip T. Rutherford's book is a welcome corrective to the notion that ethnic cleansing can be done cleanly (or "softly"). Rutherford focuses on the ground zero of Nazi resettlement policies from 1939–1941, the Poznan/Posen region (which the Nazis annexed as part of Reichsgau Wartheland). He examines how the initial determination by Adolf Hitler and the Nazi administration to make Wartheland an entirely *Polenfrei* (and *Judenfrei*) "parade ground province of National Socialism" by deporting millions of Poles and hundreds of thousands of Jews to the "reservation" of the Generalgouvernment gave way within two short years to the ostensibly more rational aim of exploiting the region's human and material resources for the Reich's war efforts.

Rutherford deftly shows how expulsions in the Wartheland developed within the regime's anti-Polish and anti-Jewish ideological imperatives, the region's economic integration into the Reich, and broader efforts to "straighten the lines of settlement" of *Deutschtum* throughout Europe. The deportations ultimately proved economically counterproductive, but Nazi efforts to Germanize western Poland worked hand-in-hand with the Reich's first (but by no means last) organization of a "retreat" of German settlement further west. Even before the war the Nazis began negotiating agreements—with Italy, and after September 1939 with the Soviet Union and other countries in Eastern Europe—voluntarily to repatriate to Germany several hundred thousand ethnic Germans. Germanizing Wartheland thus included both the "weeding" of the native Polish population as well as the planting of various groups of German settlers.

These efforts at the "soft partition" of the ethnographic map of Eastern Europe produced chaos. The Nazi leadership in Wartheland adapted their program of German colonization to settle an ongoing stream (soon a flood) of repatriated Germans as quickly as possible. Often the authorities could not even protect "their own" people from significant loss of life and dislocation, although they tried to dispossess as many Poles as needed to accommodate repatriated Germans.

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The Nazis' peculiar combination of (relative) racist solicitude for ethnic Germans and maximal brutality toward Poles proved unable to ensure the smooth functioning of ethnic cleansing.

Rutherford makes a strong but not entirely convincing case that the eventual *de facto* abandonment of mass deportation to the Generalgouvernment after 1941 represents a "deradicalization" of Nazi *Polenpolitik*. The final round of deportations in the spring of 1941 failed to achieve anything close to their targets, and the German authoritiesexpanded the categories of what constituted German nationality through a revised *Volksliste* (German national list) at variance with the racially utopian goal to completely expel all Poles Hitler set for his officials in the fall of 1939. The new *Volksliste* gave authorities more leeway to grant German nationality to Poles, and thus represented a Nazi effort to fudge racial categories while maintaining the illusion of a progressive Germanization. Three problems with this view of "deradicalization" stand out, however. While the Nazis halted deportations from Wartheland to the Generalgouvernment, they continued their ongoing internal displacement of Poles within the province throughout the war and deported hundreds of thousands of Poles to the Reich as slave labor. Furthermore, within both the *Altreich* and Wartheland, Polish forced laborers (and other Poles in the relative liberty of internal exile) experienced deepening, not lessening, racial discrimination in an apartheid system of segregation. In Warthegau, at least, the theoretically more liberal expansion of the *Volksliste* did not lead to a significant number of the Poles of Poznan being acknowledged as German. By the standards of their initial (dystopian) goals, the Nazis failed immediately to deport up to eight million Poles. Yet this "deradicalization" occurred within the context of both the heightened racial war against the Jewish people and the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. In any war, even a racial war, strategy involves allocating effort among competing tasks.

Hence, while this is a fine operational history of the deportations themselves, the initial failure of a particular form of ethnic cleansing (direct and massive expulsions out of the borders of the Reich) cannot be considered in isolation from other aspects of Nazi policy. Precisely as Rutherford acknowledges (both in argument and in his work's subtitle), in Wartheland the Nazis first learned how to move whole populations and "cleanse" entire regions. The ultimately failed efforts to ethnically cleanse western Poland were indeed the prelude to the Final Solution, as the Nazis garnered experience for genocide by developing expertise in expulsions. It is hard to envision a more radical result of Nazi *Polenpolitik* than the Germans acquiring the expertise they later used to destroy European Jewry.

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Lee Congdon, Béla K. Király, and Karoly Nagy, editors. *1956: The Hungarian Revolution and War for Independence*. Translated by Paul Body, Andrew Gane, and Brian McLean. (Atlantic Studies on Society in Change, number 128; East European Monographs, number 700; War and Society in East Central Europe, number 40.) Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Monographs. 2006. Pp. xiii, 956. $60.00.

László Eörsi. *The Hungarian Revolution of 1956: Myths and Realities*. Translated by Mario D. Fenyo. (Hungarian Studies Series, number 11; East European Monographs, number 693.) Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Monographs and Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications. 2006. Pp. xi, 207. $40.00.

When the Hungarian state marked the fiftieth anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution in October 2006, it projected an image of a nation united by a desire for freedom that rose up against a brutal dictatorship, replacing a communist system with its own democratic values. Although this revolution was suppressed by the military forces of the Soviet Union, intent on ensuring that Hungary remained within its grip, the revolution achieved a kind of victory in defeat, sowing the seeds of Hungary's democratic transition in the 1990s. On the fiftieth anniversary Hungary was rocked by a political crisis, as its government was challenged on the streets by radical right-wing protestors, in events that led to the most serious political violence in the country since the revolution itself. While the protestors were by no means heirs of the revolution, operating with much more restricted public support in a radically different political context, their demonstrations drew upon a version of the memory of the revolution. As a consequence, far from underlining the official intention of projecting the memory of the revolution as a unifying force, underpinning the success of contemporary democracy, the anniversary revealed the traces of deep-seated political divisions that had come to the surface since 1989, but that had festered since 1956.

The two books under review do not address the political context of the fiftieth anniversary, but they are revealing of the strengths and limitations of some of the historical research that is being currently conducted into the history of the revolution. Given the implication of the 1956 Revolution in political tensions inside Hungary, historical inquiry ought to explain the roots of this situation. László Eörsi's collection of essays addresses the issues of links between past and present most closely. It is a response to this process of the shrouding of the events of the revolution in myth, and an attempt to resist the political appropriation of actors associated with the armed resistance on Budapest's streets in autumn 1956 by Hungary's anticommunist right. Eörsi is the outstanding historian of Budapest's armed groups of street fighters. Since the early 1990s, he has worked tirelessly in the archives and through oral history to reconstruct the social history of the various armed groups who beat back the first Soviet intervention before succumbing to the second. The essays in this book, an English translation of a volume originally published in Hungarian as *Mítoszok helyett—1956* (2003), center around a series of historical figures. Eörsi's approach is to con-

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centrate on the difference between the representation of each of his subjects by the political actors who have sought to use them, and the results of his own empirical historical research.

While the publishers are to be congratulated for bringing important work on the social history of 1956 to an English-reading audience, it is far from clear that readers will grasp the context within which Eörsi writes, or even the figures he is writing about. Within political debate surrounding 1956, historians associated with the postsocialist and liberal left have stressed the role of reform communist intellectuals and politicians, seeking to appropriate the memory of those who surrounded the revolutionary prime minister, Imre Nagy, to affirm a connection between their political views today and the traditions of the revolution. The right, however, has placed greater stress on the street fighters, especially those who paid with their lives during the process of judicial reprisal that followed the suppression of the 1956 Revolution. Two of those who are subjects of Eörsi's essays, Ilona Tóth and Péter Mansfeld, have been elevated to the status of "martyrs" of the nation in much cultural and political discourse. Eörsi demonstrates convincingly that the evidence suggests that the "myths" that have surrounded their role conceal a more ambiguous picture of their actual deeds.

The most serious weakness of the collection is its treatment of myth. Eörsi seeks to define "myth" as a fiction that can be contrasted with a reality that can be distilled through reliance on the documents generated by the police and the courts during the late 1950s. While he is convincing in his treatment of the documentary evidence, he fails to draw out the implications of his analysis. Eörsi rightly contextualizes the documentary evidence generated by János Kádár's security forces and his courts by arguing that it was the product of a process of political justice that was sharply differentiated both from the practice of Stalinist show trials of the early 1950s, and criminal courts motivated by more liberal principles of justice. He concludes that Kádár's courts were interested in prosecuting "crimes" that really happened, but that they situated such crimes in a political context defined by ideologically motivated myths of 1956 as a "counter-revolution." Eörsi, however, misses the crucial point that in politicizing these crimes, and thus tying them to official myths, Kádár's courts created the conditions under which those tried, sentenced, and executed could be appropriated for other political purposes later.

While Eörsi's book does critically analyze myths of 1956, *1956: The Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence* combines elements of an official commemorative volume, a collection of recent research into the history of the period, and a selection of participants' accounts. Its title directly echoes the official terminology used to describe the annual 23rd October public holiday that commemorates the outbreak of the revolution—which, in turn, seeks to equate Hungary's revolutions in 1848 and 1956. The volume, however, is highly uneven. Some of the essays within it blur the boundaries between scholarship and political advocacy. This results in the occasional inclusion of judgments that are inappropriate in a scholarly context. One contributor begins, for example, a study on the role of the armed forces with the assertion that the revolution represented a "transformation from adolescence to manhood. It was a transformation from a people directed by higher authority, a subject people, to a community animated by common purpose: a nation" (p. 414). In the chapter concerned, no evidence is presented that would support such grandiose claims.

The strongest contributions are those by Hungarian historians, who have delved into the archives since the change-of-system in 1989. The scholarly value of this book lies in the essays that deal with Hungary's relations with its immediate neighbors during the mid-1950s, the events of late October, and the role of Nagy. Taken as a whole, they are revealing of the strengths and weaknesses of research as a whole into the revolution since 1989. The most marked trend is the methodological conservatism of much of the historiography. Revolutions cry out for social investigation, given their role as moments when power passes from the traditional political arenas to the street, the factory, or the field. Although this was true of 1956, there is little such analysis in this book. The only nod on the direction of history-from-below is Attila Szakolczai's essay dealing with the revolution beyond Budapest, based on his extensive work with historians countrywide over the past decade. He demonstrates convincingly that from 1955 onward the authority of the regime was collapsing in the face of popular mobilization. Yet, despite his findings, neither the editors, not many of the other contributors, have taken the opportunity presented to revise their overly Budapest-centered accounts of the revolution's origins.

Most of the work presented in this book—and most of the work being done in Hungary—is narrowly political, focused on international relations, the concerns of governments, or military institutions. It either self-consciously ignores the social aspects of the revolution by virtue of its subject matter, or seeks to ignore it. Some authors in this volume hide behind a misguided positivism in order to avoid deploying social analysis, even where it is relevant to their argument. Zoltán Szász, for example, in his article on the impact of the revolution in Romania, avoids the issue of the effect of 1956 on Romanian society by arguing that "the primary texts at our disposal are the 'official texts' of the authorities" (p. 133). Given that historians of Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, and, more recently, Central and Eastern Europe have succeeded in revealing something of popular attitudes towards dictatorial power from comparable sources, Szász's attempt to avoid social analysis seems odd. This, however, is symptomatic of a broader problem, in that while the revolution cries out for the application of approaches from social history, many of its historians—especially Hungarian ones—continue to insist on a narrow, overly conservative political approach to its history. Until this approach

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is transcended, it will be impossible to probe beneath the "official" version of the history of the 1956 Revolution presented by Hungary's postsocialist state and reveal the historical roots of the tensions that lie behind the more divisive and ambiguous popular memory of the revolution among the population—a memory that was on display in the protests, and reaction to them, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of 1956 in 2006.

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R. J. CRAMPTON. *Bulgaria*. (Oxford History of Modern Europe.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xxi, 507. £35.00.

R. J. Crampton is the foremost English-language scholar in the field of Bulgarian history. After meandering from Bulgarian history to produce several surveys of East European and Balkan history, he has come back to his field of origin to write a definitive survey of Bulgarian history. Crampton's book is nothing short of a gift to scholars interested in Bulgaria, offering the most comprehensive and detailed survey to date of Bulgarian history in the English language. This volume is much more than an elaboration of Crampton's earlier *A Short History of Modern Bulgaria* (1987). It is almost twice the length of the former and it engages much of the literature on Bulgaria that has been produced since 1987, including new avenues of analysis, and a broad and thoughtful bibliographic essay that guides the reader where to go for further reading, primarily in Bulgarian and English.

The book's greatest strength by far is in the realm of political history. Like no other English-language source, this volume navigates the complexity of Bulgarian political history in a detailed and analytical fashion. Crampton introduces the readers to all of the most important personages and political parties in Bulgarian history, while clarifying their relations to each other, to foreign states, and to various domestic issues. Crampton ably connects politics to economic and social history as various interests and actors come into contact and conflict with political policy. Issues surrounding Bulgarian economic development, the plight of peasant and worker, and the broader field of diplomatic relations and Great Power patronage are all well developed in the course of the book. In addition, Crampton manages to give at least cursory treatment to women in Bulgaria, with a more elaborated discussion of Muslims and other minorities.

The scope and constraints of the project—to delineate all of modern Bulgarian history in some 400-plus pages—inevitably give rise to certain weaknesses. Crampton's strategic choices in this regard tend to favor politics and secondarily economics, with a paucity of culture and broader conceptualization. I think that readers would be better enlightened with greater attention and interpretation of various larger issues: for example, the meanings and machinations of liberalism, nationalism, consumerism, and backwardness in the Bulgarian context. Apropos to all of these questions, I would recommend a greater exploration of the Bulgarian perceptual place between East and West, beyond the rather perfunctory four-page epilogue. Broader interpretive strokes would be more useful and memorable than the exhaustive detail provided, which often requires that readers sift, analyze, and construct a bigger picture on their own.

Other pitfalls are connected with Crampton's own empirical focus on certain issues and periods at the expense of others. The period from 1878 to 1945 represents his greatest strength, having been central to his research and writing for much of his career. Crampton's treatment of other periods, though also satisfactory, tends to lack the same level of nuance and detail. At the risk of sounding Ottoman nostalgic, his negative view of Bulgaria's "high price to pay" for Ottoman stability seems rather simplistic. More specifically the notions that there was an "immediate destruction of nobility" at the time of conquest and "forced conversion of Bulgarians" in the late seventeenth century are controversial, if not historically inaccurate. Most of the Bulgarian nobility survived a whole century of Ottoman rule before their total destruction. As for "forced conversions" of the late seventeenth century, the documents that "proved" such conversions have been long shown to be nineteenth-century forgeries, although there is still some controversy within Bulgarian academia on this point. The communist period, though lacking such problems, does not seem to engage many of the more interesting cultural questions that have recently enriched our understanding of that complex era. In addition to the above issues, I found a general paucity of footnotes in the text, at times frustrating when more information or analysis of a given point is sought. This of course, might have more to do with editorial restriction than Crampton's own preference.

In spite of such reflections, in many ways as much of a wish list as critique, Crampton's book is undoubtedly an important addition to the Anglo-American literature on Bulgarian history. In fact, of all the books in this sparse field, I would say it is the most important volume to date.

MARY NEUBURGER
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SERHII PLOKHY. *The Origins of Slavic Nations: Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xix, 379. $90.00.

In the tsarist empire and, subsequently, in the Soviet Union, it was common practice for mainstream historians to consider the East Slavs—Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians—to constitute a single, Russian-defined whole. As one might expect, Russian historians were especially persistent in propagating this view, and Western specialists in the field usually followed their lead. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and rise of independent successor states, this approach was fundamentally altered. Especially among Ukrainian histo-

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rians the tendency appeared to emphasize the national and historical distinctions among the East Slavs, particularly among Ukrainians and Russians. It is a classic case of historiography adjusting to political change.

Serhii Plokhy's study of premodern East Slavic identities—that is, of the medieval roots of modern sovereignty—reflects this new historiographical trend. One should use the term "new" advisedly, however; a century ago, Mykhailo Hrushevsky set the process of distinguishing Ukrainian and Russian history in motion, but Soviet rule repressed this development. Plokhy begins by addressing the vexing question of the ethnic composition of Kyiv Rus: did it consist of one common Old Rus ethnicity, as Soviet historians argued, or of three distinct proto-Russian, proto-Ukrainian, and proto-Belarusian ethnicities? His conclusion is that in view of the fluctuating ethno-cultural identities in Kyivan Rus, attempting to establish the existence of a single Old Rus identity or three proto-national identities is no longer justified. Indeed, applying nation-based concepts to this period does more harm than good. After discussing the dissemination or translation of the Rus heritage to such geographically and culturally distant and disparate polities as Galicia-Volhynia in the west and, later, Suzdal-Vladimir in the northeast, emphasizing in the process the importance of local identity, the author concentrates on the differences that existed between those who claimed Rus identity in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in the Grand Principality of Moscow. Plokhy argues that in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries the term Rus served as a kind of "floating identity" that was utilized by such different entities as Galicia-Volhynia, the Rus of Smolensk, and emergent Muscovy.

In dealing with the development of the Muscovite "identity-building project," Plokhy rightly notes the relative unimportance of ethnic identity. It would, nonetheless, have been useful to attempt at least some measure of its significance during this period. He implies that centuries of Mongol domination were more important in the formation of Muscovite identity than the "rediscovery" in the fifteenth century of ties to the Kyivan heritage. This renewed interest in Kyiv was primarily a reflection of Moscow's growing power and of its need to construct a legitimizing past. It should be seen in connection with the concurrent Muscovite attempts to search for links to Byzantium and to Rome. Interestingly, Plokhy points out that it was actually the Russian historian Paul Miliukov who preceded Hrushevsky in arguing that Russians should seek their origins in the Muscovite northeast, not in Kyivan Rus.

As a distinct Ruthenian identity developed among the East Slavs under Lithuanian and Polish rule, it also drew on the Kyivan heritage. But the religious and cultural confrontation between Ruthenians and Poles meant that in terms of form and content the Ruthenian identity would be markedly different from that of the Muscovites. Indeed, when Ruthenians and Muscovites came into close contact after 1654, it was as two very distinct nationalities that had primarily Orthodoxy in common. The inclusion of Ukrainians and Belarusians into the Russian empire led to the need to develop a "reunification paradigm," one in whose formulation Kyivan literati played, at least at the outset, a leading role. This resulted in the redefinition of Ukraine as Little Russia and Ruthenians/Ukrainians into Little Russians. From being a distinct ethnicity, Ukrainians and Belarusians were transformed into a variant of Great Russians. Plokhy concludes his study by rejecting "primordialist" attempts to nationalize the medieval past. He does, however, hope that his study will serve to identify the premodern roots of the differences that exist among Ukrainians, Russians, and Belarusians today.

Well written and logically organized, this is a calmly but persuasively argued study. It demonstrates the author's familiarity with the traditional and the modern Western, Ukrainian, and Russian historiographies on an important topic. Moreover, Plokhy is adept, when need be, at utilizing the relevant primary sources. One might wish that in terms of methodology he had paid some attention to John Armstrong's work on nations before nationalism. And perhaps he could have been more venturesome by making some comparisons between the malleability of the Kyivan identity and that of imperial Rome in Western Europe and Byzantium. Nonetheless, this is a timely treatment of a complex and contentious topic, one that contributes greatly to our understanding of both the past and the present.

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Alexander Bitis. *Russia and the Eastern Question: Army, Government, and Society, 1815–1833*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 542. $120.00.

Studies of Russia's relations with the Ottoman Empire and Iran tend to focus on diplomacy, while others examine Russia's military doctrine and wartime performance. Alexander Bitis succeeds in integrating both sets of concerns into a single narrative. The period covered here saw consequential developments, including wars between Russia and both of its southern neighbors as well as the Russo-Ottoman Treaty of Hünkâr Iskelesi (1833), which caused exaggerated alarm in Europe, especially Britain, about Russian expansionism. Although the main interpretations presented in this book are largely in keeping with the scholarship of the past generation, the author's research in Russian as well as British archives enables him to present fresh evidence to buttress his points.

One of the book's strengths is its examination of debates among high-ranking Russian military officers about how to fight the Ottomans. The prevailing view at the highest levels was that there are rationally derived laws of warfare that apply in all settings, at all times. In contrast, some officers in Russia's Second Army, based in the southern part of the country, argued for the importance of the particular, the need to know not only specifics of geography but also the way a foe's

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culture shapes his mentality and thus his behavior in combat. Underlying this practical disagreement among men who had fought wars and expected to fight again is an epistemological debate on the relative significance of the universal and the specific that continues to this day among scholars as well as policy makers. Bitis sides with the Second Army officers. Yet in presenting their views, he does not consider one essential issue: what if the assessment of a specific foe is based on faulty information and biases? He reports, without questioning, Colonel I. P. Liprandi's stereotype of Ottoman soldiers as characterized by Muslim fatalism, superstition, fanaticism, and panic.

There are certain figures in the book, including Liprandi, whom the author admires and whose views he tends to accept at face value. One striking example of this is the treatment of General A. P. Ermolov, commander in the Caucasus for much of the period of the book. The author praises Ermolov as the right kind of person, one with a "firm hand," to suppress the peoples of the North Caucasus, who did not want to be ruled by Russia (p. 75). He quotes, with apparent approval, Ermolov's remark that the "terror of my very name," not conciliation, was necessary to establish order there (p. 75). Although acknowledging that Ermolov's methods were "severe" and mentioning in passing that Ermolov's policy was to drive the Chechens out of the lowlands into the high mountains to starve them into submission, Bitis never addresses the massacres and other terror tactics that Ermolov used to impose his will. The author is willing to question the veracity of Ermolov's rival and eventual successor, General I. F. Paskevich, in blaming Ermolov for the outbreak of war with Iran in 1826, but he does not question the latter's self-justification, even though he was caught off guard by the Iranians' attack. There is barely a hint of Ermolov's contemptuous behavior toward the Iranians during his diplomatic mission there in 1816, and none of his sending troops in 1825 to a key location on the route toward Yerevan, then part of Iran—a provocative act from the Iranian perspective. Instead, Bitis ascribes all the blame for the war to Iran; Ermolov's weak response at the start of the war is excused.

Even apart from the author's favoritism toward certain people, he follows too closely the sources he has so assiduously mined in Russian archives. For example, he repeatedly accepts Third Section reports on public opinion about sensitive issues. Granted, it is difficult to gauge what public opinion was in the Russia of that day, but the absence of better sources does not make Third Section claims invariably reliable.

The overall tone of the book accepts a Russian perspective too readily. Even personal and place names from the Ottoman Empire and Iran are often transliterated via Russian. People who did not want to be ruled by Russia are called rebels, even if Russia's claim to their territory was debatable. Various Christian peoples of the Balkans who were not sufficiently deferential to Russia were ingrates, not people with their own interests. Bringing Armenians and Georgians under Russian rule was liberation. Whatever the problems these people had with their former rulers, inclusion in the Russian Empire brought not only benefits but also more centralized Russian control and more condescending Russian officials than many of these peoples wanted.

The readers who will find this book most useful are those who have some background in the subject matter and therefore have a context into which to place the new information.

MURIEL ATKIN
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JOHN RANDOLPH. *The House in the Garden: The Bakunin Family and the Romance of Russian Idealism*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 287. $45.00.

In the history of Russian culture, themes of consciousness and self-awareness are among the most fascinating and problematic that scholars can choose to confront. The differences between a medieval or traditional mind and a modern mind can be hard to pinpoint, and even if successfully conceptualized, almost impossible to document. John Randolph, while not deliberately setting out to tackle the historical problem of consciousness, has done so by implication. In his study of two generations of Bakunins, a highly cultured noble family from the province of Tver, he traces, in just one of its many facets, the shift from a traditional to a modern mindset: the shift from a process of individual identity formation rooted in acceptance of a God-given social order and a religious sense of duty and obligation to one centered on individual self-development (intellectual, emotional, and moral) and on the ability of each individual to define his or her place in the world in terms of personal self-development.

Randolph's subject is the Bakunin estate of Priamukhino, presided over by Aleksandr and Varvara Bakunin, the parents of eleven children, including the charismatic anarchist, Mikhail, and his transitorily liberated sisters, Varvara and Liubov. In a lovely narrative that is pure pleasure to read, Randolph brings to life the emotions and personalities of the Bakunin family and a close circle of friends with ties to Moscow University. Based on letters, diaries, and prerevolutionary Russian historiography, Randolph tells a story of individual self-emancipation and moral self-reformation inspired by European religious spiritualism and post-Kantian German Idealist philosophy (the likes of Schelling, Schiller, Fichte, and Hegel). Randolph centers his story on the family life of the Bakunins, which Aleksandr turned into a beacon of tolerance and enlightenment admired by young Moscow intellectuals of Mikhail's acquaintance. In Randolph's rendering, the intellectual history of the Bakunin family becomes a history of the "origins of the Russian intelligentsia," represented in Aleksandr's generation by Nikolai Lvov, Gavriil Derzhavin, and Aleksei Olenin, and in Mikhail's by Nikolai Stankevich and Vissarion Belinsky.

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The emergence of the intelligentsia and the development of modern social thought are complicated, multidimensional topics that cannot be fully explained with reference to a single atypical noble family. Randolph makes no claim to such exhaustive analysis; however, he does try (not always successfully) to differentiate his study from psychologically oriented works, published primarily in the 1960s and 1970s, that hinge on the concept of alienation. He also tries (with greater success) to address fascinating but ambiguous "facts" brought into the historiography by late imperial scholars. What is most creative and original about Randolph's book is his skill in showing how Mikhail Bakunin, his sisters Liubov and Varvara, and his friends Stankevich and Belinsky sought to live philosophy, or more precisely sought to use philosophy as a guide for living, and how their efforts undermined the enlightened idyll so carefully cultivated by Aleksandr Bakunin. In the case of Liubov and Varvara, the life of philosophy led to personal unhappiness in the wake of female emancipation (defined as the rejection of marriage without love); in the case of Mikhail, to anarchism and imprisonment; and in the case of Belinsky, to disillusionment with idealist philosophy and a turn to radical social criticism—hence the origins of the Russian intelligentsia.

Historians have long recognized a "parting of ways" between the government and educated society in the early nineteenth century. But Randolph's focus on the familial setting and on the emotional consequences of enlightenment and philosophy also highlights another important aspect of Russian sociocultural history: the relationship between public and private life. Avoiding the Habermasian formulations that have become so familiar to historians, Randolph shows that among the enlightened educated elites of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the organization and ongoing reformation of domestic life came to be seen as a source of social and political values that could be used to transform Russia. This is perhaps just another way of saying that in a political system grounded in absolute monarchy and serfdom, the only effective arena for societal initiative lay in the home and in the ideal of moral self-perfection. It is ironic, moreover, that Russian political culture and legal-administrative practice taught something similar to what the Bakunins and their friends attempted to live. Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Russian government assumed that the reform of society and institutions, and indeed the very realization of justice, depended less on changes in political and social arrangements and more on the moral improvement of the individual subject. Randolph's study confirms the significance of this theme and suggests that the birth of the Russian intelligentsia can be seen as the mirror image of the imperial system forged by Peter I and Catherine II in the eighteenth century.

An evocative book that will elicit a range of responses, Randolph's monograph provides serious intellectual food that cannot fail to enrich the reader.

Elise Kimerling Wirtschafter
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Denise J. Youngblood. *Russian War Films: On the Cinema Front, 1914–2005*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2007. Pp. xvi, 319. $34.95.

As a leading historian of Russian film in the American academy, Denise J. Youngblood has contributed significantly to our understanding of Russia's rich cinematic tradition. Her previous books—*Soviet Cinema in the Silent Era, 1918–1935* (1991), *Movies for the Masses: Popular Cinema and Soviet Society in the 1920s* (1992), and *The Magic Mirror: Moviemaking in Russia, 1908–1918* (1999)—have expanded our knowledge of early Russian and Soviet film far beyond the works of world-famous directors, such as Sergei Eisenstein, Vsevolod Pudovkin, and Dziga Vertov. In addition to treating Soviet art films, Youngblood discusses popular Russian movies, which, although little known outside of their homeland, were seen and enjoyed by millions of Russian viewers. Youngblood's latest book continues this valuable work of integrating popular film into the history of Russian cinema. However, rather than concentrate on a particular period, director, or cinematic movement, the author takes a thematic approach, addressing arguably the most important subject of Russian cinema: namely the armed conflicts that engulfed the country throughout the twentieth century.

As the book's time span indicates, Youngblood provides an overview of the entire canon of Russian war films, beginning with works that depict Russian involvement in World War I and ending with movies devoted to the country's ongoing hostilities in Chechnya. The author organizes her material chronologically, using the date of each film's production to determine its placement within the traditional periods of twentieth-century Russian and Soviet history. Individual chapters, for example, address the revolutionary era, the Great Patriotic War (Russians' name for World War II), the Thaw, and glasnost. This sequential organization allows Youngblood to draw a clear and convincing picture of the ways in which Russian war films "not only *reflected* their times but also *shaped* their times" (p. 1). In the course of her analysis, Youngblood demonstrates that art films and popular movies about Russia's many wars during the twentieth century share common concerns and themes. Among these, the aggressive woman warrior, the martyred Soviet soldier, a correspondence between fidelity in love and devotion to the motherland, and an ever-increasing ambivalence toward war's ability to resolve conflict stand out. Youngblood also provides fascinating discussions of Joseph Stalin's apotheosis in films of the immediate post–World War II period and of cinema's key role in the formation of the cult of the Great Patriotic War after Stalin's demise. The author concludes that Russian war films provide the "ideal ve-

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hicle to explore the cultural construction of the enemy" (p. 232), whether external (the capitalist West or fascist Germany) or internal (White Russians, Nazi collaborators, or, in more recent films, the state itself). Her book also contains ample illustrations from the films Youngblood discusses, as well as a valuable filmography organized by title, director, and war.

Throughout her study, Youngblood carefully distinguishes between the history of Russia's wars during the twentieth century and what she calls, after Hayden White, the "historiophoty" of Russian war films. Youngblood defines the latter as "not a supplement to written history but a distinctive form of historical discourse" in which "*authenticity* is more important than *accuracy* in assessing the historical merits of a particular film" (p. 3). Her ability to document and assess the ways in which different films construct "a 'usable past' for public consumption" (p. 4), as well as the remarkable breadth of material treated, constitute the book's greatest strengths. In addition to art films and better known movies from the Thaw, such as Mikhail Kalatozov's *The Cranes Are Flying* (1957), Grigorii Chukhrai's *Ballad of a Soldier* (1959), and Andrei Tarkovsky's *Ivan's Childhood* (1962), the author discusses socialist realist war films, popular war melodramas from several decades, and more recent serialized war dramas viewed by millions of television watchers in the post-Soviet era. Perhaps the only disadvantage to Youngblood's approach is that the broad sweep encompassing some 160 movies prevents lengthy or in-depth analysis of any individual film. However, now that Youngblood has brought to light the rich corpus of Russian war films, it remains for others to explore their nuances. Youngblood's concise and jargon-free prose recommends her book to a wide range of readers, including those interested in film history, twentieth-century cultural history, visual culture, and Soviet/Russian studies.

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KENNETH SLEPYAN. *Stalin's Guerrillas: Soviet Partisans in World War II*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2006. Pp. xiv, 409. $34.95.

Our knowledge of Soviet partisans has expanded considerably with Kenneth Slepyan's book. He uses a small mountain of sources to discuss the partisans' military prowess or lack thereof, their daily lives, their frequently harrowing deaths, their politics and quest for identity, and their fate in Soviet and post-Soviet memory. Slepyan moves adroitly through his story, making the partisans vivid in details down to their weaponry, hygiene, and sex lives.

He uses the metaphor of people caught between the anvil of Stalinism and the hammer of the German invaders, a place where toughness and luck were necessary to stay alive. One of the book's leitmotifs is "brutality," which Slepyan applies to all of Soviet existence until 1941, to German behavior in the occupied USSR, and to many acts by the partisans themselves. Usually left without a regular food supply from the "big land" of the unoccupied Soviet Union, partisans had to gather provisions from local peasants. But villagers were often on the verge of starvation because of German collections and hence unwilling in many cases to supply irregular units. Then the line between requisitioning food and outright banditry could become thin.

Slepyan points out that the German invasion "put an end to [the Stalinist theme of] conflict as metaphor": the would-be conquerors brought the real thing. Thus the Germans succeeded in making the Soviet leadership look correct in its earlier hunts for enemies. The war also "seemed to justify the sacrifices of the 1930s" (p. 6). Slepyan raises but does not answer the question of whether the war brought greater popular support for Stalinism or, through the encouragement of independent action essential to winning the war, laid the groundwork for the collapse of the USSR. The simplest answer, judging from the book, is both.

Eschewing to a degree older ideas of the "long arm" of the Soviet state reaching across the front lines to control the partisans, Slepyan details the partisans' efforts to maintain their autonomy, often successfully, and disputes among Soviet agencies that gave the irregulars even more room to maneuver. The partisans were able to manipulate the Central Staff of the Partisan Movement back in Moscow. Soviet officials had to compromise with units behind the German front, which fought on while the political police, the army, and the Communist Party bickered about who should "control" them.

Independent action was not always pretty. Slepyan recounts the violence by partisan units toward local peasants; Red Army men who had been encircled but not captured; POWs who had escaped; members of ethnic groups excluded from a given unit, especially Jews; and anyone who tried to join the guerrillas without bringing along a weapon. Partisans executed each other in disputes over tactics, looting, and sex. Women appeared rarely in the detachments, and then all too often as objects of gratification for the men. The tale of partisan distrust and violence directed against many Soviet people should raise the question of how much such feelings came from the people and not from the "state," an issue Slepyan does not address directly.

In the author's hands, the state was entirely separate from the people. Especially in the countryside, the populace resented "the hardships imposed by the regime in the 1930s" (p. 79). The Communist Party or "Moscow" is forever trying in this book to establish "control" over the people; the author never speaks of officialdom organizing or leading the citizenry. Yet Slepyan describes much popular initiative in the material he has studied directly, while invoking state power as a magic force for any area beyond his immediate gaze. Slepyan recognizes a "tension between sustaining and implementing a Communist worldview and still achieving real material goals" (p. 128), but only in reference to the partisan movement. He pays scant attention to the "brutality" of World War I and the Russian Civil War, which can

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hardly be laid entirely at the Bolsheviks' feet. Many sources outside the "state" produced suspicion and acts of violence among the citizenry.

Slepyan characterizes Soviet people as basically "hostile to the regime" before the war but acknowledges that the population "was becoming increasingly urbanized and Sovietized in much of its attitudes and values" (p. 5). Although the Germans' hideous conduct and "racial" attitudes go very far to explain the rise of a partisan movement, the author also finds that "the values and societal norms associated with Stalinism, rightly or wrongly, became connected with the values and behaviors that made victory possible." The war "helped to cement many of its [Stalinism's] attributes to Soviet society" (p. 269).

Much in Slepyan's work is admirable. The question of popular loyalty after the war receives a fresh treatment; to even consider the possibility of an anti-Stalinist movement before 1953 now seems irrelevant. "Brutality" takes on new dimensions as a "societal norm." Slepyan provides new insights about why partisans fought, the lesser-known but still gruesome episodes of violence in the war, institutional conflicts within the state, and the behavior of ordinary human beings in a situation of almost unimaginable danger.

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Ethan Pollock. *Stalin and the Soviet Science Wars*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 269. $35.00.

Joseph Stalin's power of shock and awe in the "Soviet science wars," and restraints in the use of it, are Ethan Pollock's sprawling fields of inquiry, as he follows the Chief (*Vozhd'*) from philosophy to biology, physics, neuroscience, philology, and economics. Pollock strives for focus by sticking to Stalin's last years, as hypertension built to a fatal stroke in 1953. "Science war" is apt for agrobiology, Trofim Lysenko's name for refusal of numerical reasoning, which received Communist Party support in the 1930s and peaked at a 1948 conference, at which Lysenko cut off critics by saying "the Central Committee" had approved his report. All rose in ovation, and criticism did stop—for a while.

Stalin himself, archives reveal, had edited the report, writing "Ha-Ha-Ha" next to a declaration of war on bourgeois science in all fields. The Chief crossed that out, asking: "Mathematics? Darwinism?" After he died Soviet scholars found the document and read the editing as Stalin clinging to a "universal character of scientific knowledge" even while he promoted agrobiology. Pollock agrees, and so do most scholars. The notion that communist ideology is at odds with science has died away, along with the contrary faith of Marxist-Leninists in the scientific essence of their vision. Pollock agrees that ideology and knowledge are mingled in all minds, but he avoids reflection on a notion that demands criticism of "our" ideology along with "theirs." Is intent to kill separable from physics in minds that design bombs?

Agrobiology was an extreme of wishful ideology, culminating in the "Great Stalin Plan for the Transformation of Nature." Pollock ignores it, although a widely reproduced painting illustrates his topic: Generalissimo Stalin at a conference table showing large maps to awed conferees, telling how huge areas of arid cold would turn moist and mild as great shelter belts of trees would grow without need of thinning. Lysenko had explained how individual saplings would eliminate themselves so communities of trees might thrive. By the early 1950s the press reported failure, the fate of all agrobiological nostrums since the party began to push them in the 1930s. But tree planting in a mad rush occasioned the first public report of failure, and Stalin must have been involved in that turn toward glasnost.

Maybe Pollock ignores the Great Plan and its end because he found no archival papers on that. He passes over the archival gaps that Roy and Zhores Medvedev discuss in *The Unknown Stalin* (2004). They argue that Stalin's helpers and successors burned records that might incriminate themselves. Pollock should have reflected on gaps in the archives as he tried to find out who played what part in late Stalinist "science wars." He begins with the campaign against "cosmopolitanism," and a textbook history of philosophy that set off the campaign in 1946. The internationalist ideology that communists preached gave way to Russian nationalism, with Jews as a major target of abuse. Pollock found a letter to Stalin from an atheist Jew who asks in what ways he is not Russian. Another letter asks Stalin to explain the difference between views on nationality that he expressed at a Party Congress in 1930 and the anti-cosmopolitan themes of 1950.

Such fragmentary findings rouse wonder about letter writers who seem unafraid to ask embarrassing questions. How can one judge the balance of shock and awe in Stalin's hold on his subjects? Arbitrary arrests and executions must have weighed on all minds, maybe most heavily on those at the top. Pollock's long chapter on economics reports too briefly the fall of N. A. Voznesenskii, Stalin's favorite economist, head of planning, and Politburo member, suddenly stripped of his posts in 1950 and shot. I wish Pollock had pondered that case and many like it. Another bloodbath loomed as Stalin's paranoia mounted in his last years. Mass terror died with him, by act of party chiefs he had raised to high posts and kept in fright. Lavrenty Beria, boss of executions, was shot in 1953, and dismantling of the gulag system began that year, soon after Stalin's death.

Much of Pollock's book goes over familiar ground, as he makes dutifully clear in the text and the abundant notes. The chapter on economics, longest and most illuminating, is innovative. Previous scholarship is lacking, Pollock asserts, ignoring studies of the Soviet economy, which withered along with the socialist goals of communists. Pollock dug through abundant records of discussions that Stalin had with leading economists, most of whom were Jewish. In this case Pollock goes

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back before the war, when the Chief first ordered a textbook on socialist economics, and periodically summoned a group of specialists to talk with him about the project. Such meetings became repeated efforts to resolve issues that resisted solution.

As Pollock reports Stalin's puzzlement by the absence of market prices for capital goods, ghosts of bygone theorists rise to this reader's mind, such as Oskar Lange, a leading "market socialist" in Poland. Pioneering scholars such as Abram Bergson read Lange and went into issues of rational pricing and optimality that inhere in any system providing public goods and services, such as health care or transportation—or public bads and disservices, such as nuclear arms and auto emissions, I would add. Small wonder that a paranoid tyrant and his fearful economists could never complete a satisfactory textbook for their socialist system.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

ROBERT VITALIS. *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier.* (Stanford Studies in Middle Eastern and Islamic Societies and Cultures.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2007. Pp. xxvii, 353. $29.95.

Groundbreaking is a word too often used in assessing historical scholarship. Yet its application to Robert Vitalis's book is nothing less than a necessity. The result of painstaking research in not only heretofore unused but previously unknown records, the book makes a major contribution to a variety of fields: international history, U.S.-Saudi relations, business history, American race history, and more. It dares to confront established truths—myths, Vitalis calls them—about the early role of the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO) in Saudi Arabia, the role of various Saudi rulers in championing social reforms, and the relationship between ARAMCO and the U.S. government, establishing in the process important connections between "the Saudi oil frontier" and domestic American society.

The first half or so of the book details the creation of the ARAMCO empire in Saudi Arabia during the 1930s and 1940s. Unlike previous accounts of the company's early years that tend toward uncritical celebration (the company's own "creation myth," if you will), Vitalis's is an unvarnished "warts and all" story that lays bare—for the very first time—the racist nature of ARAMCO's operations at Dhahran and elsewhere in Saudi Arabia. As Vitalis makes clear, the company deliberately adopted discriminatory and segregationist Jim Crow practices when it came to housing, wages, benefits, advancement opportunities, and just about everything else associated with the workplace. High-paying positions of authority went to white Americans, who lived in permanent, well-constructed homes flanked by tennis courts, swimming pools, and other niceties. Rather than being located close to the center of oil operations, the American Camp enclave was by design set on the coast some distance away. Native Saudis and workers imported from other Arab areas, including Palestine, and Pakistan, were subjected to a "racial wage" that paid them less than white workers, and they were paid not in gold or dollars, like the American workers, but in less desirable silver or Saudi riyals. They lived in substandard, often temporary or makeshift housing in communities that lacked basic necessities, let alone the creature comforts that were the norm in American Camp. Even the toilets and drinking fountains on company property were segregated. In one of the book's most important historiographical contributions, and one that makes the volume a valuable piece of comparative history, Vitalis links ARAMCO's labor policies in Saudi Arabia directly to the Jim Crow South, mining operations in the American Southwest, and petroleum operations in Latin America. He also demonstrates beyond a shadow of a doubt that those policies were a deliberate attempt to discriminate against the company's nonwhite workers.

In the second part of the book, Vitalis recounts the unsuccessful efforts to confront ARAMCO's blatantly racist and discriminatory policies and to secure fairer treatment of the company's non-American workers. To this end, he traces both workers' own efforts and those of various political activists to make the company treat all of its workers equally. Unfortunately, none of these efforts bore fruit. Determined not to allow disgruntled workers to damage relations with the company, the Saudi government cracked down hard on workers' rights and in 1956 declared labor strikes illegal, thus robbing workers of their best tool for redress of unfair conditions. It also turned a deaf ear to calls for reform from progressives in government and elsewhere in Saudi society, exiling and imprisoning those who dared to criticize ARAMCO's policies—thereby potentially endangering the manifold rewards the company bestowed on the ruling regime. In another valuable bit of comparative history, Vitalis juxtaposes the Saudi response to worker complaints to that of the regimes in nearby Iran and Iraq. In a nutshell, Vitalis explains the uncompromising Saudi policy by referring to a basic fact, "known to be true at the time and since forgotten": "While all three countries were monarchies, only Iran and Iraq had functioning parliaments, parties, and unions" (p. 24). The absence of such institutions in Saudi Arabia allowed both the regime and ARAMCO to resist calls for equitable labor policies for all of the company's workers. In the process of detailing Saudi resistance to reform, Vitalis debunks all claims for Saudi specialness or exceptionalism—except, perhaps, in the lengths to which its ruling royals were prepared to go to safeguard their privileged domestic position.

Despite his book's subtitle, Vitalis has, in fact, engaged in what might best be described as myth busting, taking on all manner of received wisdom regarding ARAMCO's experience in Saudi Arabia and setting the historical record straight. Solidly grounded in both archival materials and multidisciplinary insights, his study transforms our understanding not only about

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ARAMCO in Saudi Arabia but also about the transplantation of American society abroad. Those seeking to explain the present U.S. place in the world should consider it essential reading.

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ERNEST S. TUCKER. *Nadir Shah's Quest for Legitimacy in Post-Safavid Iran*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2006. Pp. xiv, 150. $55.00.

This short book contains a wealth of information and analysis, drawing on arguments advanced by the author in a series of articles published since 1993 that made important contributions to the study of eighteenth-century Iran and were of great value to others working in that field. The book includes a useful chronology of Nadir Shah's reign and the events preceding and following it, as well as an extensive bibliography, notes, and an index (which together take up thirty-six of the book's 151 pages). Ernest S. Tucker is thorough and accurate, with few lapses.

He concentrates primarily, as the title indicates, on the ideas promoted by Nadir Shah to support the legitimacy of his rule. One of these, as argued here, was Nadir's attempt to secure the agreement of the Ottoman sultan (as caliph and the protector of the Muslim holy places in Mecca and Medina) to the establishment of a new mazhab, the Jaʿfari mazhhab, within Sunni Islam. Tucker's analysis of this proposal is important. Whereas previous scholarship tended to interpret it as wholesale conversion, simply bringing Persia back within the ambit of Sunni Islam, Tucker shows convincingly that Nadir was more subtle than that. He presented the policy to the Ottomans as a wholesale conversion of Persia's Shiʿa Muslims to Sunnism, but within Persia merely as the suppression of Shiʿa practices offensive to Sunnis: notably an end to the ritual cursing of the first three Sunni caliphs.

Nadir's religious policy is of central importance, not least because it legitimated, or could have helped legitimate, his bid to make Persia the dominant state in the Islamic world; something that would have been impossible if he and his regime had remained overtly Shiʿa, as under the previous (Safavid) dynasty. Tucker has given us a much better understanding of the purpose and nature of Nadir's religious policy.

Along with his religious policy Tucker concentrates on what he calls Nadir's Turkman descent concept. On several occasions Nadir claimed not a blood descent from Timur and Genghis Khan but a common Turkic origin with them and a common character as a glorious conqueror. I accept that this was significant, for Nadir personally and perhaps especially for the succession and his dynastic plans. Tucker explores the use of the concept comprehensively, but I have some doubts about how far, for instance, Nadir really can have expected his Persian subjects (the descendants of the victims of the Turkic and Mongol invasions) to have been enthusiastic about it.

There is a strong case that legitimacy for Nadir came primarily from the barrel of a gun. Military control nonetheless flowed into a justification for his legitimacy—a wholly conventional one, with a long history in Iran. Nadir's court historian, Mirza Mahdi Astarabadi, expressed this at the beginning of his history of Nadir's life (abbreviated here): "[W]hen the times are full of troubles and confusions, and when fortune favours the desires of the unjust . . . [God sends an appointed one] . . . to fulfil the effusion of his eternal mercy, to extend his arm over the world [to rescue the oppressed, punish the wicked and restore justice].

Throughout Astarabadi's work (which brings us closer to Nadir's own voice than any other contemporary account), this was Nadir's main legitimation: he was chosen by God to restore order and justice, and the proofs of his appointment were the magnificent victories he won in battle. Success in war and the establishment of secular dominion had long been recognized in Persia as a sign of God's favor and of his choice of rightful ruler, as Homa Katouzian among others has recognized. For Nadir, this was convenient; his prime talent was for war. Tucker recognizes that Nadir also justified his rule in this way, but I think that overall his focus primarily on those other elements risks diminishing Nadir unduly by making it appear as though he spent his career vainly pursuing a legitimacy that, because of his parvenu origins, he could never achieve.

Nadir's significance in Iranian history may have less to do with patterns of legitimation, and more to do with his example as a dynamic militarist, setting Persia on a path to greater centralization and regional power, but failing and plunging his country into chaos, civil war, great suffering, and further depopulation. His project (comparable to that pursued in what has been called the Military Revolution in Europe by militaristic autocrats like Peter the Great of Russia, and others) appeared to later rulers to be a disaster, a failed experiment, and as such encouraged them to favor a devolved, minimal state with a small army or none, ruling primarily through a loose system of alliances with tribal leaders (as Nikki Keddie has described it). In turn, this left Iran open, in the Qajar period, to manipulation and exploitation by European powers that had been more fortunate and more determined in their military, administrative, and economic development.

Whatever view one takes of Nadir Shah, Tucker's book is important for an understanding of him and of the eighteenth century in the history of the Middle East. It is time that period received more attention, having been unfairly neglected for too long, and I hope that this book will help to stimulate further discussion and study in this field.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

STEPHAN F. MIESCHER. *Making Men in Ghana*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xxxii, 323. $65.00.

The use of gender as an analytical category has in the past three decades become increasingly prominent in African historical studies. Although the emergence in the 1960s of African history as a recognized academic endeavor took place at the same time that Western feminist scholarship began to influence the broader discipline, the two took some time directly to influence each other. When they did, the result was the dawning realization that the lived experience of African women was in many ways strikingly different to that of African men. This is obvious, perhaps, but, as elsewhere, potentially revolutionary for the reconstruction of the past, and particularly crucial for the emerging genre of social history. More recently still, the equation of "gender" with women has begun to be challenged by research that has sought to bring men back into the picture, most notably John Iliffe's *Honour in African History* (2005). In that groundbreaking survey, Iliffe drew on Stephan F. Miescher's 1997 doctoral thesis, which now appears here in revised form. Miescher's book is, as far as I am aware, the first sustained monographic treatment of the history of masculinity in twentieth-century Africa. As such it represents an important contribution not only to African historical scholarship but also to the incipient reconfiguration of gender studies.

Miescher's concern is not the entire West African nation of Ghana (known before independence in 1957 as the Gold Coast) but a small part of it: the indigenous kingdom of Kwawu. One of the many polities formed by the Twi-speaking Akan peoples of the forested southern half of the country, Kwawu was subsumed in the eighteenth century into the Akan empire of Asante and then in the 1880s into the British colony of the Gold Coast. Within Kwawu, Miescher has chosen to focus on the life histories of eight men, all born between 1900 and 1923 and all of whom had reached a position of social seniority—that is, they were recognized as "elders"—when research began in 1992. By the time of publication, six of the eight had passed away. Of this cohort, four lived in the town of Abetifi, the historic center of mission Christianity in Kwawu, while three others hailed from nearby Pepease, the local center of an indigenous religious cult, Tegare. The four from Abetifi plus one of those from Pepease were Christians, and all occupied what might be called "middling" positions in the emerging world of colonial and postcolonial modernity: pastor, trader, cocoa farmer, and two teachers. The other two men from Pepease adhered to more traditional roles: one, Kwaku Marfo, was the Kwawu *nsumankwaahene*, or caretaker of amulets and other ritual medicines; while the other, Kwabena Asante, was the *okyeame* or spokesperson at the Tegare shrine. The eighth man, Kofi Ankoma from the town of Obo, worked as a policeman and driver while also remaining an elder of the Tegare shrine. Using a combination of personal reminiscence and reflection recorded in numerous interviews and archival sources (supplemented in the case of one man, Boakye Yiadom, by an unpublished autobiography), the author sets out to show "the complex processes of how a group of men negotiated with different and often competing notions of masculinities" (p. 2).

The result is a richly textured and sometimes insightful narrative that follows the eight men from childhood in the early colonial period, through mid-century encounters with the worlds of education and work, marriage and fatherhood, and on to the assertion of "senior masculinity" in old age. A number of key themes emerge. One is the importance of the new identity of *krakye*, literally scholar or clerk, as an alternative, modern route to established forms of social status and manhood. Another, often closely related, is the impact of Christianity and its role in creating what is referred to as "Presbyterian masculinity." Other lines of analysis, however, are less clear. The repeated use of the terms "subjectivity," "multiple subjectivities," and "intersubjectivity" to talk about how people see themselves obscures more than it illuminates. A chapter on marriage and fatherhood concludes—correctly in my view—that the latter remains the real indicator of manhood in Akan society. But the emphasis of the chapter itself is on the former, and very much as an initial transaction rather than as a lived relationship. We touch on wives, lovers, and sexual transgression, but exactly how women contributed to the making of men remains uncertain. Politics, both at town and at national level, also emerges only tangentially. The neglect of local political action as an arena in which notions of male honor and civic virtue are forged is curious, especially as Kwawu was one of the centers of intergenerational conflict in the early colonial period, when organizations of so-called "youngmen" challenged the established office-holding hierarchy. The book's strength, the intimate portrayal of the ways its eight subjects "made themselves" as men, is therefore also its weakness, as those avenues they did not tread as well as the role played by others tend to be overlooked.

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STEPHANIE NEWELL. *The Forger's Tale: The Search for Odeziaku*. (New African Histories Series.) Athens: Ohio University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 233. Cloth $46.95, paper $22.95.

In June 1939, some 10,000 Onitsha residents gathered to mourn the death of John Stuart-Young, an English palm oil trader who had settled in that southeastern Nigerian market town twenty-four years earlier. Born John James Young to working-class parents in Manchester, in Africa he had become a wealthy merchant and renowned local personality. His controversial political views, expressed prolifically in West African newspapers, antagonized Christian missionaries and

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the colonial government. A celebrated local poet, public intellectual, and philanthropist as well as a successful businessman, Stuart-Young had sponsored many young Igbo men through secretarial and clerical training. The mourners at his grand, post-funeral "second burial" included chiefs of Onitsha, the prominent nationalist and newspaperman Nnamdi Azikiwe, and the merchant queens and market women who did business with Stuart-Young and who knew him as "Odoziaku" (meaning "arranger, manager, or keeper of wealth"). They also included his long-time companion Solomon Obike, who in earlier years had been—like many other local boys—the object of Stuart-Young's sexual desires. Obike's wife and children attended too.

In Stuart-Young, literary scholar Stephanie Newell has found a fascinating subject for a study of race, class, and sexuality in West Africa and Britain between the 1880s and 1930s. How did this non-elite Englishman merit a customary celebration never before mounted for a white man? Why did the most powerful women in the community dance and sing his praises, rather than judge this childless, known "woman-hater" as anomalous or even scandalous? Why were Stuart-Young's achievements celebrated by Africans but virtually ignored by fellow Europeans in Nigeria? These and similar questions propel this intensively-researched, compelling study.

This is an unconventional biography, because Odoziaku is no stable subject. Rather, as the book's title points out, Stuart-Young was a forger, one who continually falsified, or remade, himself through the art of writing. In his numerous poems, essays, stories, and novels, he invented friendships with famous personalities of the day, including an intimate correspondence with Oscar Wilde. "Odeziaku," Stuart-Young's persistent misspelling of his Igbo praise-name, in fact makes explicit reference to his literary self-fashioning by inserting the word "*ode*," meaning "to write." "Odeziaku," "Jack O'Dazi," "O. Dazi Aku, " "JMSY," "John Moray Stuart-Young," and finally "Dr. J. M. Stuart-Young" were all his pen names, and indeed his by-line generally reflected the tone and content of his writing. While "Odeziaku" composed letters to the West African press that were critical of European officials and missionaries, for example, "Dr. J. M. Stuart-Young" criticized African cultural backwardness and offered instructions on writing English romantic poetry. And in spite of producing an enormous body of putative memoirs and other nonfiction, it was only in his novels that Stuart-Young revealed his conviction and imprisonment for forgery as a Manchester youth, his disastrous English marriage, and his erotic desires.

Newell approaches both Stuart-Young's sexual relationships and his consciously created autobiography through insights gleaned from queer theory. Critical approaches to sexuality as well as important studies of sex roles in Igboland, Newell points out, suggest that classifications of sexuality are variable and socially produced rather than static and essential. In his sexual and other relationships as well as in his forged letters from famous alleged friends, his literary ventriloquism, and his dabbling as a spirit medium, Stuart-Young unsettled categories like colonizer and colonized, upper and lower class, homosexual and heterosexual.

While the few other Europeans in colonial Onitsha generally shunned or ignored this non-elite, iconoclastic "palm oil ruffian," local residents recognized Stuart-Young in part by producing a range of different nicknames for him. "Odoziaku," conferred by market women, signified his adoption into Igbo commercial society; and "Odeziaku," adapted by Stuart-Young and his literate African associates, practically became his brand-name. These terms had multiple and suggestive layers of meaning, as did other locally bestowed monikers. "Eke Young" ("*eke*" was a sacred python), and "wife of Mami Wata" the mermaid: these ambivalent labels for Stuart-Young carried warnings about his sexual proclivities, but they also situated his behavior in local spiritual and social categories that were different from the normative gender dichotomies of imperialist discourse. One of Newell's achievements, then, is to shift the interpretive frame from European views of the colonial encounter to African observations of Europeans and Africanmodes of constructing colonial relationships.

Similarly, this is also a study of the many different literary forms circulating in Anglophone colonial West Africa. Stuart-Young published thousands of poems, as well as letters and essays, in African-owned newspapers. African readers responded to him in print, which sometimes generated additional responses from the author. Newell probes the social, political, and aesthetic context of this writing as well as the ways in which Africans created, re-deployed, consumed, archived, and evaluated public writing during the colonial period. She further draws on literature produced by other European traders and low-level clerks—sources usually ignored by historians of West African imperialism—to suggest working-class men's perceptions of Africa, Africans, and imperial projects.

This "experiment in biography" (p. 13) illuminates dynamics of race, sexuality, and power in a particular colonial Nigerian setting from multiple viewpoints: that of an Englishman outside the normative categories of class and sexuality; those of African men and women, including market women, newspaper readers, an elite politician, and Stuart-Young's boy lovers; as well the more well-known views of colonial elites and Christian missionaries. The intriguing narrative at its center will appeal to a wide range of readers, while specialists in the history of colonialism, West Africa, and sexuality should find this study provocative and insightful.

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JOCELYN ALEXANDER. *The Unsettled Land: State-Making and the Politics of Land in Zimbabwe, 1893–2003*. Oxford: James Currey. 2006. Pp. x, 230. Cloth $49.95, paper $24.95.

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Jocelyn Alexander's monograph offers valuable historical background to the current crisis in Zimbabwe. Facing an unprecedented threat from an overwhelmingly black opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change, in 2000 the Mugabe government belatedly began seizing most white-owned farms, precipitating an accelerating downward economic spiral and worsening political repression. The author avoids the usual focus on the regime's excesses, the justice of the seizures given whites' grossly disproportionate ownership of good agricultural land, or Britain's failure to help rectify this imbalance. Instead she provides a "long view" of the struggle over land acquisition and political control from the 1890s creation of Southern Rhodesia, through successive white and later black governments' shifting policies, and rural Africans' complex responses. Using archival sources and interviews, for each major period up to about 1990 she combines a general discussion with case studies of two very different districts: Isinza in Matabeleland South and Chimanimani on the Mozambican border. A shorter discussion of post-1990 developments follows.

The rationale for the choice of case studies only gradually becomes evident. This might have been made explicit earlier; for instance, the omission of any area in the Shona-speaking heartland might seem puzzling. The first selected case was a largely cattle-raising Ndebele-speaking area, much affected by white alienation of land for ranches, leaving one small reserve, in a region frequently opposed to Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) party; the other was more complicated, with private white farms, syndicate and state-owned plantations and forests, and multiple reserves, all in a Shona-speaking region loyal to ZANU-PF, and affected by the freer movement afforded by its borderland status.

Alexander shows how often, despite such differences, in both cases and all periods local African communities resented state efforts to regulate or "improve" land allocation or use. Before majority rule in 1980 it could be argued that this was because the settler state was fundamentally illegitimate, whether it stressed individual tenure and "high modernist" economic development, as in the 1950s, or communal tenure and allegedly traditional practices and leadership, as in the 1960s and 1970s. Customary leaders' consistent complaints about inadequate land for African use seem to reinforce this assumption. Yet, even after 1980, they were hardly less dissatisfied, resenting efforts to incorporate them into an ostensibly more democratic but equally interventionist state, and demanding ready access to land on their own terms. Long before the 2000 land seizures, they criticized government choices of settlers from outside the communal areas for slowly allocated new lands, while in Matabeleland state brutality in the early 1980s easily rivaled that of the settler regime.

The author thus challenges the simplistic image of "bad settler" versus "good black" rule of much nationalist-leaning historiography. She also stresses how customary leaders were not stereotypical weak-kneed collaborators with the settler state but frequently resisted new policies, even joining nationalist groups. After 1980 traditional leaders proved no less prickly but equally important, despite efforts to increase elected rural bodies' role. Ironically, officials and ZANU-PF politicians were in practice often as dismissive of both as their white predecessors had been. The complex rivalries over land are equally striking: among state representatives, settlers, and customary leaders, and among different groups of officials, customary leaders, politicians, and ordinary Africans.

The depth of research and rich detail stand out, as does Alexander's ability to see complexity where others have tended toward reductionism. This study is assuredly for the specialist; especially for before 1980, the reader needs a good background in Zimbabwean and, to a lesser degree, South African history. Several fascinating parallels between Rhodesian and apartheid policies are briefly noted, more discussion of which would broaden the audience, while more detailed maps would have assisted following the complex case studies.

Although the author makes some useful connections between the current crisis and the main body of the study, the last chapter, perhaps the most interesting, seems somewhat like an appendix rather than integral to the whole study as originally conceived. The interviews, for instance, all date from 1988 to 1991. Nevertheless, this book offers much food for thought, never excusing settler-era injustices but underlining some striking parallels with the post-1980 and even post-2000 eras. Robert Mugabe's land seizures, apparently giving Africans in communal areas what they long demanded, seemingly finally broke with the past, but all was not new: using chiefs, as in the 1960s, to buttress increasingly authoritarian rule; continued competition for land with outsiders (ZANU-PF elites and "war veterans" whose sometimes doubtful status, given their age, Alexander never discusses); or excluding some from any land, notably African laborers on white farms. In other respects, however, the author shows that after 2000 Zimbabwe faced a truly revolutionary era: unfettered by old cautions or bureaucratic considerations, nationalist rhetoric and partisan realpolitik "unsettled" the land as had not happened since the 1890s.

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JACOB A. TROPP. *Natures of Colonial Change: Environmental Relations in the Making of the Transkei.* (New African Histories Series.) Athens: Ohio University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 268. Cloth $55.00, paper $24.95.

Historians of southern Africa have recently turned to the environment as a way of exploring the colonial impact and its legacy. Among the notable results are William Beinart's *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock, and the Environment, 1770–1950* (2003), Nancy Jay Jacobs's *Environment, Power and Injustice: A South African History* (2003), and Kate B. Showers's *Imperial Gullies: Social Erosion and Conser-*

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vation in Lesotho (2005). Writing such environmental history poses particular challenges. The archival sources, which in any case tell only part of the story, are usually fragmented, and they are often politicized. They also tend to fall across various administrative and academic boundaries. In order to explore how the subtleties of local knowledge and needs were pushed aside by imperial imperatives, historians need to pay close attention to the internal dynamics of colonial administrations and their attendant sciences. There are also wider literatures on the environment and empire that need to be taken into account.

Jacob A. Tropp has written an impressive history of the state's capture of forest resources in the Transkei, between 1880 and 1930. The Transkei, the largest of the South Africa's apartheid Homelands, is an ecologically diverse region of 40,000 square kilometers. Tropp focuses on KwaMatiwane, an area northwest of Umtata in what is now the Eastern Cape. Local communities relied on wood for fuel, housing, building cattle yards, and the manufacturing of implements. Forest lands were also used for crop cultivation, grazing, hunting, and the collection of foods and medicines. In the Transkei, as elsewhere in southern Africa, forests were the scene for ceremonial life, including the ritual transition of young men into manhood.

At the end of the nineteenth century the Transkei had vast hardwood forests. For that reason it soon attracted government interest, and a system of state-controlled forests and areas under local African authority was introduced. State intervention in the Transkei was part of a British policy of applying scientific principles to the management of colonial landscapes. In South Africa those policies eventually drove men to work on mines and farms, tied women to declining subsistence economies, and transformed the Eastern Cape into an impoverished labor reserve.

Tropp explores the intense negotiations over forest resources among state officials, magistrates, chiefs, head men, and women. His book's central question is how a reading of the social interactions surrounding environmental access can reshape historical understanding. It is an important question, and Tropp skillfully uses a range of archival materials from magistrates and the Forest, Agriculture, and Native Affairs Departments. He also draws on private letters, diaries and memoirs of prominent colonial officials, and the published accounts of Monrovian missionaries. Most notably the book is based on a series of interviews with elderly men and women. The oldest of Tropp's informants have personal memories reaching back to the first decades of the twentieth century. The oral material, like the archival evidence, is hard won and gives Tropp's book depth.

The story begins with state-imposed restrictions on forest access from the late 1880s. Tropp then traces the resulting popular protests and the impact on subsistence economies. Having restricted access, colonial authorities then sought to force Africans to buy inferior wood from state plantations. Those plantations introduced species that in turn have damaged the region's ecology. The shifting of the rural labor burden onto women and the resulting decline in living standards were then used by the state to justify the broadening of its powers. Tropp concludes with an account of the meaning of particular forest resources on ritual and ceremonial life and examines in detail the various social and cultural practices that were changed by the state's intrusions.

This is in effect two books. One is a history of the sometimes fierce and sometimes muted contests over forest resources that were fought along the lines of gender, race, and age sets. It is the first time this story has been told, and Tropp's scholarship on gender relations opens up a number of important questions for the study of regional economies and the impact of migrant labor. The second story is about colonial intrusions upon local cultural practices. To a degree those narratives remain separate. As a result the impact of colonial policies on communal life is never fully incorporated into Tropp's account of the pauperization of the regional economy. The text is about culture or material practices, never both. Consequently, the export of labor to white farms and mines becomes a ghost on the margins of Tropp's narrative. With one exception the secondary materials are Afrocentric, yet Tropp's project is wider and more ambitious than regional history. Surprisingly, there is no discussion of the literature on the Commons, a term that does not appear in the index. By ignoring that literature Tropp misses the opportunity to link the Transkei to a wider historical experience.

This bookis part of the New African Histories Series from Ohio University Press. The series holds great promise.

Jock McCulloch
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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

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REVIEW ESSAY

To the Editors:

Robert M. Citino's perceptive and informative review essay, "Military Histories Old and New: A Reintroduction" (*AHR*, October 2007, 1070–1090), states that prisoners of war have been "a heretofore, ignored group" (1074). This is not entirely correct, at least for World War II in the Pacific and Far East. Lord Russell of Liverpool's *The Knights of Bushido: A Short History of Japanese War Crimes* (1958) and my own *Bataan: The March of Death* (1962) were published nearly half a century ago. And since then quite a few others have appeared, including Donald Knox, *Death March: The Survivors of Bataan* (1981); Oliver Lindsay, *At the Going Down of the Sun: Hong Kong and South-East Asia, 1941–1945* (1981); E. Bartlett Kerr, *Surrender and Survival: The Experience of American POWs in the Pacific, 1941–1945* (1985); Clifford Kinvig, *River Kwai Railway: The Story of the Burma-Siam Railroad* (1992); Robert S. La Forte and Ronald E. Marcello, editors, *Building the Death Railway: The Ordeal of American POWs in Burma, 1942–1945* (1993); Robert S. La Forte, Ronald E. Marcello, and Richard L. Himmel, editors, *With Only the Will to Live: Accounts of Americans in Japanese Prison Camps, 1941–1945* (1994); Gavan Daws, *Prisoners of the Japanese: POWs of World War II in the Pacific* (1994); Van Waterford, *Prisoners of the Japanese in World War II: Statistical History, Personal Narratives and Memorials Concerning POWs in Camps and on Hellships, Civilian Internees, Asian Slave Laborers, and Others Captured in the Pacific Theater* (1994); Robert C. Doyle, *Voices from Captivity: Interpreting the American POW Narrative* (1994); Michael J. Goodwin, *SHOBUN: A Forgotten War Crime in the Pacific* (1995); Yuki Tanaka, *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II* (1996); Gregory Hadley, *Field of Spears: The Last Mission of the Jordan Crew* (2007); as well as those cited by Citino. In addition, the Australian, British, and U.S. Marine Corps official World War II histories contain lengthy essays on the subject. A great number of POW memoirs and diaries have also been published.

Finally, a few works have examined the experiences of Japanese POWs in Allied hands: Charlotte Carr-Gregg, *Japanese Prisoners of War in Revolt: The Outbreaks at Featherston and Cowra during World War II* (1978); Harry Gordon, *Die Like the Carp! The Story of the Greatest Prisoner Escape Ever* (1978) and *Voyage of Shame: The Cowra Breakout and Afterward* (1994); and Ulrich Straus, *The Anguish of Surrender: Japanese POWs of World War II* (2003). Straus's bibliography includes a number of Japanese volumes not available in English.

Stanley L. Falk
Alexandria, Virginia

Robert M. Citino responds:

Thanks to Stanley L. Falk for his most informative note. I am pleased to say that I stand corrected on the historiography of prisoners of war; indeed, a well-thumbed copy of Falk's own *Bataan: The March of Death* admonishes me from my office bookshelf as I write this reply. His list of works makes it equally plain that what I identified as a flood of literature starting in 2005 actually had its origins in the 1990s.

Robert M. Citino
Eastern Michigan University

REVIEWS

To the Editors:

I write to call your attention to two errors in the review of David S. Brown's biography of my late husband,

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Richard Hofstadter: An Intellectual Biography (*AHR*, October 2007, 1125–1127).

In the last paragraph of the review, the reviewer, James T. Kloppenberg, writes, "the Hofstadter estate granted Brown access to the Hofstadter papers but did not allow him to quote from them" (1127). Both parts of this assertion are untrue.

First, all Hofstadter papers are open to all qualified scholars; the libraries holding the papers are responsible for judging this qualification. This error is the reviewer's.

Second, David S. Brown did not have permission to quote from the Hofstadter papers because he did not ask me for it. That was his decision, not mine. Brown is responsible for this error, not the reviewer.

BEATRICE K. HOFSTADTER

JAMES T. KLOPPENBERG RESPONDS:

I am grateful to Beatrice K. Hofstadter, as all historians interested in Richard Hofstadter will be, for clarifying the terms of access to the Hofstadter papers. Along with many other reviewers of David Brown's biography, I formed my judgment based on the final paragraph of his acknowledgments, which reads as follows: "Richard Hofstadter's letters and other unpublished work inform every chapter of this book. I regret, however, that the Hofstadter estate has not allowed me to quote from these materials" (xii). If that claim is erroneous, as Beatrice Hofstadter contends, then all readers of Brown's book are likely to be misled.

JAMES T. KLOPPENBERG
Harvard University

DAVID S. BROWN RESPONDS:

In 2004, Beatrice Hofstadter requested a copy of my draft manuscript, ostensibly for the purpose of fact checking. Indeed, she offered many helpful suggestions, for which I remain grateful. However, on the copy of the manuscript she returned, numerous quotations from Richard Hofstadter's letters were crossed out. Accompanying notes in the margins added, "I will not give permission to publish this quotation," "no permission to quote," or simply "no." Further, Mrs. Hofstadter stated outright that she would withhold her permission to quote anything at all until I amended several points of interpretation. I chose instead to rewrite the manuscript without the quotations. The brief note in my acknowledgments, which James Kloppenberg includes here, does not detail these challenges, but it is accurate nonetheless.

DAVID S. BROWN
Elizabethtown College

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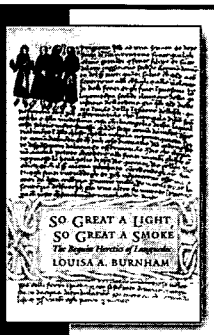
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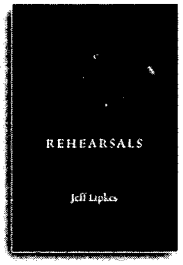


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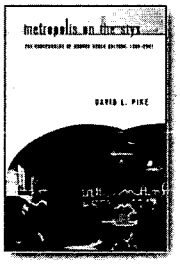
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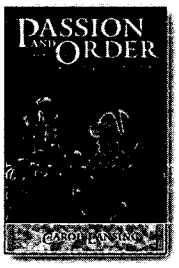
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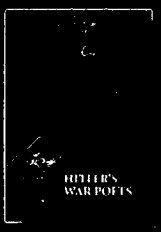
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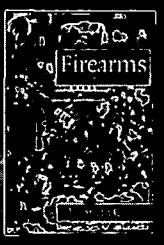


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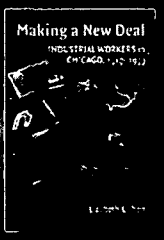
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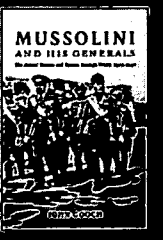
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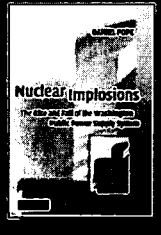
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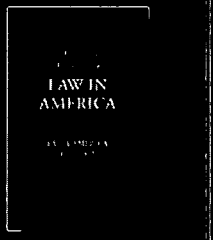
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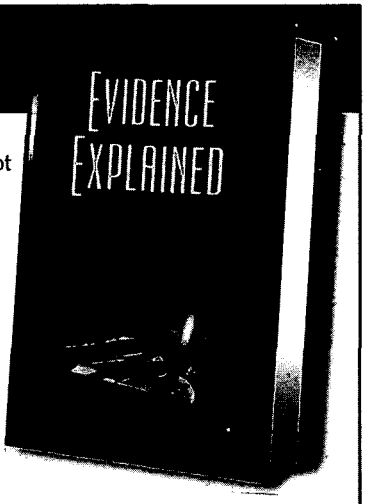
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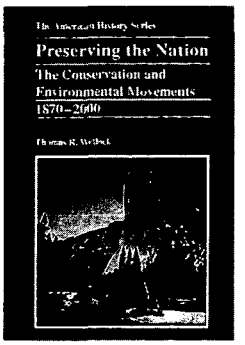
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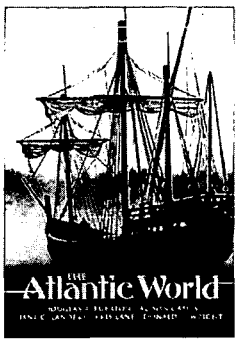
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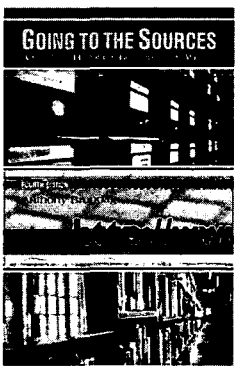
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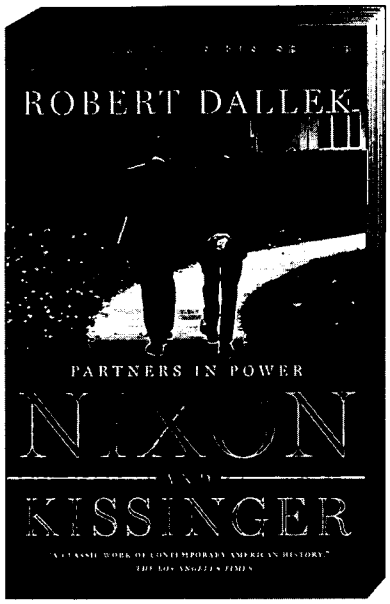
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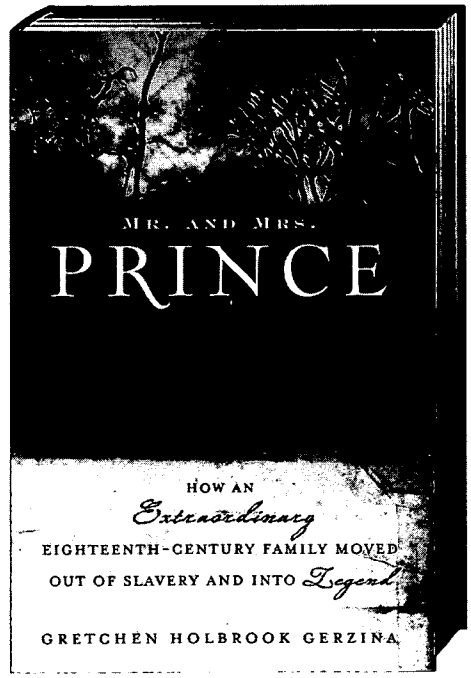
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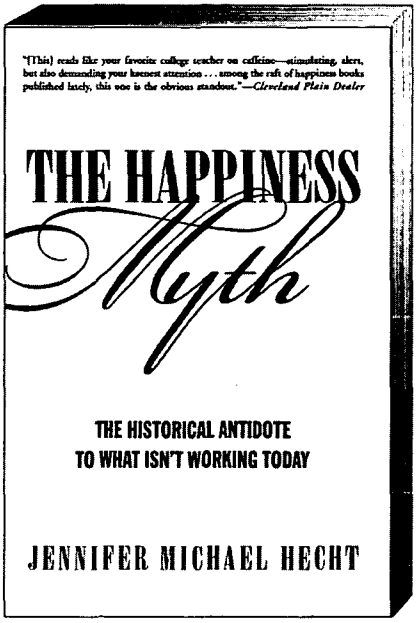
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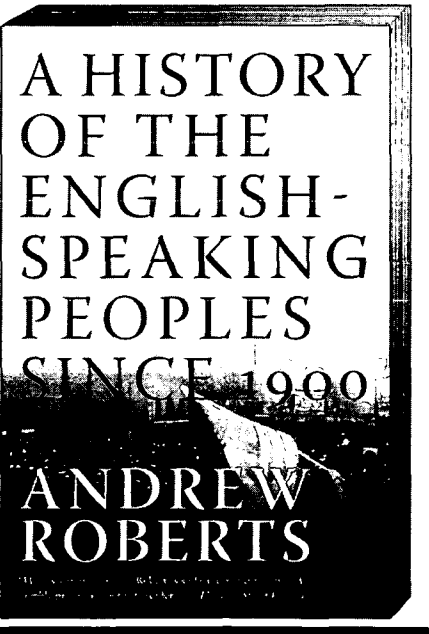


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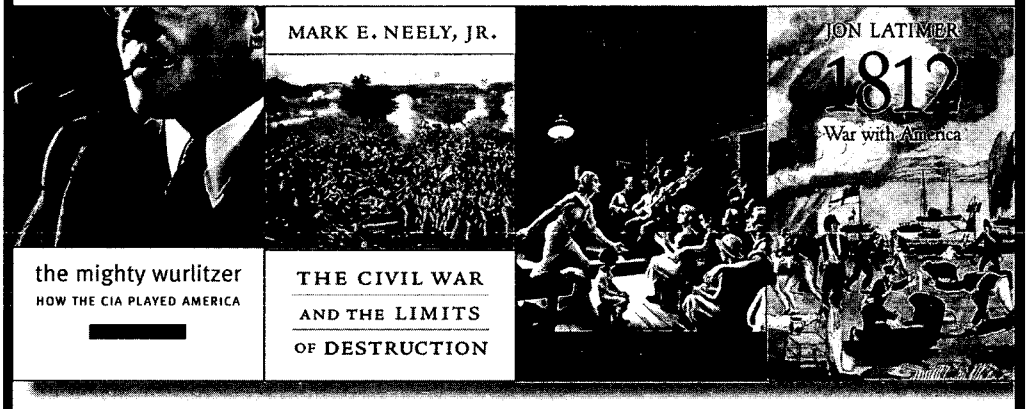
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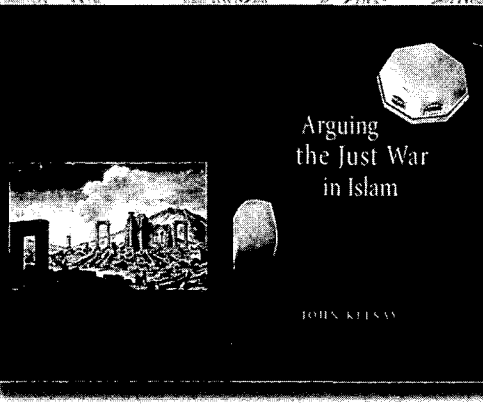
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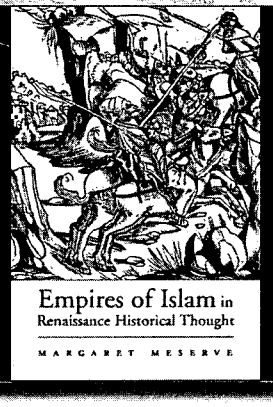
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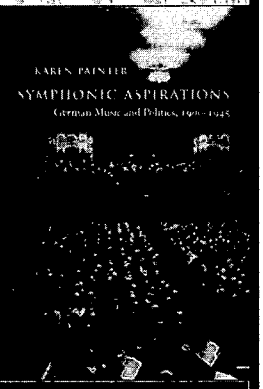
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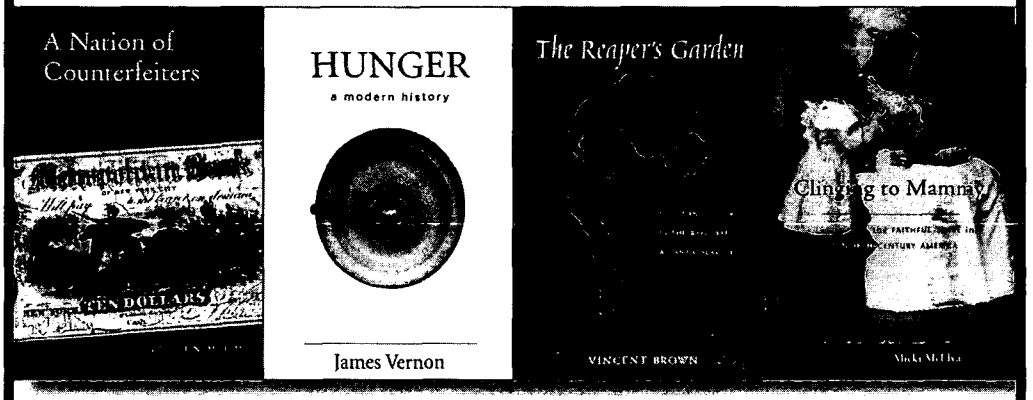
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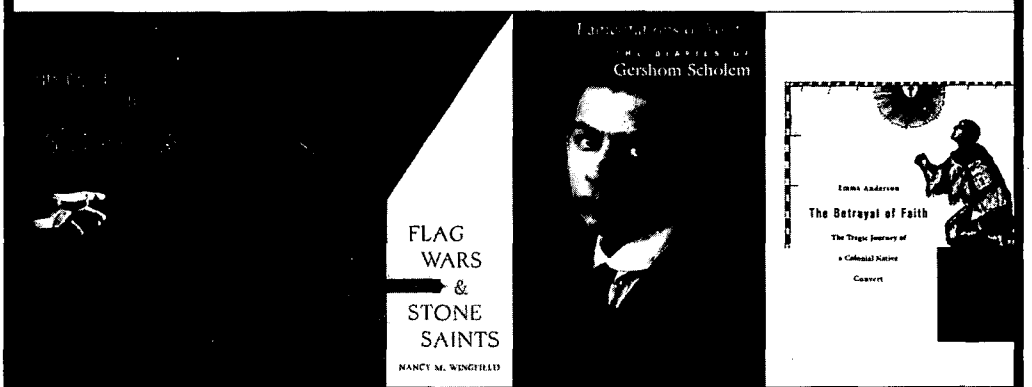
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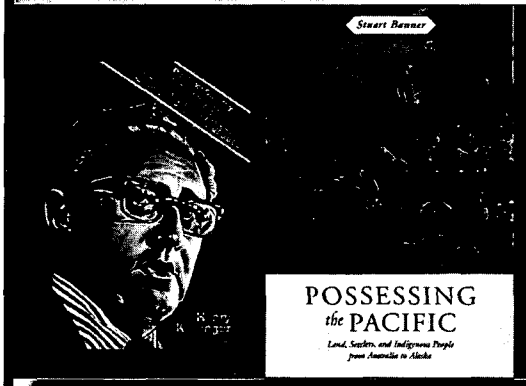
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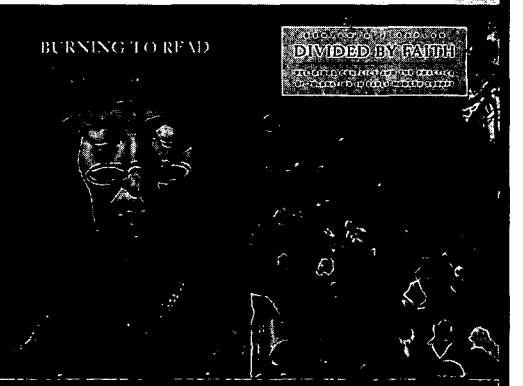
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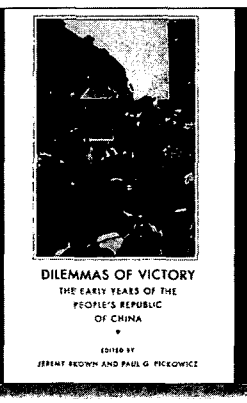
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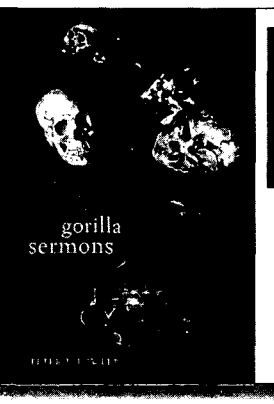
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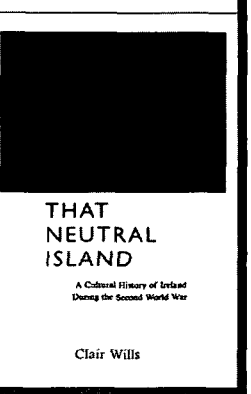
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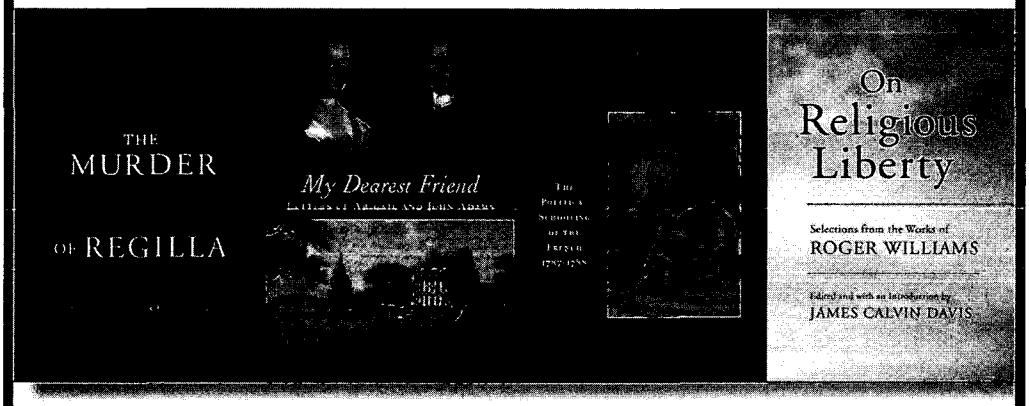
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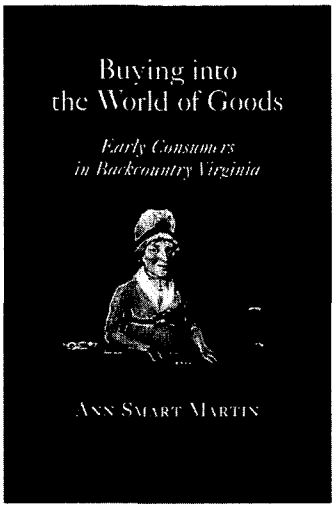
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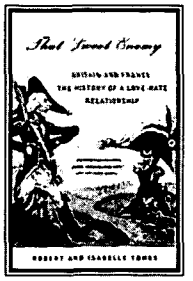
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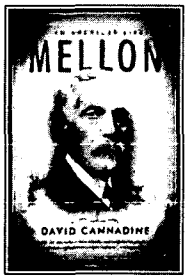
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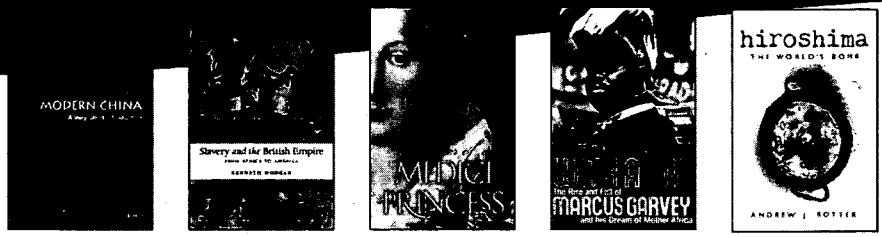
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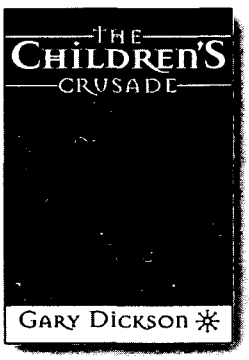
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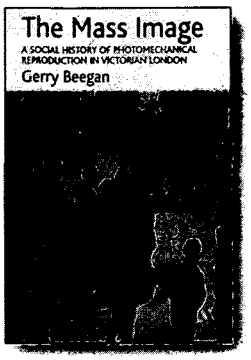
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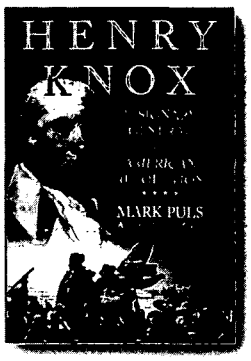
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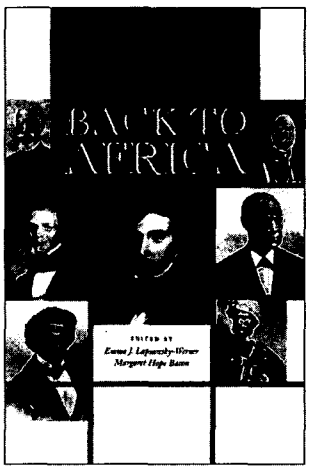
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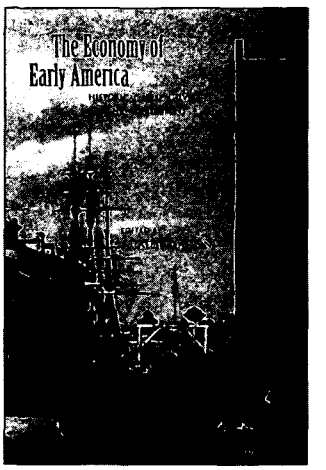
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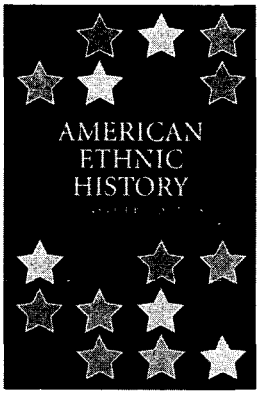
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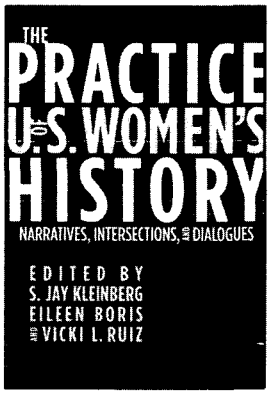
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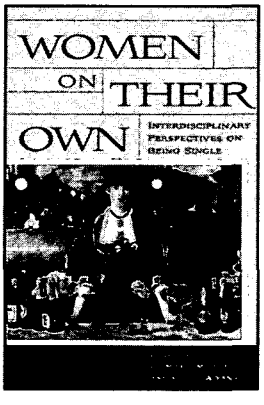


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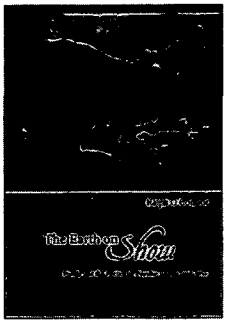
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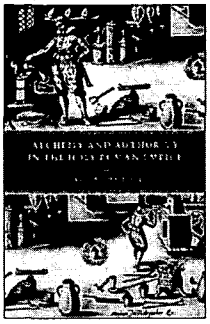
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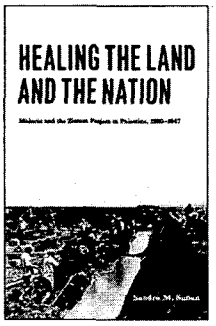
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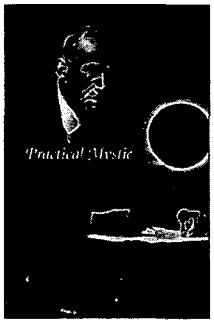
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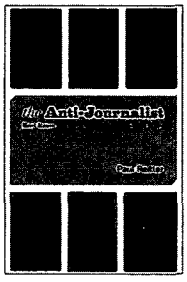
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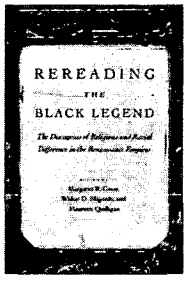
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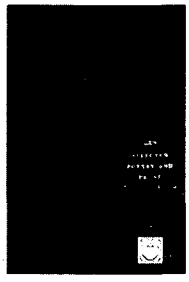
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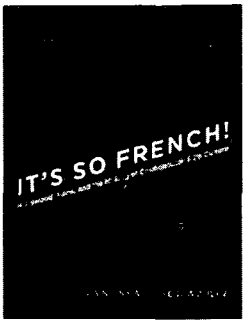
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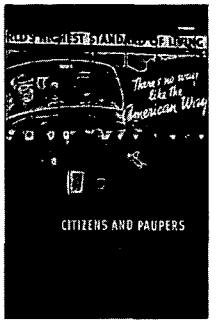
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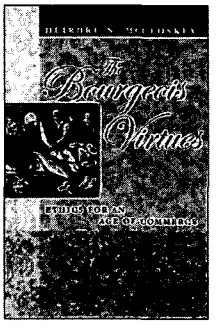
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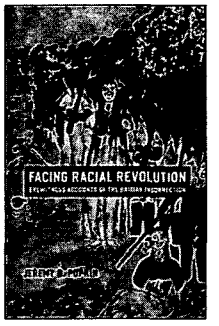
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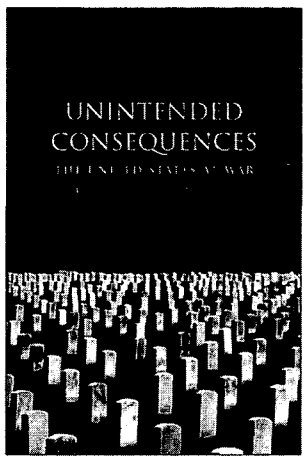
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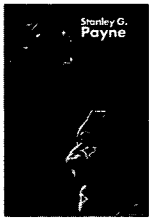
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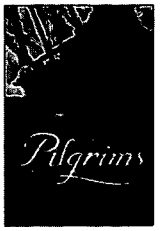
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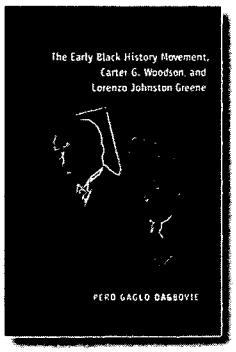
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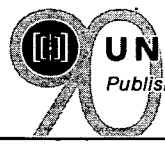
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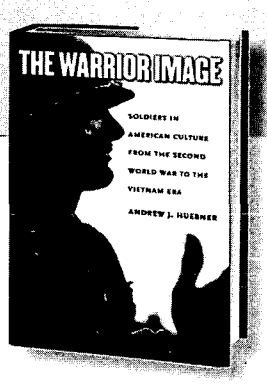
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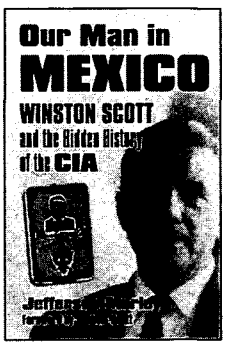
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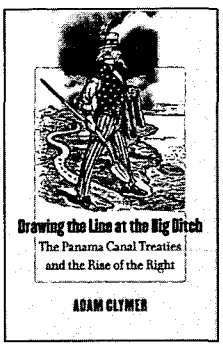
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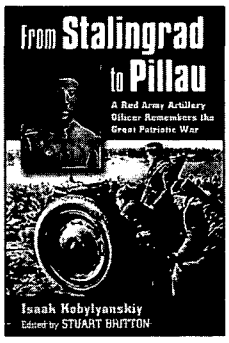
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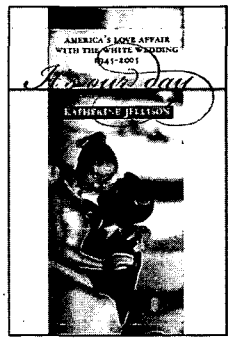
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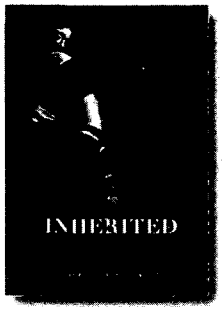
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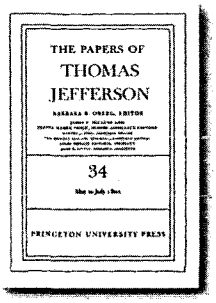


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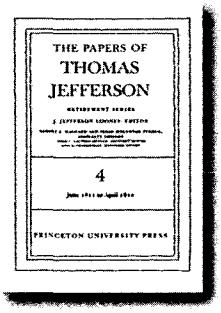
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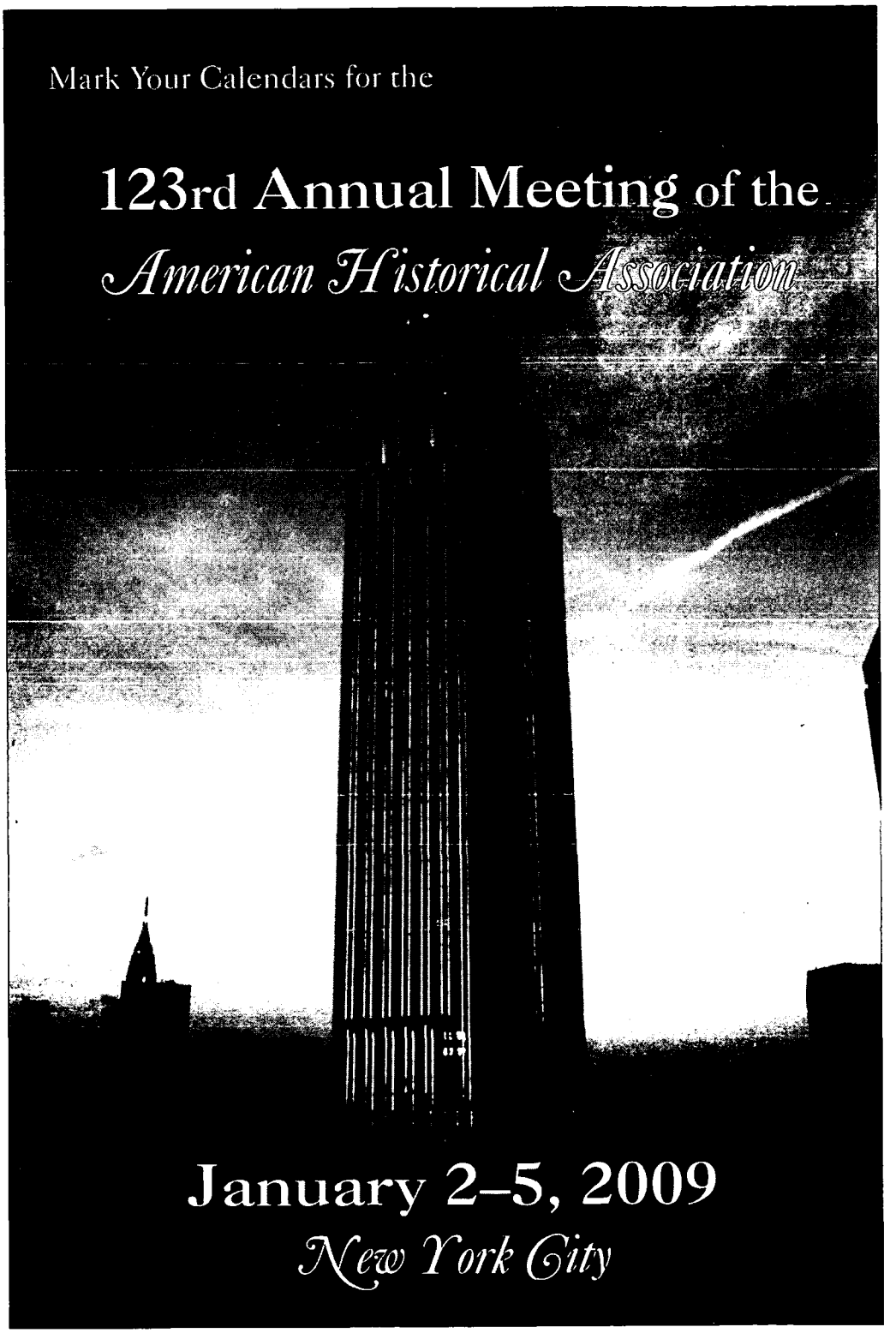
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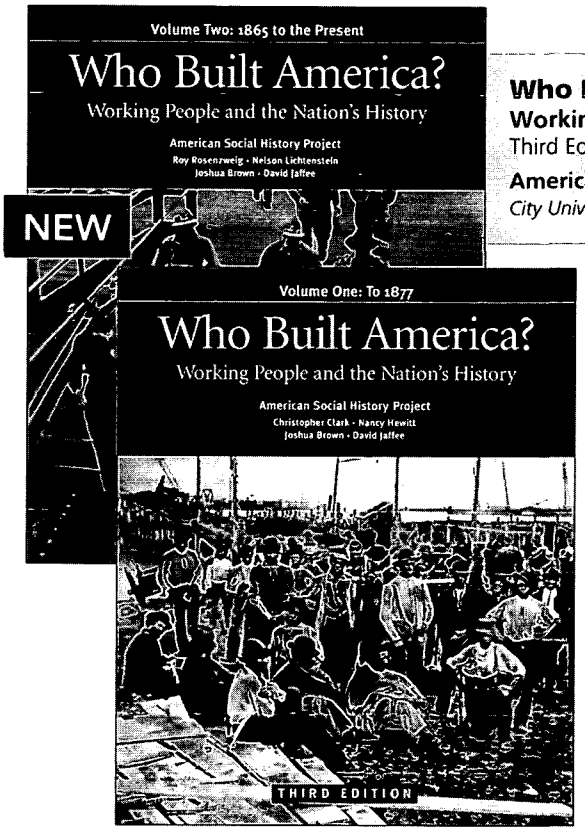
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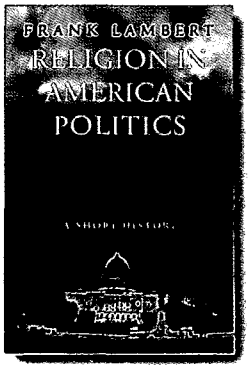
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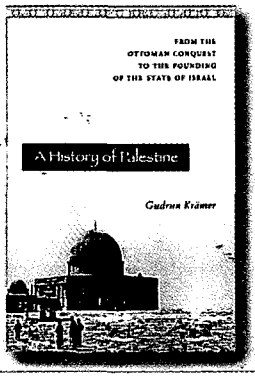
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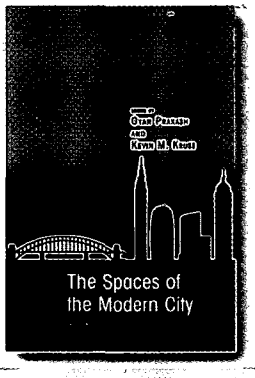
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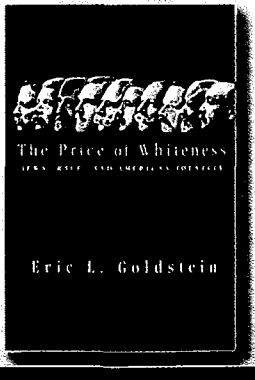
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